GERVASE OF TILBURY

OTIA IMPERIALIA

Recreation for an Emperor

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
S. E. BANKS AND J. W. BINNS

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OPTIMIS PARENTIBUS

PREFACE

A MODERN edition of the *Otia imperialia* of Gervase of Tilbury is long overdue. James Caldwell of the University of California laboured strenuously towards producing an edition for this series in the nineteen-fifties and sixties, but his work was sadly interrupted by his death. His study of the twenty-nine manuscripts known to him, and in particular his identification of *N* (Vat. Lat. 933) as an idiograph, has formed the cornerstone of this edition.

SEB began work on the text in 1976, and completed an edition and translation of Book III in 1981. She resumed work in 1989 with the collaboration of JWB, who had in fact been associated with the project from the start. The notes to Book III have been revised in the light of recent publications, including the excellent annotated French translation by Annie Duchesne (1992). For Books I and II, SEB has been responsible for the text and translation, but is indebted to JWB for many useful comments; the notes are the fruit of collaboration between SEB and JWB; JWB has prepared the indexes.

We are grateful to the OMT General Editors at the time this work was first proposed, Barbara Harvey, Michael Lapidge, and Diana Greenway, for their unfailing support and patience, and for much valuable advice. We owe a debt also to Timothy Reuter for very considerable assistance with the historical sections of the Introduction and notes, and for drawing our attention to much continental scholarship which would otherwise have escaped our notice. Special thanks are due to David Smith for his kind help and encouragement; to Michael Winterbottom for his careful reading of Book III in 1981; to Christopher Brooke for advice on the notes; and to Derek Pearsall and the late Elizabeth Salter for inspiration in the early stages. We are especially grateful to Joan Williams for drawing our attention to the manuscript in Hereford Cathedral Library which contains a hitherto unknown work by Gervase, presented here in Appendix III.

In preparing the notes on such a wide-ranging work we have incurred debts of gratitude to many friends and scholars who have assisted us in the light of their specialized knowledge. Thus we are indebted to Professors J. A. Crook and John Wilkes for answering our queries about Roman history. Marjorie Chibnall, Anne Duggan, Graham Loud, John Blair, Christopher Wickham, and in particular Jane Martindale, David Palliser, and Kevin Down have given invaluable assistance with our queries on medieval English and European history. Kevin Down has also, along with Dr Alicia Corrêa, helped to trace a number of liturgical texts alluded to by Gervase. Andrew Wawn and Dr Carmen Blacker have provided help on folklore. Seamus Heaney has supplied a Celtic parallel to one of Gervase's stories. Christopher Page has given us information on medieval musical instruments. Brian Carter has assisted us with certain theological queries. Bridget Morris has answered questions about medieval Sweden. Neil Wright has given helpful advice about Gervase's use of Geoffrey of Monmouth, as well as certain other medieval Latin topics. Peter Dronke identified some quotations from medieval Latin poetry which had eluded us. Christopher Norton has answered questions about art history and medieval France. We are indebted to many scholars for linguistic help: to Professor Raphael Loewe for Hebrew, Jacqueline Glomski for Polish, Patrick Sims-Williams and Dr Marged Haycock for the Celtic languages, Andrew Wawn and Peter Kitson for Anglo-Saxon. Malcolm Heath has assisted us in finding a possible source for some of Gervase's garbled Greek. We have discussed the meaning of certain particularly intractable passages of Gervase's Latin with Keith Sidwell. James Shiel has offered helpful criticisms of our edition of the *Commentary on the Lord's Prayer*. Through the kindness of Professor Caldwell's widow, we had access to his preliminary work on the notes, on which we have occasionally drawn for the early chapters of Book I.

In the course of the many years over which this edition has been in preparation, computerized aids to text searching have gradually been appearing. Thus although the majority of the references were first identified by manual search, JWB has also used the searchable databases as these have become available. To check certain outstanding queries pertaining to classical literature he used the PHI 5.3 and POESIS databases of Latin texts on CD-ROM, and for Greek the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* corpus of texts. The appearance of Migne's *Patrologia Latina* on CD-ROM has been a great boon, particularly since the final release became available. Boolean searches of this database made it possible to identify some patristic borrowings which might otherwise have eluded us, and to offer more comprehensive comparisons and parallels than would otherwise have been the case. JWB has also used the CETEDOC corpus of Christian Latin texts, which includes the *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* and the associated *Continuatio Mediaevalis,* at the time of writing in version 3. Unsolved queries have routinely been checked against the above databases as appropriate. As we go to press, some volumes of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* are just becoming available on CD-ROM; all references to the *MGH* are, however, the result of manual searches.

Since this edition will probably be one of the first substantial editions of a medieval Latin author to have made sustained use of this range of databases, perhaps we may be permitted a few observations. JWB was fortunate enough to have ready access to these databases at Leeds University Library, where a sufficient number of terminals is available. Since searching Migne has necessitated very many sessions often of two to three hours at a time, such easy access has been essential. CD-ROM searches are not, however, infallible. Boolean searches require a certain judgment in choosing which terms to search. Searches which produce 500 results are, in general, too broad to be effective, and take too long to be practical. The possibility of variant spellings has to be taken into account, and the use of wildcards may also considerably increase the length of time the search takes. These caveats apart, our work has benefited from and been immeasurably enriched by this recent technology. It has in fact been fascinating to trace the intertextual nature of Gervase's borrowings, and to see certain phrases and terms roll down the centuries with little modification from the Fathers of the Church, via the Carolingians, into the twelfth century and the writers of Gervase's own day. This new technology, intelligently used, undoubtedly has the potential to revolutionize medieval Latin studies.

The University of York was generous in granting JWB a year's sabbatical in 1993/4 to enable him to take up the kind offer of a Visiting Fellowship in the stimulating and congenial society of Clare Hall, Cambridge. This, with the consequent access to the riches of the Cambridge University Library, was of material assistance in preparing the commentary.

We thank the Vatican Library for permission to use MS Vat. Lat. 933 as the basis of our edition, and the other librarians who supplied microfilms of manuscripts and allowed us access to their collections. We are grateful to the University of Leicester Medieval Research Centre for permission to use in our Introduction some material which first appeared in 1999 in our printed lecture *Gervase of Tilbury and the Encyclopaedic Tradition* (Leicester, 1999). Philip Stell has assisted in computerizing the index. We are indebted to our copy-editor John Cordy for his vigilance, and to Anne Gelling who has seen this work through the press.

Finally, SEB would like to thank her community for allocating Gervase a cell and allowing her time for the work. Their patient forbearance has been reminiscent of that of the friends of Sir Thomas Underwood at the end of Trollope's *Ralph the Heir*: 'Nevertheless, let us hope that the change of air may tend to future diligence, and that the magnum opus may yet be achieved. We have heard of editions of Aristophanes, of Polybius, of the Iliad, of Ovid, and what not, which have ever been forthcoming under the hands of notable scholars, who have grown grey amidst the renewed promises which have been given. And some of these works have come forth, belying the prophecies of incredulous friends. . . .'

S.E.B.
J.W.B.

Quidenham
York
1999

CONTENTS

Abbreviated References xii

INTRODUCTION xxv

I. THE AUTHOR xxv

II. THE *OTIA IMPERIALIA* xxxviii
Date of composition, title, and structure xxxviii
'A description of the whole world' xlii
'A comparison of the priestly and kingly powers' xlviii
'The marvels of every province' lv

III. THE MANUSCRIPTS lxiii
Descriptions of the manuscripts lxiii
The status of *N* lxxix
The relationship between *N* and *β*; Stemma lxxxiii

IV. HISTORY OF THE TEXT lxxxv

V. THIS EDITION lxxxvii
Orthography and word order lxxxix
Treatment of place names and biblical quotations xc

VI. *COMMENTARY ON THE LORD'S PRAYER* AND OTHER WORKS xcii

LIST OF SIGLA xcvi

PLATES xcvii

TEXT AND TRANSLATION
BOOK I 2
BOOK II 164
BOOK III 548

APPENDICES
I. Addenda in *β* but not in *N* 828
II. Other addenda not in *N* 878
III. *Commentary on the Lord's Prayer* 902

Indexes 925

ABBREVIATED REFERENCES

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum*, ed. J. Bolland *et al.* (Antwerp, 1643–)
Achard, *Description*	C. F. Achard, *Description historique, géographique et topographique . . . de la Provence*, 2 vols. (Aix, 1787–8)
ADB	*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 56 vols. (Leipzig, 1875–1912)
Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*	A. R. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog, and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932)
Apuleius, *De deo Socratis*	*De deo Socratis*, in *Apulée: Opuscules philosophiques et fragments*, ed. J. Beaujeu (Paris, 1973)
Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*	*Vita S. Antonii* (*PG* xxvi); *Vita Antonii: La plus ancienne version latine de la vie de S. Antoine par S. Athanase*, ed. H. Hoppenbrouwers, Latinitas Christianorum Primaeva, xiv (Nijmegen, 1960)
Augustine, *Civ.*	*De ciuitate Dei*, ed. E. Hoffmann, *CSEL* xl (Vienna 1899–1900); *PL* xli
Authentica	*Authentica*, in *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, q.v.
Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*	F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (London, 1970)
Barrière, *Contribution*	J. Barrière, 'Gervais de Tilbury, *Otia imperialia, tertia decisio*: Contribution à l'établissement du texte', thesis (Montpellier, 1994)
Baughman, *MI*	E. W. Baughman, *Type and Motif-Index of the Folktales of England and North America* (The Hague, 1966)
Beaunier–Besse, *Abbayes et prieurés*	Dom Beaunier and Dom J.-M. Besse, *Abbayes et prieurés de l'ancienne France: Recueil historique des archevêchés, évêchés, abbayes et prieurés de France*, Archives de la France monastique, vii: Aix, Arles, Avignon, and Embrun (1909); xxxvi: Vienne (1932)
Bede, *HE*	*Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, OMT (1969)
Bezzola, *Origines*	R. R. Bezzola, *Les Origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en occident, 500–1200*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1944–63)

BL	British Library
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris)
Brednich, *Enzyklopädie*	*Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, ed. R. W. Brednich (Berlin and New York, 1977–)
Burne and Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*	C. S. Burne and G. Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-Lore* (London, 1883)
Busquet, 'Gervais de Tilbury inconnu'	R. Busquet, 'Gervais de Tilbury inconnu', *Revue Historique*, cxci (1941), 1–20
Busquet, *Histoire de Provence*	R. Busquet, *Histoire de Provence* (Monaco, 1954)
Butler's Lives	*Butler's Lives of the Saints*, rev. edn. H. Thurston and D. Attwater, 4 vols. (London, 1956)
BWDG	*Biographisches Wörterbuch zur deutschen Geschichte*, 3 vols. (Munich, 1974–5)
Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*	ed. J. Strange (Cologne etc., 1851)
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge, 1923–)
Caldwell, 'The autograph'	J. R. Caldwell, 'The autograph manuscript of Gervase of Tilbury', *Scriptorium*, xi (1957), 87–98
Caldwell, 'Manuscripts'	J. R. Caldwell, 'Manuscripts of Gervase of Tilbury's *Otia imperialia*', *Scriptorium*, xvi (1962), 28–45
Caldwell, 'Interrelationship'	J. R. Caldwell, 'The interrelationship of the manuscripts of Gervase of Tilbury's *Otia imperialia*', *Scriptorium*, xvi (1962), 246–74
Caldwell, 'Addenda'	J. R. Caldwell, 'Gervase of Tilbury's addenda to his *Otia imperialia*', *Medieval Studies*, xxiv (1962), 95–126
CAO	*Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, ed. R.-J. Hesbert, 6 vols. (Rome, 1963–79)
Cappelletti	G. Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia dalla loro origine sino ai nostri giorni*, 21 vols. (Venice, 1844–70)
Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*	G. A. Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* (Cambridge, 1956)
Cato, *Distichs*	*The Distichs of Cato: A Famous Medieval Textbook*, ed. and transl. W. J. Chase, University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, vii (Madison, 1922)
CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Turnhout, 1966–)

CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1953–)
Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*	R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1913)
Chevalier, *Répertoire*	U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen-âge: Topo-bibliographie* (Paris, 1894–1903), and *Bio-bibliographie* (Paris, 1903–7)
Chron. Moiss.	*Chronicon Moissiacense,* ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH SS* i (Hanover, 1826), 280–313
Code	*Codex Iustiniani,* in *Corpus Iuris Civilis,* q.v.
Colby-Hall, 'Saint Guillaume de Gellone et Saint Bénézet'	Alice M. Colby-Hall, 'Saint Guillaume de Gellone et Saint Bénézet: le témoignage de Gervais de Tilbury', *Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse,* 4th series, vii (1986–7), 61–70
Collins, *Arab Conquest*	R. Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain 710–797* (Oxford, 1989)
Comestor	Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica* (*PL* cxcviii. 1050–1722)
Comparetti, *Vergil*	D. Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages* (2nd edn. (1908), transl. E. Benecke, repr. London, 1966)
Conrad of Querfurt, *MGH SS* xxi	Conrad of Querfurt, 'Epistola', in Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum,* ed. J. M. Lappenberg, *MGH SS* xxi (Hanover, 1869), 192–6
Corpus Iuris Canonici	ed. A. L. Richter and A. Friedberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879–81)
Corpus Iuris Civilis	ed. P. Krueger and T. Mommsen, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1928)
Cottineau, *Répertoire*	L. H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés* (Macon, 1935–70)
Cronica di Partenope	*Cronica di Partenope,* in *Raccolta di varii libri, overo opuscoli d'historie del regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1680)
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna)
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie,* ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclerq, 15 vols. in 30 (Paris, 1907–53)
DBF	*Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris, 1973–)
Decretum	*Decretum Magistri Gratiani,* in *Corpus Iuris Canonici,* q.v.

De monstris et belluis	in de Xivrey, *Traditions tératologiques,* q.v.
Dict. of Med. Latin from British Sources	*Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources,* ed. R. E. Latham *et al.* (London–Oxford, 1975–)
Dict. of the Bible	*Dictionary of the Bible,* ed. J. Hastings *et al.*, 5 vols. (Edinburgh, 1898–1904)
Digest	*Iustiniani Digestum,* in *Corpus Iuris Civilis,* q.v.
Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*	E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder: Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* (Leipzig, 1899)
Douglas, *William the Conqueror*	D. C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (London, 1964)
Du Cange	C. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis,* ed. L. Favre (Niort, 1883–7)
Duchesne, *Livre*	Annie Duchesne, *Gervais de Tilbury: Le Livre des merveilles* (Paris, 1992)
Duprat, 'Légendes saintes de Provence'	E. H. Duprat, 'Histoire des légendes saintes de Provence', *Mémoires de l'Institut Historique de Provence,* xvii (1940), 118–98, and xviii (1941), 88–186
EETS (OS)	Early English Text Society (Original Series) (London)
Epistola Alexandri, ed. Boer	*Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem,* ed. W. W. Boer (Meisenheim am Glan, 1973)
Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes*	A. Lecoy de la Marche, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues tirés du recueil d'Étienne de Bourbon, dominicain du XIII^{e} siècle* (Paris, 1877)
Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*	C. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi . . . ab anno 1198 usque ad annum 1431 perducta* (2nd edn. Münster, 1913)
Eucherius, *Passio*	Eucherius of Lyons, *Passio Acaunensium martyrum,* ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM* iii (Hanover, 1896), 20–40
Eusebius, *HE*	Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia ecclesiastica, PG* xx. 45–906
Eusebius–Rufinus, *HE* (ed. Mommsen)	Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia ecclesiastica,* transl. Rufinus, in vol. ii of Eusebius, *Werke,* ed. T. Mommsen, 3 vols. in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig, 1903, 1908, 1909)
Evangelia apocrypha, ed. Tischendorf	*Evangelia apocrypha,* ed. C. de Tischendorf (2nd edn. Leipzig, 1876)
Evangelium Nicodemi	ed. H. C. Kim (Toronto, 1973)
Faral, 'Une source latine'	E. Faral, 'Une source latine de l'histoire d'Alexandre: la lettre sur les merveilles de l'Inde', *Romania,* xliii (1914), 199–215 and 353–70

Fredegar, *Chronicae*	'Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii Scholastici liber i (-iv)' and 'Continuationes' in *Fredegarii et aliorum Chronica*, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM* ii (Hanover, 1888)
Fretellus	*Liber locorum sanctorum terrae Jerusalem*, *PL* clv. 1037–54
Fretellus (ed. Boeren)	P. C. Boeren, *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte: Histoire et édition du texte* (Amsterdam–Oxford–New York, 1980)
Fuhrmann, *Germany in the High Middle Ages*	H. Fuhrmann, transl. T. Reuter, *Germany in the High Middle Ages c.1050–1200* (Cambridge, 1986)
Gallia Christiana novissima	ed. J. H. Albanès and U. Chevalier, 7 vols. (Montbéliard, 1895–1920)
Gams, *Series episcoporum*	R. B. Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae Catholicae* (Regensburg, 1873)
Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*	*The Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. N. Wright, vol. i: *Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 568;* vol. ii: *The First Variant Version: a Critical Edition* (Cambridge, 1985–8); ed. A. Griscom (London, 1929)
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Gerald of Wales, *Descriptio Kambriae* and *Itinerarium Kambriae*	ed. J. F. Dimock, RS xxi (6) (1868)
Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*	ed. G. F. Warner, RS xxi (8) (1891)
Gesta Romanorum	ed. H. Oesterley (Berlin, 1871–2)
Goez, *Translatio*	W. Goez, *Translatio imperii* (Tübingen, 1958)
Grammatici Latini	*Grammatici Latini*, ed. H. Keil, 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1857–80)
Graphia aureae urbis	in *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, ed. R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti, 4 vols. (Rome, 1940–53), iii. 67–110
Gregory of Tours, *HF*	*Historia Francorum*, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, 2nd edn., *MGH SRM* i (1) (Hanover, 1951)
Gregory the Great, *Dial.*	Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, ed. U. Moricca (Rome, 1924); *PL* lxxvii. 149–430
Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*	J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, transl. J. S. Stallybrass (London, 1880–8)

Hansen, *Quellen*	J. Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter* (Bonn, 1901)
Hartland, *Fairy Tales*	E. S. Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales* (2nd edn. London, 1925)
HBC	E. B. Hyde, D. E. Greenway *et al.*, *Handbook of British Chronology* (3rd edn. London, 1986)
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society Publications (London)
Historia de preliis (ed. Zingerle)	*Historia de preliis* (*MS S*), ed. O. Zingerle (Breslau, 1885)
Hole, *Witchcraft*	C. Hole, *Witchcraft in Britain* (London, 1979)
Honorius, *De imagine mundi* (ed. Flint)	V. I. J. Flint, 'Honorius Augustodunensis: Imago mundi', *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age*, xlix (1982), 7–153; *PL* clxxii
Howey, *The Horse in Magic and Myth*	M. O. Howey, *The Horse in Magic and Myth* (London, 1923)
Hucker, *Otto IV.*	B. U. Hucker, *Kaiser Otto IV.*, *MGH Schriften* xxxiv (Hanover, 1990)
Inst.	Justinian, *Institutes*, in *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, q.v.
Isidore, *Etym.*	Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911)
Jacques de Vitry, *Exempla*	*The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. T. F. Crane (London, 1890)
James, *Apocryphal New Testament*	M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924)
Jamison, 'The Sicilian Norman kingdom'	E. M. Jamison, 'The Sicilian Norman kingdom in the mind of Anglo-Norman contemporaries', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxiv (1938), 237–85
Jerome, *Chronica*	*Interpretatio Chronicae Eusebii Pamphili* with continuations by Jerome and Prosper of Aquitaine, *PL* xxvii
Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*	*Vita Hilarionis*, ed. A. A. R. Bastiaensen, in *Vite dei Santi*, ed. C. Mohrmann, iv (Verona, 1983); *PL* xxiii. 29–54
John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*	ed. C. C. J. Webb (Oxford, 1909); *Policraticus I–IV*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *CCCM* cxviii (Turnhout, 1993)
John the Deacon, *Liber de ecclesia Lateranensi*	in J. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1687–9), ii. 560–76
Josephus, *Ant.*	*Antiquitates Iudaicae* (Loeb Classical Library, 1961)

Josephus, *Bell.*	*Bellum Iudaicum* (Loeb Classical Library, 1961)
Julius Valerius	*Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis* (Latin transl. of Pseudo-Callisthenes), ed. B. Kuebler (Leipzig, 1888)
Justin, *Epitoma*	*Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi*, ed. O. Seel (Stuttgart, 1972)
Kauffmann, *Baths of Pozzuoli*	C. M. Kauffmann, *The Baths of Pozzuoli: a Study of the Medieval Illuminations of Peter of Eboli's Poem* (Oxford, 1959)
Keightley, *Fairy Mythology*	T. Keightley, *Fairy Mythology* (2nd edn. London, 1850)
Kętrzyński, 'Ze Studyów'	S. Kętrzyński, 'Ze Studyów nad Gerwazym z Tilbury', *Rozprawy AU w Krakowie*, series 2, xxi (1903), 152–89; French summary in *Bulletin international de l'Académie des sciences de Cracovie* (1902), pp. 167–70
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Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*	R. E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (London, 1965)
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Lecouteux, *Les Nains et les elfes*	C. Lecouteux, *Les Nains et les elfes au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1988)
Legenda aurea	Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ed. J. G. T. Graesse (Leipzig, 1850); transl. G. Ryan and H. Ripperger (New York, 1941)
Le Goff, *Naissance*	J. Le Goff, *La Naissance du Purgatoire* (Paris, 1981); *The Birth of Purgatory*, transl. A. Goldhammer (London, 1984)
Leibniz	Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia*, ed. G. W. Leibniz in *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium* (Hanover, 1707–10), i. 881–1006 and ii. 751–84
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Lexikon des Mittelalters	*Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 9 vols. and Index (Munich and Zurich, 1977–99)
Liber historiae Francorum	ed. B. Krusch, *MGH SRM* ii (Hanover, 1885), 215–328

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LXX	Septuagint
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Macrobius, *Commentarii*	*Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, ed. J. Willis (Leipzig, 1963)
Mandeville's Travels	*Mandeville's Travels: Texts and Translations*, ed. M. Letts, Hakluyt Society (London, 1953)
Marie de France, *Lais*	ed. A. Ewert (Oxford, 1944)
Marvels of the East	M. R. James, *The Marvels of the East* (Oxford, 1929)
Mckitterick, *Frankish Kingdoms*	R. Mckitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751–987* (London, 1983)
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Meyer, 'Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes'	W. Meyer, 'Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christus', *Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-Philologischen Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, xvi (2) (1882), 101–65
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Hanover); *SS* = *Scriptores; SRM = Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*
MI	S. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, 6 vols. (2nd edn. Copenhagen, 1955–8)
Mirabilia	*Mirabilia urbis Romae*, in *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, ed. R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti, 4 vols. (Rome, 1940–53), iii. 1–85
Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa*	P. Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa: A Study in Medieval Politics* (London, 1969)
NCE	*New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 18 vols. (Palatine, Ill., 1967–89)
Neckham, *De naturis rerum* and *De laud. sap.*	Alexander Neckham, *De naturis rerum* and *De laudibus divinae sapientiae*, ed. T. Wright, RS xxxiv (1863)

Nennius, *Historia Brittonum*	ed. J. Morris (London, 1980)
NMT	Nelson's Medieval Texts (London)
de Nore, *Coutumes*	A. de Nore, *Coutumes, mythes et traditions des provinces de France* (Paris, 1846)
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
Oman, 'The English folklore'	C. C. Oman, 'The English folklore of Gervase of Tilbury', *Folklore*, lv (1944), 2–15
OMT	Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford)
Orderic Vitalis, *HE*	*Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. M. Chibnall, OMT (1969–80)
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Pauli, *MGH*	R. Pauli, 'E Gervasii Tilleberiensis Otiis Imperialibus', *MGH SS* xxvii (Hanover, 1885), 359–94
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857–66)
PL	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, 1st edn., 217 vols. (Paris, 1844–55); indexes, 4 vols. (Paris 1862–64)
Plummer, *Bethada Náem n-Érenn*	C. Plummer, *Bethada Náem n-Érenn: Lives of Irish Saints* (Oxford, 1922)
Polemius Silvius	*Ex laterculo Polemii Silvii nomina omnium provinciarum*, in *Geographi Latini minores*, ed. A. Riese (Heilbronn, 1878, repr. Hildesheim, 1964), pp. 130–2
PR	*Provinciale Romanum*, in *Calendarium Historico-Christianum medii et novi aevi*, ed. A. J. Weidenbach (Regensburg, 1855), pp. 264–84
Pseudo-Abdias	*De historia certaminis apostolici* (Paris, 1560)
Pseudo-Callisthenes	*Historia Alexandri Magni*, ed. W. Kroll (Berlin, 1926)
Pseudo-Marcella	*Vita S. Marthae*, in B. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium* (Paris, 1910), ii. 231–40

Pseudo-Methodius, *Revelationes*	in *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen*, ed. E. Sackur (Halle, 1898, repr. Turin, 1963), pp. 1–96
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Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*	ed. J. Stevenson, RS lxvi (1875)
RE	*Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll (Stuttgart, 1894–)
Rep. Hymn.	U. Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, 6 vols. (Louvain, 1892–1921)
Richardson	L. Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore–London, 1992)
Richardson, 'Gervase of Tilbury'	H. G. Richardson, 'Gervase of Tilbury', *History*, xlvi (1961), 102–14
RNI	*Regestum Innocentii III papae super negotio Romani imperii*, ed. F. Kempf, Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae, xii (Rome, 1947)
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RS	Rolls Series (London)
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Servius, *Commentarii*	*In Vergilii carmina commentarii*, ed. G. Thilo, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1878–1902)
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Smith, *Dic. Geog.*	Sir William Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, 2 vols. (London, 1873)
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TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*
Türk, *'Nugae curialium'*	E. Türk, *'Nugae curialium': Le Règne d'Henri II Plantagenêt (1154–1189) et l'éthique politique* (Geneva, 1977)
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Wolf, 'Gervasius von Tilbury und die Welfen'	A. Wolf, 'Gervasius von Tilbury und die Welfen. Zugleich Bemerkungen zur Ebstorfer Weltkarte', in *Die Welfen und ihr Braunschweiger Hof im hohen Mittelalter*, ed. B. Schneidmüller (Wiesbaden, 1995), pp. 407–38
Wolf, *Beiträge zur Deutschen Mythologie*	J. W. Wolf, *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie* (Göttingen–Leipzig, 1852)

Wright, *Geographical Lore*	J. K. Wright, *Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades: a Study in the History of Medieval Science and Tradition in Western Europe*, American Geographical Society Research Series, xv (New York, 1925, repr. 1965)
de Xivrey, *Traditions tératologiques*	Berger de Xivrey, *Traditions tératologiques* (Paris, 1836)

INTRODUCTION

I. THE AUTHOR

Gervase of Tilbury pursued an international career as an administrator and jurist in the quarter-centuries either side of 1200. His extensive travels and broad experience in western Europe, and the contacts he made with many of the great rulers of his day, provided him with the materials for the work for which he is chiefly known: the *Otia imperialia*, or 'Recreation for an Emperor', dedicated to the emperor Otto IV.[1] As is often the case with medieval authors, most of what we know about Gervase's life comes from casual references in his own writings, though modern scholarship has been able to supplement this information with some documentary evidence for his career.[2] It is possible that further searches through the archives of Rheims, Arles, and Sicily might clarify some of the uncertainties in the account of his life which follows, but for the understanding of the *Otia* the precise details of Gervase's career are of secondary importance, and such enquiries have not been undertaken for this edition.

He presumably came from Tilbury in Essex, though the only evidence for this is his name. We know nothing of his family except that he was related to Patrick, earl of Salisbury, and so belonged to the Anglo-Norman élite. He enjoyed a close friendship with the earl's son Philip, based on a long comradeship in the schools and at the court of Henry II.[3] His acquaintance with a number of insignificant places in England may date from his childhood, or from the time he spent at the English court (though the latter was more often than not in France).[4] Gervase's date of birth is not known. He refers to himself as *puer* in an anecdote set in the time of Pope Alexander III (1159–81).[5] By contemporary convention this word was used of males between the ages of 7 and 14,[6] which means that he must have been born not earlier than 1145 and not later than 1175. Since we know that he was present at the reconciliation between Alexander III and Frederick Barbarossa at Venice in 1177,[7] it would seem probable that he was born in the 1150s or the early 1160s, though a later date has been suggested.[8]

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[1] On the title see below, p. xli.

[2] The attempt to trace Gervase's life-story has been made by a number of scholars: see in particular R. Pauli, 'Gervasius von Tilbury', Busquet, 'Gervais de Tilbury inconnu', pp. 2–3; H.-J. Schulze, 'Gervasius von Tilbury: Sein Leben, seine Staatsauffassung und sein Verhältnis zur Antike,' (diss., Berlin, 1955); Richardson, 'Gervase of Tilbury', pp. 105–9; Wilkinson, 'The *Otia imperialia*', pp. 2–30; Duchesne, *Livre*, pp. 1–6; Wolf, 'Gervasius von Tilbury und die Welfen', pp. 411–27.

[3] *Otia*, iii. 12.

[4] e.g. Droitwich (*Otia*, iii. 2), Aspley Guise (iii. 4), and Ongar (iii. 96). Gervase also shows a knowledge of English vocabulary, mentioning the English words for a skylight, a werewolf, and a forester (pp. 82, 86, and 336).

We know a considerable amount about Gervase's career before about 1200, but unfortunately not quite enough to be able to fit what we know into a single compelling sequence. It may help simply to set out what is known before discussing the ways in which this might be ordered:

(*a*) we know that he studied canon law at Bologna, where he acquired the title of *magister* and taught law for a time.[9] He mentions as one of his pupils John Pignatelli, subsequently archdeacon of Naples, where Gervase visited him in 1190, and learnt from him of the continuing efficacy of Virgil's magic.[10] He was already well aware of Virgil's connection with Naples: on the occasion of an earlier visit to the city, probably from Bologna, Cardinal John of Naples had shown him the book in which Virgil had recorded his magical art.[11] We have already noted that Gervase was at Venice in 1177, and this may well have fallen within his period of study and teaching in northern Italy;

(*b*) we know that like many other contemporary *literati* he spent some time at the court of Henry II, a favourable environment for intellectuals and men of letters.[12] He had a particularly close relationship with the Young King, Henry (III) (d. June 1183), for whom he composed a *Liber facetiarum*.[13] Gervase mentions Ralph Niger as having been among his companions at the Young Henry's court.[14] He speaks of the Young King with great admiration and affection, and his premature death evidently caused him sincere distress;[15]

(*c*) we know that at some point he was in the service of William of the White Hands, archbishop of Rheims from 1176 until his death in 1202.[16] Ralph of Coggeshall relates a story which he claims to have heard from Gervase himself. One day in the time of King Louis, the archbishop was taking exercise outside the city with his clerks, among whom was Gervase. Gervase spied a girl walking on her own in a vineyard, and turned aside to speak to her. Noticing that she was pretty, he made advances to her; she replied that she would suffer eternal damnation if she lost her virginity. Since one of the tenets of the *publicani* was that procreation was evil, Gervase surmised that she belonged to this sect, and was engaging her in a theological argument when the archbishop arrived on the scene. The incident ended with the girl being burnt at the stake.[17] Whether Gervase felt any shame for his part in this affair, we do not know; but he remained fiercely unrelenting in his opposition to this heresy.[18] Though the reference to Louis VII appears to date the incident to 1180 or before, this is not entirely certain, given that we are dealing with memories which may have been recorded up to forty years later. The girl calls Gervase *adolescens*, which, if Ralph was using it conventionally and the assumptions made about Gervase's birth above are correct, gives an absolute *terminus ante quem* for the incident of the late 1190s.[19] William is known to have carried out persecutions of the *publicani*, the sect to which the girl belonged, in the 1180s;[20]

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[5] *Otia*, iii. 104.

[6] A. Hofmeister, 'Puer, iuvenis, senex: Zum Verständnis der mittelalterlichen Altersbezeichnungen', in *Papsttum und Kaisertum*, ed. A. Brackmann (Munich, 1926), pp. 287–316, at p. 294.

[7] *Otia*, ii. 19, at n. 51.

[8] Wolf, 'Gervasius von Tilbury und die Welfen', p. 413, suggests that he may have been there as a page accompanying Henry II's daughter Joanna on her way to Sicily. This does not seem very probable, but he might conceivably have been present as a boy accompanying the English envoys there. For other English observers see R. Thomson, 'An English eye-witness of the Peace of Venice, 1177', *Speculum*, l (1975), 21–32, at p. 23.

[9] On the study of law at Bologna and English canonists there see S. Kuttner and E. Rathbone, 'Anglo-Norman canonists of the twelfth century', *Traditio*, vii (1949–51), 279–358; J. Fried, *Die Entwicklung des Juristenstandes im 12. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, 1974).

[10] *Otia*, iii. 12.

[11] *Otia*, iii. 112, n. 12. John of Naples was cardinal of St Anastasia from 1158 to 1183, but the visit referred to was probably before 1181, since Gervase appears to place it in the time of Alexander III.

[12] On Henry II's court as a focus of learning see W. F. Schirmer and U. Broich, *Studien zum literarischen Patronat im England des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne and Opladen, 1962); P. Dronke, 'Peter of Blois and Poetry at the Court of Henry II', *Medieval Studies*, xxxviii (1976), 185–235; Türk, *'Nugae curialium'*; E. Salter, *English and International: Studies in the Literature, Art and Patronage of Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 4–28.

[13] See below, p. xcii.

[14] *Otia*, ii. 3, at n. 24.

[15] *Otia*, ii. 21, pp. 486–7. On the Young Henry's popularity, see W. L. Warren, *King John* (Harmondsworth, 1961), p. 46 and n.

[16] On William see K. Ganzer, *Die Entwicklung des auswärtigen Kardinalats im hohen Mittelalter* (Tübingen, 1963), pp. 125–9; and P. Desportes, *Reims et les Rémois aux 13^e et 14^e siècles* (Paris, 1979). On William as a literary patron see J. R. Williams, 'William of the White Hands and Men of Letters', *Anniversary Essays in Medieval History by Students of C. H. Haskins* (Boston and New York, 1929), pp. 365–87; Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis*, Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, and Peter of Poitier's *Sententiae* were among the works dedicated to him.

[17] Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 121–4.

[18] See especially *Otia*, i. 2.

(*d*) we know that he was in the service of the king of Sicily at the end of the 1180s. Gervase was of sufficient standing to receive from William II the gift of a villa at Nola, to enable him to escape from the stifling heat of Palermo in the summer. He took his friend Philip of Salisbury there, he tells us, in June of the year in which Acre was besieged.[21] Acre was under siege in the Third Crusade from August 1189 to July 1191; since Philip most probably arrived with the English crusading army, the year is likely to have been 1190, though 1189 is also possible.[22] Gervase presumably lost standing in Sicily following the death of William II in November 1189. William was married to Henry II's daughter Joanna and had a number of Englishmen in his service.[23] However, William's successor Tancred also allied himself with Richard I after a brief initial discord, and Sicily need not have become an impossible place for Gervase until the take-over by Henry VI in 1194;[24]

(*e*) by 1201 at the latest we find him in the kingdom of Arles, in the entourage of Archbishop Imbert (1191–1202), as we shall see shortly.

It is clear that the above sequence is broadly in correct chronological order: in particular, (*d*) precedes (*e*) and (*b*) precedes (*d*), and (*a*) must precede (*d*) and almost certainly precedes (*b*). The main difficulty lies in placing (*c*), his service with William of the White Hands. This is most likely to have been in the 1170s, right at the beginning of his career—indeed, since it was quite common for

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[19] Hofmeister, 'Puer, iuvenis, senex', p. 294, shows that *adolescentia* stretched from 14 to 21, 28, 30, or 35.

[20] For another story illustrating William's persecution of this sect, see Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, i. 30; for Rheims persecutions of dualist heretics see Wolf, 'Gervasius von Tilbury und die Welfen', p. 414.

[21] *Otia*, iii. 12.

[22] For the siege of Acre and the arrival of the English army in Sicily in September 1190 (but presumably with advance parties), see H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1988), pp. 143–6.

[23] C. H. Haskins, 'England and Sicily in the twelfth century', *English Historical Review*, xxvi (1911), 433–47 and 641–65; M. Schlauch, 'Literary exchange between Angevin England and Sicily', *Romanic Review*, xiv (1923), 168–88; E. M. Jamison, 'The Sicilian Norman kingdom in the mind of Anglo-Norman contemporaries', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxiv (1938), 237–85; ead., 'Alliance of England and Sicily in the second half of the twelfth century', in *England and the Mediterranean Tradition: Studies in Art, History and Literature*, ed. Warburg and Courtauld Institute (Oxford, 1945), pp. 20–32, at 31–2.

[24] See on this C. Reisinger, *Tankred von Lecce* (Cologne, 1992), pp. 136–45.

promising clerics to be sponsored at Paris or Bologna by bishops, his time at Bologna could have been part of it. It would then have been followed by service at Henry II's court, beginning at some point before the Young King's death in 1183; that in turn would have shifted to service at William II's court sometime between 1183 and 1189; and following that he would have taken up service with Imbert of Arles, probably quite quickly, but certainly by 1201. However, there is just about room in the 1180s to fit a period of service with William there, and it could also have taken place between his time in Sicily and his time in Arles, especially as the 1190s are otherwise a blank as far as what is known of his career is concerned. The fact that Gervase had some contact with Maurice de Sully, bishop of Paris 1160–96, shortly before the bishop died, gives some weight to this possibility.[25] There are in any case enough gaps in the information for Gervase to have spent periods in other rulers' or ecclesiastics' entourages without our knowing about them.

At some point after his stay in Sicily he settled in Arles, where he is found in the entourage of Imbert d'Aiguières, archbishop of Arles 1191–1202,[26] around the turn of the century. He appears in four archiepiscopal documents between 1198 and 1202.[27] At some point he married a relative of Imbert's;[28] the marriage brought him a palace, and established him in the highest ranks of Provençal society. Later the ownership of the palace was contested, and confirmed to Gervase by a decision of the imperial court.[29] This has been taken to mean that his wife died before the presentation of the *Otia* to Otto IV in 1214/15,[30] but this need not necessarily have been the case: it is possible that Gervase and his wife were here fending off claims from his wife's relatives, especially as he could not normally have expected to inherit from his wife; and it is also conceivable that Gervase might have thought of a local Provençal court as acting under delegated imperial authority. 'Master Gervase' is named in documents of 1207 and 1216/17 as 'judge of the count of Provence',[31] and it may have been in this capacity also that he presided over the arbitration meeting held by Archbishop Imbert in 1201.[32] Alfonso II of Aragon (who held the county of Provence as Alfonso I, either personally or through his brothers or his younger son, from 1167 until his death in 1196) achieved a remarkable work of organization in Provence, a major feature of which was his re-establishment of a professional judge permanently in his service. This office was filled continuously from 1179, and all important cases were brought before it.[33]

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[25] See *Otia*, ii. 17, at n. 74, where Gervase relates a story about the approach of death which he had learned from Maurice as the bishop was dying.

[26] For Imbert's dates, see *Gallia Christiana Novissima: Arles*, eds. J.-H. Albanès and U. Chevalier (Valence, 1901), pp. 264 and 298.

[27] *Gallia Christiana Novissima: Arles*, no. 736 col. 283 (undated; limited 1198 × 1202 by the mention of the provost Michael and the death of Imbert in July 1202); no. 747 cols. 290–2 (November 1201); no. 749, cols. 292–6 (July 1202: Gervase a witness to the authenticity of Imbert's will on Imbert's death). In these three documents he appears as Master Gervase; in *Gallia Christiana Novissima: Marseille*, ed. J.-H. Albanès and U. Chevalier (Valence, 1899), no. 1122 cols. 702–4 (March 1201: arbitration by Imbert between the canons and Templars of Marseilles in the archiepiscopal palace at Arles) the charter records him presiding as judge: 'assidente nobis magistro Gervasio, iudice Arelaten.'.

[28] *Otia*, iii. 86, at n. 9.

[29] *Otia*, iii. 92, at n. 5.

[30] Duchesne, *Livre*, p. 3; Wolf, 'Gervasius von Tilbury und die Welfen', p. 417.

Gervase continued to travel and collect materials while he was based in Arles. For instance, he must have visited Sarzana some time after 1202, since he tells us that he was there after the bishopric of Luni was transferred there, and handled the flask of the Saviour's blood which the people of Luni received in compensation for losing the Volto Santo di Lucca; his description of the latter relic also reads like an eye-witness account.[34] However, he was clearly very much at home in Arles. He habitually calls the Mediterranean *mare nostrum*, and many passages reflect his thorough knowledge and love of the Rhône valley, of its people and their customs, of its castles, churches, and towns, its vineyards, mountains, meadows, and marshes.[35]

Gervase was judge during a very turbulent period in the history of the county, between the death of Alfonso I in 1196 and the majority of Raymond Berengar V in 1219.[36] It is hardly surprising that the *Otia* contains a plea that Otto should intervene in the kingdom;[37] but although Frederick Barbarossa had made some progress in establishing royal control there, Henry VI's interests had lain elsewhere and there was no significant infrastructure for kingship.[38] Otto never visited the kingdom of Arles, and, as we shall see, probably received the *Otia imperialia* only when there was no longer any possibility of his intervening anywhere. The first sign of a link between Gervase and Otto is found in a document of May 1214: Gervase appears in Tarascon, a few miles north of Arles, acting as an *arbiter voluntarius* in a dispute between the monastery of Saint-Paul of Mausole and some local magnates. He is described as Master Gervase, marshal of the imperial court in the kingdom of Arles.[39] The appointment as marshal of Arles had presumably been made by Otto IV, possibly at the time of his imperial coronation in 1209, at which Gervase may even have been present.[40] Gervase tells us in the *Otia* that it was his intention to fulfil his duties with his tongue rather than a sword;[41] it seems therefore that it was a military appointment, but an honorific one.

Otto, born around 1175 as the eldest son of Henry the Lion and Henry II's daughter Matilda, had been at the English court from the early 1180s when Henry had taken refuge with his father-in-law after going into exile, in other words probably at much the same time as Gervase had been there. Otto had been particularly favoured by Richard I, who appointed him count of Poitou in 1196 and had also used his time in captivity in Germany after the Third Crusade to build up a clientele amongst the princes of the north-west.[42] On the death of Henry VI in 1197 Richard supported Otto's candidacy for the German kingship; Otto was elected in June 1198. Although recognized by Innocent III over his rivals, Philip of Swabia and

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[31] F. Benoit, *Recueil des actes des comtes de Provence appartenant à la maison de Barcelone: Alphonse II et Raimond Bérenger V, 1196–1245* (Paris and Monaco, 1925), ii. 71 (no. 56) and 107 (no. 23); he also appears as witness in ii. 67 (no. 54; July 1207). On the first of these documents, see G. Giordanengo, *Le Droit féodal dans les pays de droit écrit: l'exemple de la Provence et du Dauphiné* (Rome, 1988), p. 85, who notes the absence of any knowledge of learned law in it.

[32] See above, n. 27; 'judge of Arles' is an ambiguous designation.

[33] Busquet, *Histoire de Provence*, pp. 139–55, especially 146 and 153; on the house of Barcelona's role in southern France see also C. Higounet, 'Un grand chapitre de l'histoire du XII^e siècle: la rivalité des maisons de Toulouse et de Barcelone pour la prépondérance méridionale', *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge, dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), pp. 313–22; R. d'Abadal, 'A propos de la "domination" de la maison comtale de Barcelone sur le Midi français', *Annales du Midi*, lxxvi (1964), 315–45.

[34] *Otia*, iii. 24.

[35] Gervase was not, however, uncritical: see his analysis of the Provençal character in *Otia*, ii. 12 (pp. 338–41).

[36] Busquet, *Histoire de Provence*, pp. 139–55.

[37] *Otia*, ii. 12, pp. 340–1.

[38] P. Fournier, *Le Royaume d'Arles et de Vienne (1138–1378)* (Paris, 1891), pp. 84–97; B. Resmini, *Das Arelat im Kräftefeld der französischen, englischen und angiovinischen Politik nach 1250 und das Einwirken Rudolfs von Habsburg* (Cologne, 1980), pp. 9–35; J. Fried, 'Friedrich Barbarossas Krönung in Arles (1178)', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, ciii (1983), 347–71.

[39] 'magistri Gervasii in regno Arelatis imperialis aule marescalci': E. Leroy, *Cartulaire de St-Paul-de-Mausole* (St-Remy, 1961), no. 53, p. 84.

[40] Gervase's knowledge of the coronation ceremony (see *Otia*, i. 10, pp. 62–3; i. 16, pp. 92–3; and ii. 18, pp. 450–5) suggests that he may have witnessed Otto's coronation personally (cf. Winkelmann, ii. 502). It was perhaps the occasion for the recent visit to Rome which he mentions (*Otia*, iii. Preface, pp. 558–9), when he was shown the fire-resistant properties of a piece of salamander-skin belonging to Master Peter of Capua.

[41] *Otia*, Preface, pp. 14–15.

[42] J. Ahlers, *Die Welfen und die englischen Könige, 1165–1235* (Hildesheim, 1987), pp. 169–96; J. Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart*, 2nd edn. (London, 1989), pp. 270–1.

Frederick of Sicily, in March 1201, his support waned steadily, and in 1207 there was even a proposal that he should give way to his rival Philip in return for appointment as king of Arles, though Otto turned this down.[43] He was always dependent on financial support from first Richard and then John.[44] It is therefore not surprising that Gervase should take every available opportunity to remind Otto of his relationship to the Plantagenet dynasty: Henry II is 'your grandfather', any one of his sons is 'your uncle', Queen Joanna is 'your aunt', and so on.[45] Otto's cause revived only after Philip's assassination in June 1208. He was re-elected as king in November 1208; the following May he became betrothed to Philip's daughter, Beatrix; then, after promising substantial concessions to the pope, he went to Rome, and was crowned emperor in St Peter's on 4 October 1209. He promptly broke his promises and attacked the Sicilian kingdom, which resulted in his excommunication on 18 November 1210. His unpopularity in Germany led to the re-election of Frederick in 1211, who was crowned king the following year. King John, himself under excommunication from 1209 to 1213, lent Otto generous support. At Bouvines, on 27 July 1214, they attacked their common enemy and Frederick's main ally, Philip Augustus: their army was annihilated, and Otto's cause was lost forever. He lived on his estates in Saxony, still claiming to be emperor, until he died of dysentery, the death perhaps accelerated by medical intervention, on 19 May 1218.[46] It was in this final period of Otto's life that Gervase seems to have completed the *Otia* and dedicated it to Otto.[47] The tone in which Gervase addresses Otto suggests that he knew him personally. Gervase certainly does not stint his advice to Otto: the rhetorical gift-wrapping of lavish complimentation does not conceal the frankness, even bluntness, of Gervase's recommendations and warnings.[48] He could well have met Otto at the English court, as we have seen, but he may also have spent time at Otto's court at some point.

Gervase evidently remained in Arles for some time after Otto's downfall. We have already seen him as judge in a charter of 1216/17.[49] On 19 April 1219 a transaction took place in the archbishop's chapel at Arles in his presence,[50] and in the same year he witnessed an act of homage to the archbishop, Hugh II Béroard (1217?–32).[51] The crowning achievement of Gervase's legal career came in 1221. For nearly a century the cemetery of Les Aliscamps in Arles had been at the centre of a dispute between the chapter of Saint-Trophime and the two abbeys, Saint-Césaire at Arles and Saint-Victor at Marseilles, on which the churches of Les Aliscamps had earlier been bestowed. In 1221 the abbess of Saint-Césaire approached the papal legate, who appointed Raymond, provost of Arles, and Master Gervase of Tilbury to examine their case; in the final settlement of 13 June the claims of the cathedral canons were entirely dismissed.[52] In the second of two documents relating to this case,[53] Gervase is still designated marshal of Arles; the same title is given him in a letter of 11 August 1221, in which his arbitration is authorized by the papal legate, Conrad.[54] It seems therefore that Gervase's title and status had remained unaffected by Otto's reverses and eventual demise in 1218. The last definite knowledge we have of Gervase is that on 16 July 1222 'magister Gervasius' was present at the abbey of Montmajour near Arles.[55]

The last years of the author's life have been the subject of much speculation. J. J. Mader,[56] writing in the seventeenth century, put forward the theory, proposed to him by J. H. Hofmann, that Gervase was appointed provost of the priory of Ebstorf (then a house of Benedictine nuns with a male prior) by Otto IV's nephew, Otto of

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[43] Fournier, *Royaume d'Arles*, p. 94.

[44] Ahlers, *Welfen*, pp. 169–252; Hucker, *Otto IV.*, pp. 25–32.

[45] See e.g. *Otia*, Preface, pp. 14–15; ii. 19, pp. 464–5; iii. 12, pp. 578–9; iii. 84, pp. 716–17.

[46] The fullest recent account of the disputed kingship in Germany between 1198 and 1218 is Hucker, *Otto IV.*, pp. 22–352; for a good brief English-language treatment see J. Sayers, *Innocent III, Leader of Europe 1198–1216* (London, 1994), pp. 55–64.

[47] On the dating see below, pp. xxxix–xli.

[48] See e.g. *Otia*, ii. 12, pp. 338–41; ii. 18, pp. 452–5; ii. 19, pp. 468–71.

[49] Above, n. 31.

[50] E. Leroy, *Cartulaire de St-Paul-de-Mausole* (St-Remy, 1961), no. 55, pp. 90–92.

[51] Noted in Giordanengo, *Le Droit féodal*, p. 144, n. 126.

[52] Gervase describes the cemetery in *Otia*, iii. 90. Duprat ('Légendes saintes de Provence', 1941, pp. 126–57) presents in an appendix a full account of the dispute over Les Aliscamps. He remarks concerning the eventual settlement (p. 150): 'L'abbaye devait ce succès à son avocat, ce maréchal du palais Gervais de Tilbury dont l'oeuvre avait répandu au loin le renom de la vieille nécropole.' For the papal bulls confirming the sentence, see Archives des Bouches du Rhône, *Saint-Césaire d'Arles*, Reg. VI, *Bulles*, nos. 9, 11, and 17 (cited by Duprat, p. 151).

[53] 4 and 13 June; *Gallia Christiana novissima*, Arles (1901), nos. 873 and 2628.

[54] See E. Fassin, 'Gervais de Tilbury, maréchal du royaume d'Arles', *Le Musée* (*Revue Arlésienne, historique et littéraire*), xxii (1875), 171.

[55] Duprat, 'Légendes saintes de Provence', 1941, p. 106, n. 2 (citing du Roure, *Histoire de Montmajour*, p. 269). It is not surprising to find Gervase at the abbey, since we know that he used the Montmajour breviary as a source when writing about St Trophimus (*Otia*, ii. 10, n. 32).

[56] J. J. Mader, *Gervasii Tilberiensis de imperio Romano . . . commentatio* (Helmstedt, 1673), pp. 145–6.

Lüneburg. This view was dismissed by Leibniz, who pointed out that the title 'magister' is invariably used of Gervase of Tilbury both by himself and by others, but it is never used of the Ebstorf Gervase, who appears in a number of charters from 1223 onwards, the latest dating perhaps to 1237.[57] However, it was revived by Richard Uhden in 1930, who pointed to similarities between the Ebstorf world map, discovered in the early nineteenth century, and the cosmographical views of Gervase.[58] Since then there has been extensive debate on Gervase's putative association with Ebstorf, and since it cannot be said to have reached a wholly definitive conclusion it will be necessary to set out the arguments made on both sides here.

The arguments for the identity of Gervase of Tilbury and Gervase of Ebstorf fall into two broad groups.[59] First of all, there is the argument from the name. Gervase is not a common name in northern Germany at this period,[60] and the appearance of a notary Gervase in the Welf entourage at about the same time as the *Otia* was presented to Otto IV is a startling enough coincidence in itself. Moreover, it has recently been argued that this Gervase, though a notary, did not use a normal chancery hand and was used in particular to draw up politically sensitive documents.[61] The identity of this Gervase with the man who became provost of Ebstorf is itself speculative, but might be thought plausible enough. Second, there are the arguments from the map. This was destroyed by bombing in 1943, and is now known only from not wholly satisfactory reproductions dating from 1892 and 1896; there is still no satisfactory modern edition of the texts it contained.[62] However, it does appear to reflect Gervase's views in a number of respects. It is Y- rather than T-shaped, thereby figuring Christ; it reveals a strong interest in the distribution of bishoprics, as does the *Otia*; it describes Rome as represented in the form of a lion, as the *Otia* likewise does.[63] Moreover, the *Otia* is the most recent work used by whoever compiled it.

But there are also good arguments against the assumption of identity.[64] Leibniz's point about the use of the title 'magister' remains a valid one. As we have seen, Gervase of Tilbury is found in Arles in 1214, 1216 or 1217, 1219, 1221, and 1222, which suggests continuous residence there and makes it difficult to suppose that he could have been active at the Welf court in the late 1210s, and it is also clear that he had an established position in Provence which did not depend on the title of marshal conferred by Otto IV. It is not even clear that the provostship of Ebstorf was in the Welfs' gift.[65] If they were indeed able to get Gervase appointed, it is perhaps also surprising that they made no use of an experienced diplomat with extensive English connections in the course of their negotiations with the English court in the 1220s.[66] Last but not least: the relationship between the conception of the Ebstorf map and the ideas expressed in the *Otia* is not so close as to force us to assume that Gervase was responsible for the former. It has been suggested that Gervase drew a map to accompany his work, and that this formed the direct model for the Ebstorf map.[67] However, there is no solid evidence that a map accompanied the text: certainly there is no map attached to any of the surviving manuscripts. The term *mappa mundi* was regularly used to denote either a map or a chorographical treatise, and Gervase himself plainly uses it to refer to his written description of the world;[68] the term also appears frequently in the margin of *N* alongside chorographical passages, just as *mirum* appears alongside marvels. Even when Gervase speaks of producing a more accurate *pictura*, it seems clear that a 'word-picture' is meant, since it is going to satisfy 'hungry minds and thirsty ears', not eyes.[69] The correspondences do not prove more than that the makers of the Ebstorf map were probably familiar with the *Otia* as a written source, and since it was evidently available in the neighbourhood this is not surprising. Even the dating of the Ebstorf map is not certain: advocates of the identity theory have suggested that it was composed late in the 1230s, but such an early dating is not without its problems.[70]

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[57] Leibniz, i. Introd. para. lxiii; cf. H.-J. Schulze, 'Ist Gervasius von Tilbury Propst von Ebstorf gewesen?', *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, xxxiii (1961), 239–44; for the charter references to Gervase of Ebstorf see K. Jaitner, 'Das Benediktinerinnenkloster Ebstorf im Mittelalter (ca. 1165–1550)', in *Das Benediktinerinnenkloster Ebstorf im Mittelalter*, ed. K. Jaitner and I. Schwab (Hildesheim, 1988), pp. 1–25, at p. 5.

[58] 'Gervasius von Tilbury und die Ebstorfer Weltkarte', *Jahrbuch der Geographischen Gesellschaft zu Hannover* (1930), pp. 185–200.

[59] Pro: W. Rosien, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte* (Hanover, 1952), pp. 24–35; J. Strzelczyk, *Gerwazy z Tilbury: Studium z dziejów uczoności geograficznej w średniowieczu* (Wrocław, 1970), English summary, pp. 270–8, at 276–8, and 'Der Prozeß der Aktualisierung Polens und Osteuropas im Verständnis der gelehrten Kreise des 13. Jahrhunderts' in *Ein Weltbild vor Columbus: Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte: Interdisziplinäres Colloquium 1988*, ed. H. Kugler and E. Michael (Weinheim, 1991), pp. 146–66; A. Wolf, 'Neues zur Ebstorfer Welktarte: Entstehungszeit—Ursprungsort—Autorschaft' in *Das Benediktinerinnenkloster Ebstorf im Mittelalter*, pp. 75–109; id., 'Ikonologie der Ebstorfer Weltkarte und politische Situation des Jahres 1239. Zum Weltbild des Gervasius von Tilbury am welfischen Hofe', in *Ein Weltbild vor Columbus*, pp. 54–116; id., 'Gervasius von Tilbury und die Welfen'; H.-M. Schaller, 'Das geistige Leben am Hofe Kaiser Ottos IV. von Braunschweig', in id., *Stauferzeit: ausgewählte Aufsätze, MGH Schriften*, xxxviii (Hanover, 1993), 165–95, at pp. 188–94; id., 'Die Schrift auf der Ebstorfer Weltkarte', in *"In Treue und Hingabe": 800 Jahre Kloster Ebstorf*, ed. M. Elster and H. Hoffmann (Ebstorf, 1997), pp. 81–95; B.-U. Hucker, 'Zur Datierung der Ebstorfer Weltkarte', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, xliv (1988), 510–38, at pp. 526–9 (with reservations); id., *Otto IV.*, pp. 407–9.

[60] The evidence is summarized by K. Jaitner, 'Kloster Ebstorf und die Weltkarte', in *Ein Weltbild vor Columbus*, pp. 41–53, at 44–9.

[61] Schaller, 'Schrift'.

[62] The details of editions are given by Hucker, 'Datierung', p. 510, n. 2; for a conveniently accessible description and illustrations, see L. Bagrow and R. A. Skelton, *History of Cartography* (London, 1964), pp. 48–50 and Plates E, XXII and XXIII.

[63] Wolf, 'Gervasius von Tilbury und die Welfen', pp. 427–8; see also id., 'Ikonologie', pp. 99–103.

[64] Those who have argued against identity include Pauli, 'Gervasius von Tilbury'; Schulze, 'Gervasius von Tilbury'; R. Drögereit, 'Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte und Hildesheim', *Die Diözese Hildesheim*, xliv (1976), 9–44; H. Kugler, 'Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte: Ein europäisches Weltbild im deutschen Mittelalter', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, cxvi (1987), 1–29; Jaitner, 'Kloster Ebstorf'; id., 'Das Benediktinerinnenkloster Ebstorf im Mittelalter (ca. 1165–1550)', in *Das Benediktinerinnenkloster Ebstorf im Mittelalter*, pp. 1–25.

[65] Jaitner, 'Benediktinerinnenkloster Ebstorf', pp. 5–6 (though Jaitner does assume that Provost Gervase of Ebstorf was the same as the Welf notary Gervase).

[66] Ahlers, *Welfen*, pp. 262–3, gives the details of the embassies in 1221–3 and 1229–30; Schulze, 'Gervasius von Tilbury', pp. 241–2, dismisses the arguments of Uhden, 'Gervasius von Tilbury', pp. 193–5, that the Galfridus mentioned as legate in 1229 is really a cover-name for Gervase.

Though the theory of the identity of Gervase of Tilbury and Gervase of Ebstorf opens up an attractive possibility, it seems unlikely in the present state of knowledge: to accept it requires us to make too many improbable assumptions. It remains to consider the tantalizing statement by Ralph of Coggeshall that Gervase told him about his experience in Rheims 'afterwards, when he was a canon'.[71] It has been suggested that this was an English secular canonry which Gervase could have held for many years, concurrently with his duties, marital and otherwise, in Arles (and even in Ebstorf).[72] However, the phrase seems to imply that the canonry had effected a major change in Gervase's life, rather than being a minor office which he held among others. It is possible, therefore, that Gervase only told his story to Ralph in the third decade of the thirteenth century, and that Gervase

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[67] See e.g. Hucker, *Otto IV.*, p. 409; Schaller, 'Das geistige Leben', p. 190.

[68] e.g. *Otia*, i. 20, p. 116: 'ut infra in mappa mundi, decisione secunda, duce Deo trademus' ('as we shall relate below, under God's guidance, in the *mappa mundi* in Book II'). For the relationship between texts and maps see U. Ruberg, 'Mappae mundi des Mittelalters im Zusammenwirken von Text und Bild', in *Text und Bild: Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. C. Meier and U. Ruberg (Wiesbaden, 1980), pp. 550–92, esp. p. 564.

[69] *Otia*, ii. 25, p. 526.

[70] A summary of the variety of scholarly views may be found in Wolf, 'Ikonologie', pp. 55–7.

[71] 'postea, cum canonicus esset' (Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 122).

[72] See e.g. Duchesne, *Livre*, p. 4.

had by then entered a house of canons regular. But if so, there was only a short space of years in which Gervase could have spoken to Ralph and Ralph could in turn have written his account of their conversation: Ralph appears to have stopped writing *c.*1226, and to have been dead by 1228. The part of the *Chronicon Anglicanum* in which Gervase's story is presented was written for the most part in the second decade of the thirteenth century;[73] but the *Chronicon* as we have it was not composed as a continuous unified work,[74] and this episode could perhaps have been inserted later. The fact that Ralph uses the past tense ('esset') possibly implies that Gervase was dead by the time Ralph was writing.

Fresh evidence on this phase of Gervase's life has been provided by the discovery of a hitherto unknown text by him in Hereford Cathedral Library.[75] This manuscript contains a commentary on the Lord's Prayer by 'magister Geruasius Tilleberiensis', copied in an English hand of the early thirteenth century. It is addressed to the *collegium Massiliense*, probably the Premonstratensian canons who founded Notre-Dame de l'Huveaune in Marseilles in 1204.[76] In the opening paragraph of the commentary Gervase refers to the canons of Marseilles as his 'contribules' (lit. 'members of the same tribe'), and addresses them as 'brothers and cell-mates'. The most natural explanation of this vocabulary would seem to be that Gervase was himself a member of the Premonstratensian Order when he was writing. He may have been attached to the house in Marseilles, though that would make it hard to explain the presence of his work in a contemporary English manuscript; on the other hand, his meeting with Ralph of Coggeshall is more likely to have taken place in England, and the Premonstratensians had a house at Beeleigh in Essex, not very far from the Cistercian abbey of Coggeshall.[77] The fact that Gervase claims familiarity with Provençal ways shows that the commentary is unlikely to have been written before he settled in Provence in the 1190s.[78] If our identification of the *collegium Massiliense* with Notre-Dame de l'Huveaune is correct, the *terminus post quem* would be 1204, the year when the canons arrived in Marseilles. And if Gervase was indeed a Premonstratensian himself, he presumably only joined the Order subsequently to the death of his wife, the completion of the *Otia imperialia*, and the renunciation of his public duties in Arles in 1222 at the earliest. It seems plausible, therefore, to surmise that some time after his last appearance in Provence, in July 1222, Gervase entered a Premonstratensian house, possibly though not certainly in England, and that he died at most a few years later.

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[73] See J. Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme: l'histoire des Cathares* (Toulouse, 1979) (vol. ii of *La religion des Cathares*), p. 123.

[74] See A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974), p. 323.

[75] See below, pp. xcii–xcv.

[76] See N. Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratense* (Straubing, 1949–56), iii. 185–7. The church remained in the hands of the Premonstratensians until 1405, when it passed to the canonesses of St Augustine. The Augustinian canons did not arrive in Marseilles until *c.*1258 (*Gallia Christiana*, ed. D. de Sainte-Marthe *et al.* (Paris, 1716–1865), i. 629).

[77] This idea was first put forward by Richardson, 'Gervase of Tilbury', pp. 108–9: he suggested that Gervase became a regular canon in Essex, returning to the countryside where he had passed his childhood. On Beeleigh, see Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratense*, ii. 39–40; *VCH*, Essex, ii. 172–6.

The author of the *Otia* lives in its pages as a man who loved to travel, who thrived on the pomp and ceremony of life at the courts, but also associated readily with men and women of all classes of society, who had an avid curiosity, read all that he could lay his hands on, and found the world around him an infinite source of fascination and delight; on the other hand, whenever he speaks of religion, of the efficacy of Christian rites and prayers, of the role of the papacy, or the evils of heresy and anticlericalism, he is utterly serious; he was also imbued with a profound knowledge of the scriptures and of the liturgy and law of the Church. A man of genuine piety, with his wife dead and his *magnum opus* completed, Gervase might well have felt drawn to end his days as a White Canon.

II. THE *OTIA IMPERIALIA*

Date of composition, title, and structure

The *Otia imperialia* was written to provide instruction and entertainment for the emperor Otto IV in his leisure moments. Gervase outlines his purpose in the Preface, stating that since 'the best remedy for a weary nature is to delight in novelties and to enjoy variety, and since it is not fitting that such sacred ears should be fanned by the lying breath of players, I have decided to present something for your hearing to refresh you in the midst of your worldly cares.'[79] He

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[78] 'quia magni faciunt Prouinciales sibi morem seruari' ('since the Provençals set great store by the observance of this custom in their regard') (Appendix iii, pp. 902–3).

[79] *Otia*, Preface, pp. 12–15.

explains that the project had been conceived about thirty years earlier, when he had planned to write a book for Henry the Young King which 'was to contain a description, at least in brief, of the whole world, and its division into provinces, naming the greater and lesser sees. Then I intended to add the various marvels of each province. Their very existence is remarkable, and to hear of them should afford pleasure to a listener who is not already informed of them and is able to appreciate such things.'[80] In his Preface to Book III, Gervase reiterates that a collection of marvels had always been the main object of the work: 'our primary purpose is to present the marvels of every province to our discerning listener, in order that His Imperial Highness may have a source of refreshment for his thoughts when a clear interval of leisure is his.'[81]

We have no evidence as to whether Otto ever read the *Otia*, or rather, had it read to him, for this seems to be how Gervase envisaged the work being presented to him.[82] It seems that his appointment as marshal of Arles prompted Gervase to bring together the materials which he had been amassing over a period of about thirty years, in order to present the finished work to the emperor. It is clear that he was engaged in composing the work for several years.[83] A computation to the year 1211 in Book II suggests that he was writing in that year.[84] But the words: 'It happened in the year of our Lord 1211' in Book III were presumably written later.[85] His reference to Otto's hopes of inheriting the eastern empire by the right of succession of his 'Augusta' must date from after Otto's marriage to Beatrix in July 1212.[86] Gervase speaks of William the Lion, king of the Scots, as 'of blessed memory', and William died at Sterling on 4 December 1214.[87]

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[80] Ibid.

[81] *Otia*, iii. Preface, pp. 558–9.

[82] Note the reference to 'listening' in the previous paragraph. Silent reading was of course also well-attested in the medieval period; see P. Saenger, *Space Between Words: the Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, 1997).

[83] It has been argued—e.g. by Wolf, 'Gervasius von Tilbury und die Welfen', p. 423—that Gervase dictated his work, on the strength of such references as *Otia*, Preface, p. 14: 'libellum dictare'. The normal meaning of *dictare* in this period is 'to compose' rather than 'to dictate', but it is still possible that Gervase may have dictated his work in the sense in which we understand the word.

[84] *Otia*, ii. 15, pp. 360–1.

[85] *Otia*, iii. 103, pp. 760–1.

[86] *Otia*, ii. 18, pp. 452–3. Wolf, 'Gervasius von Tilbury und die Welfen', p. 418, suggests that this passage must have been written within the period of three weeks between the marriage and Beatrix's death, though arguably Otto might have retained Beatrix's claims even after that; but it was probably written before 19 May 1214, when Otto married Mary of Brabant (Hucker, *Otto IV.*, p. 353).

[87] *Otia*, iii. 84.

On the other hand he speaks of King John as still alive, and he died on 19 October 1216.[88] It seems most likely, then, that the work was sent to Otto sometime in 1215; by then, he was indeed in need of the solace and diversion which Gervase hoped to bring him.[89]

There is a letter of dedication, addressed to an intermediary, whom Gervase claims as a personal friend: Master John Mark, 'prepositus de Ildenesham [i.e. Hildesheim]'; but unfortunately this is no help in fixing the date of dedication. John Mark was a canon of Hildesheim and Verden in the early 1200s, went to Italy with Otto in 1209, and played a significant role in his chancery from 1212 onwards, during which time he normally appears as a provost of Verden or of Bardowick (i.e. he held a canonry at Verden and the provostship of Bardowick, it being common in German cathedrals for canonries to be combined with provostships of the smaller collegiate churches associated with the cathedral). He became provost of Hildesheim in 1228 and of Verden in 1232. Gervase's use of the title 'provost of Hildesheim' is presumably a reference to the provostship of Ölsburg, associated with Hildesheim; John is not recorded as holding this until 1219, but his predecessor is not mentioned after 1201.[90]

The author apparently continued to add to the work after its dedication to Otto. There exists a body of addenda,[91] consisting of thirty-one items clearly assembled by Gervase and in most manuscripts partially incorporated in the text. In one passage which was originally among the addenda, Gervase speaks of Raymond VI, count of Toulouse, as having lost his power; this was probably written between 1215 and 1217, when Raymond's countship had been awarded to Simon de Montfort.[92] Two manuscripts (*X* and *Q* in this edition), which incorporate more items of the addenda in the text than the others, evidently represent a late version of the work. An arithmetically-confused computation is inserted at the end of Book II in *X*, *Q*, and *Z*; the most plausible date for its insertion would seem to be 1219.[93] It seems likely that the text sent to the emperor was a fair copy of the version preserved in *N*: this manuscript appears to have served the author as a working copy,[94] and its version dominates the manuscript tradition, but it was

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[88] *Otia*, ii. 21, pp. 488–9.

[89] e.g. *Otia*, Preface, pp. 12–15; iii. Preface, pp. 558–9; iii. 84.

[90] Hucker, *Otto IV.*, pp. 421–2.

[91] See below, pp. lxvii and lxxxiii–v, and Appendix i.

[92] See *Otia*, iii. 103, n. 46.

[93] See Appendix ii. 3; Caldwell, 'Addenda', pp. 123–5.

[94] See below, pp. lxxix–lxxxii.

apparently put aside after the dedication of the work to Otto, and never received the subsequent changes and additions which Gervase made to the work.

The work appears from the outset to have carried the title by which it is generally known: *Otia imperialia* ('Recreation for an Emperor'), though in two of the manuscripts (*C* and *CM*) the work is given the alternative title of *Solacium imperatoris* ('An Emperor's Consolation'). The statement by Schaller that the correct title is *Liber de mirabilibus mundi, qui alias solacium imperatoris nominatur* and that the title *Otia imperialia* is late medieval appears to reverse the actual state of affairs.[95]

The work is divided into three books, which Gervase calls *decisiones*.[96] Book I contains an account of the creation and early history of the world, presented for the most part in the traditional form of a commentary on Genesis. The first part of Book II is occupied with a description of the different parts of the world (*mappa mundi*), and an enumeration of its provinces. There follow chronicles of its peoples, and the book concludes with miscellaneous chapters, including a description of the Holy Land, another enumeration of the world's provinces, and an account of the six ages of the world. These first two books are interspersed with personal comment, anecdotes, and marvels. Book III is entirely devoted to a collection of marvels.

The *Otia imperialia* cannot be assigned exclusively to any one genre. It ranks as an encyclopaedia in the scope of its cosmographical, geographical, and historical interest: Gervase is presenting to Otto everything an emperor ought to know about the world.[97] He is also telling him what sort of emperor he ought to be, and this gives the work a place among the Mirrors of Princes.[98] Finally the *Otia*, particularly Book III, bears close affinities with the story-books which began to be written in the twelfth century, and constitutes an important source of medieval folklore.[99] Each of these aspects of the work will be examined in turn.

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[95] Schaller, 'Das geistige Leben', p. 188.

[96] For a similar use of the word, see Cassiodorus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, i. 1 (*PL* lxix. 883). It was a common legal term (see Du Cange, s.v.).

[97] On medieval encyclopaedias, see e.g. R. Collison, *Encyclopaedias* (2nd edn. London, 1966), pp. 44–81; M. T. Beonio-Brochhieri Fumagalli, *Le enciclopedie dell'occidente medioevale* (Turin, 1981); A.-D. von den Brincken, *Fines Terrae: Die Enden der Erde und der vierte Kontinent auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten* (Hanover, 1992), pp. 77–97.

[98] See G. Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte der älteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel*, Leipziger Semitische Studien (Leipzig, 1932); A. Werminghoff 'Die Fürstenspiegel der Karolingerzeit', *Historische Zeitschrift*, Neue Folge liii (1902), 193–214; W. Berges, *Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, Schriften des Reichsinstituts für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde (Leipzig, 1938); W. Ullmann, *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 225–266.

'A description of the whole world'

As an encyclopaedia, the *Otia* stands between Honorius Augustodunensis' *De imagine mundi*,[100] and the *Speculum maius* of Vincent of Beauvais.[101] The former work, written between 1110 and 1139, deals mainly with cosmography, geography, and astronomy, and ends with a brief summary of world history; the latter, completed in 1244, is the greatest of medieval encyclopaedias, and embraces the sum of medieval knowledge.

The encyclopaedic material is for the most part traditional. Gervase was extremely widely-read, and drew on a vast array of literary sources. For the cosmography and biblical history in Book I, he borrowed extensively from Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*,[102] as well as Honorius' *De imagine mundi.* The geographical section in

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[99] See Shepherd, 'The emancipation of story', pp. 44–57, and on *exempla* and stories, below, n. 189.

[100] *PL* clxxii. 115–88; for a modern edition and study, see V. I. J. Flint, 'Honorius Augustodunensis: Imago mundi', *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age*, xlix (1982), 7–153, and also ead., 'World history in the early twelfth century: the *Imago Mundi* of Honorius Augustodunensis' in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. R. H. C. Davis *et al.* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 211–38. On Gervase's use of the text see O. Doberentz, 'Die Erd- und Völkerkunde in der Weltchronik des Rudolf von Hohenems', *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie*, xii (1881), 387–454, at pp. 412–19 ('Benutzung der Imago Mundi in den Otia imperialia des Gervasius Tilberiensis').

[101] There is no modern edition of this massive work; the most recent edition was printed in Douai in 1624. A new one is being prepared by an international team; see A.-D. von den Brincken, 'Geschichtsbetrachtung bei Vincenz von Beauvais: Die Apologia Actoris zum Speculum Maius', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, xxxiv (1978), 410–99; J. Schneider, 'Vincent de Beauvais: Orientation bibliographique', *Spicae: Cahiers de l'Atelier Vincent de Beauvais*, i (1978), 6–30; M. Paulmier-Foucart, 'L'Atelier Vincent de Beauvais: Recherches sur l'état des connaissances au Moyen Age d'après une encyclopédie du XIII^{e} siècle', *Le Moyen Age*, lxxxv (1979), 87–99; M. Paulmier-Foucart and S. Lusignan, 'Vincent de Beauvais et l'histoire du *Speculum Maius*', *Journal des savants* (1990), 97–124.

[102] Indeed this work, written 1169–73 by the chancellor of Notre Dame in Paris, served Gervase as a major source for all three books of the *Otia*. The author is generally believed to have been nicknamed *Comestor* ('the Eater') because of the vast quantity of books which he devoured. It has been suggested that 'Comestor' was actually a family name in twelfth-century Champagne (S. R. Daly, 'Petrus Comestor: Master of Histories', *Speculum*, xxxii (1957), 62–73, at p. 63), but the traditional view seems to be supported by the fact that he is also sometimes referred to as *Manducator* ('the Chewer'); this is the name given him by Gervase in his only explicit reference to him in the text of the *Otia* (iii. 103, p. 766).

the first part of Book II is derived largely from the *Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII* of Paulus Orosius and the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville, along with further borrowings from Honorius; he also obtained a list of bishoprics from the papal archives.[103] Jerome's translation of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Chronica,* together with Orosius and the Comestor, provided him with most of his information on early history, and also with the harmonizing framework in which he presents it, combining the history of the different nations into a single narrative. For his chapters on later history he enlisted Paul the Deacon, Fredegar, the anonymous *Chronicon Moissiacense,* and Geoffrey of Monmouth. He also shows himself familiar with the works of a great many other authors, ranging from Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Augustine, Sidonius Apollinaris, Gregory the Great, and Bede, to Julius Valerius, Eucherius of Lyons, Pseudo-Abdias, Pseudo-Methodius, Theodosius the Deacon, Gregory of Tours, Rabanus Maurus, Claudius of Turin, Walafrid Strabo, Bernard Sylvester, Fretellus, Pseudo-Turpin, Pseudo-Marcella, and Hugh of Fleury. Through intermediate sources if not directly he was acquainted with Plato, Aristotle, Lucretius, Sallust, Horace, Pliny the Elder, Juvenal, Solinus, and Claudian. He had read Latin translations of Josephus, Athanasius, Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, and various aprocryphal works. He knew the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem,* and the *Mirabilia urbis Romae.* Besides all these and more, the Bible and the liturgy played an essential part in forming his thought and literary imagination; there are also scattered references to canon and Roman law.

The *Otia* is a literary compilation, not a scientific treatise: Gervase was aiming to present the common fund of knowledge in an accessible and appealing form, rather than to extend its boundaries. For the most part, therefore, he restates received opinions; in fact he often copies word for word from other texts. He shows great respect for the written word, with little awareness of cultural change: he pillages classical, patristic, and medieval authors alike, apparently oblivious to the fact that some were more reputable than others. When one of his sources differs from another, his preferred solution is to use both, often inserting a phrase such as 'sed alii dicunt . . .', or 'uel, ut aiunt . . .'.[104] Sometimes he garbles a source, reproduces scribal corruptions, or creates confusion as a result of trying to combine more than one text;[105] but on the whole his presentation of the material is quite clear and orderly. He is adept at selecting what suits his purpose, and often supplies a neat classical or biblical tag. The encyclopaedic part of the work provides an overview of the kind of ideas an educated person of his day might have about the world, and suggests the range of books which might pass through the hands of such an insatiable reader.

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[103] Below, p. xlvi.

[104] e.g. *Otia*, i. 12, pp. 76–9, where he gives different explanations as to how rain is produced. On a larger scale, as well as reproducing the lists of provinces of the

However, Gervase is not always content simply to re-present traditional information: there are also signs of a more critical, experimental approach to knowledge. One manifestation of this is his interest in marvels, as phenomena on the frontiers of the human understanding of the world. He sometimes uses marvels to confirm and illustrate material he has drawn from the encyclopaedic tradition. Thus he corroborates the biblical notion of the waters above the firmament with the evidence of two stories 'proving' that there is a sea above the sky.[106] He often adds material from his own observation or from current lore. For instance, he describes various phenomena caused by the moon's changes, including strong swells and high tides, 'as can be seen quite clearly in the British Sea';[107] later in the same chapter he discusses the effect of the sun on the body's humours; he illustrates the Comestor's account of how water and air change into each other with the examples of steam and rain;[108] he adds the spider's web to the Comestor's mention of the work of ants as an object of wonder;[109] he digresses when speaking of dew to report experiments which demonstrate that dew rises from the earth, and then to recount folk customs relating to dew;[110] he provides a recipe for sweetening sea-water which he describes as 'seafarers' lore'.[111]

There is also much that is new and unusual in the geographical sections of the *Otia*. The work occupies an important place in the history of medieval geography, containing as it does 'the most profound of all Latin chorographies up to that time.'[112] Geographical study was stimulated by the expansion of Europe and the development of travel in the twelfth century.[113] Gervase himself had travelled widely, and at times supplements his sources with additional information drawn from his personal knowledge. For instance, his account of Poland and Russia suggests that he had either visited the region himself, or had talked to Polish travellers.[114] And although he reproduces traditional references to the 'island' of Scandinavia,[115] he also displays non-traditional knowledge in his description of Norway as lying beyond Denmark, across the sea from Russia.[116]

There are many passages of geographical interest in the *Otia* besides the chapters specifically devoted to the *mappa mundi*. For instance, Gervase interrupts his account of the early history of Britain with a description of the city of London, its environs, and its people, contrasting its enduring splendour with the vicissitudes suffered by the city of Rome.[117] As well as explaining in his description of western Europe how his adopted city of Arles came to be, as he claims, the foremost Christian city of Gaul,[118] he conjures up in other chapters the mysterious depths of the Rhône near the north gate, the famous cemetery of Les Aliscamps, and the walls and turrets beloved of storks.[119] The Camargue, too, with its rich resources and famous church, is described in the same chapter of Book II,[120] but also features among the marvels of Book III, first by virtue of its remarkable salt deposits, and later to serve as the basis for a theory as to why it is impossible to sail round the world.[121] Many of the marvels in Book III are essentially descriptions of natural features: we learn of the mud of Le Thor, the rocking stone of Annot, the wind of St Caesarius, the boggy mountains of Wales, and diverse springs, lakes, mountains, rocks, meadows, plants, and animals.[122] These accounts are mostly based on oral testimony, sometimes confirmed by personal observation. This readiness to introduce material from local traditions and oral culture represents a significant renewal of the medieval geographical tradition.

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contemporary Roman Church in the earlier part of Book II, he also lists the provinces of the later Roman empire, drawing on the *laterculus* of Polemius Silvius, in *Otia*, ii. 25. He acknowledges the many divergences between the lists, but explains that he had taken them from different sources, on the grounds that the more different sources are employed, the more truth there is likely to be in the overall picture.

[105] See e.g. *Otia*, i. 20, n. 97; ii. 2, n. 3; ii. 3, n. 10; ii. 4, n. 52; ii. 8, n. 4; ii. 11, n. 11; ii. 15, n. 68.

[106] *Otia*, i. 13.

[107] *Otia*, i. 5, pp. 42–3.

[108] *Otia*, i. 7, n. 1.

[109] *Otia*, i. 8, pp. 56–7.

[110] *Otia*, i. 12.

[111] *Otia*, i. 13, pp. 80–1.

[112] Strzelczyk, *Gerwazy*, p. 278.

[113] See H. C. Krueger, 'Economic aspects of expanding Europe' in *Twelfth-century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society*, ed. M. Clagett, G. Post, and R. Reynolds (Madison, 1961), pp. 59–76. On medieval geography in general, see Wright, *Geographical Lore*, and most recently von den Brincken, *Fines Terrae*, with extensive bibliography.

[114] See *Otia*, ii. 7, pp. 244–7; see Strzelczyk, 'Prozeß der Aktualisierung'.

[115] e.g. *Otia*, ii. 7, at n. 10; ii. 16, at n. 17.

[116] See *Otia*, ii. 7, n. 33.

[117] *Otia*, ii. 17, pp. 398–403.

[118] *Otia*, ii. 10, pp. 296–7.

[119] *Otia*, iii. 85, 90, and 97.

[120] *Otia*, ii. 10, pp. 294–5.

[121] *Otia*, iii. 2 and 40.

[122] *Otia*, iii. 19, 22, 34, 82, etc.

Gervase also reflects on the character and customs of different peoples. He remarks, for instance, that the province of Narbonne no longer deserves the appellation 'Gallia Togata', since its people follow the modern fashion of wearing very tight clothes.[123] He deplores the survival of pagan customs in Ireland and Scotland up to the arrival of Anglo-Norman settlers, praising by way of contrast the 'more refined' manner of life on the Isle of Man.[124] He reproduces Isidore of Seville's comment on how climate affects character;[125] later he applies the notion to the people of Provence, asserting that because of the strong winds of the region, 'windy people are born there, who are empty-headed, inconstant, and extremely unreliable in their promises.'[126] He goes on to demonstrate the strategic strength of the kingdom of Arles and its great human and natural resources, and to castigate Otto for his neglect of the region.[127]

A notable feature of Gervase's geographical compilation is his inclusion of a list of the bishoprics of the Roman Church. He acquired this, he tells us, from the papal archives.[128] He appends the relevant sections of this list to his descriptions of the various parts of the world.[129] His source was clearly a version of the *Provinciale Romanum*, a document compiled in the early thirteenth century for the use of the papal office;[130] this in turn was based on the *Liber Censuum*,[131] completed in 1192 by Cardinal Cencius, later Pope Honorius III. If, as seems possible, Gervase was in Rome for Otto's coronation in 1209,[132] he may have obtained a copy of the *Provinciale* then. His version certainly cannot date from earlier than 1204, since it includes Bulgaria, which only became a Roman province in that year.[133] The *Provinciale* itself has not been preserved in its original form, but only with later interpolations; Gervase's version, which has remained unaltered, therefore forms a valuable resource.

The historical sections of the work likewise possess an interest of their own, and show clearly how the lively consciousness of the heritage of the past which prevailed at the time, in clerical and lay circles alike, both shaped and was shaped by the present. The idea of the four empires occupies a central place, the last of the four being the Roman, which was to continue until the end of the world. This sense of continuity is everywhere apparent. Fact and fiction are blended into a narrative that serves the needs and preoccupations of the moment. While Gervase's chapters on early history are largely derivative, he draws on his own knowledge and experience for his account of more recent events. He had met many of the most powerful figures in Europe, and he gives us compelling glimpses of the great movements of his era: the crusades, heresy, anticlericalism, and of course the struggle between the ecclesiastical and secular powers, which forms the main burden of his exhortations to Otto.[134]

His narrative is naturally coloured by his personal opinions. Thus he commends Otto's great-grandfather, Lothar III, for having shown himself 'loyal and innocent in relation to the Roman Church'. He was evidently much gratified to witness Frederick Barbarossa's humble submission to Alexander III at the Council of Venice in 1177, whereby the schism which Frederick had set up in 1159 was finally resolved. The championing of Christendom against the Arabs, whether in Europe or in the Holy Land, earns his heartfelt approval—though there is a hint of irony in his remark that Damascus bears witness to the young Barbarossa's military prowess: the attempt to take Damascus in the Second Crusade was an unalloyed failure. He regards Henry VI's imprisonment and holding to ransom of Richard the Lionheart, 'who was not so much the king of England as the defender of the Christian faith', as 'hardly to his credit'.[135]

Indeed, Gervase's own background combined with the family connections of his patron to foster a marked partiality for the Plantagenets. In the chapter on the kings of England from the time of the Norman Conquest he preserves traditions (concerning, for instance, the relations between Harold and William, or the circumstances of the empress Matilda's marriage to Geoffrey of Anjou) which do not necessarily accord with the facts, but may reflect court gossip or propaganda of the time. His close association with this great dynasty emerges in his knowledge of the grounds of Eleanor's divorce from Louis of France, his awareness of the brief existence of

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[123] *Otia* ii. 10, pp. 298–9.

[124] Ibid., pp. 308–11.

[125] *Otia*, ii. 10, n. 6; Isid. *Etym.* ix. 2. 105.

[126] *Otia*, ii. 12, pp. 338–9.

[127] Ibid., pp. 338–41; cf. above, p. xxxi.

[128] See e.g. *Otia*, ii. 4, pp. 218–19.

[129] See *Otia*, ii. 4, 8, 9, 10, and 12.

[130] ed. A. J. Weidenbach, *Calendarium historico-christianum medii et novi aevi . . . nebst einem Verzeichnis der Cardinalstitel und bischöflichen Sitze der katholischen Kirche im 13ten Jahrhundert* (Regensburg, 1855), pp. 264–84.

[131] *Liber Censuum*, ed. P. Fabre and L. Duchesne (Paris, 1910), pp. 3–240.

[132] See above, p. xxxi.

[133] *Otia*, ii. 9, pp. 272–3; cf. Kętrzynski, 'Ze Studyów', p. 187.

[134] See below, pp. l–lv.

[135] For these citations see *Otia* ii. 19, pp. 458–61 and 464–5.

Henry II's first-born son, William, and above all in his warm personal tribute to Henry the Young King.[136]

Besides upholding the power of the Church with regard to the empire, Gervase is also a passionate advocate of orthodoxy and the sacramental life of the Church in troubled times. He interrupts his account of creation to devote a whole chapter to a vehement attack on the Albigensian heresy,[137] and he is unable to mention the counts of Toulouse without lamenting Raymond VI's association with the heretics.[138] Among the marvels of Book III he includes stories which enable him to demonstrate the power of priests exercised through the sacraments: a demon is exposed and vanquished,[139] a vow is remitted,[140] a loaf of bread subjected to excommunication rots, and is then miraculously restored again.[141] This power is exercised by virtue of the priestly office, regardless of the individual's merits or demerits.[142] Gervase also shows us the doctrine of purgatory taking shape,[143] and repeatedly affirms the efficacy of masses and prayers for the dead.[144]

In his 'description of the whole world', therefore, Gervase puts before us not only a compendium of the traditional material which rolled like a snowball down through the Middle Ages, but also a picture of the Europe of his day which is remarkable for its breadth of interest and personal colour.

'A comparison of the priestly and kingly powers'

A long series of works was produced in the Middle Ages discoursing on the role and responsibilities of princes. They form a branch of the *speculum* genre: works which, in a tradition going back to Augustine, were intended to 'mirror' both the way things were and the way they ought to be.[145] The Mirrors of Princes range from offering personal advice to particular rulers to propounding an abstract theory of kingship—though even the most theoretical works remain closely linked with the situation being addressed.[146] Both these elements are present in the *Otia*.

Although Gervase was not attempting a comprehensive treatise on the art of government, a number of passages scattered through the book make it a significant representative of the genre. His main concern is the proper relationship between kingship and priesthood, and specifically between empire and papacy. From the time of Pope Gregory VII (1073–85) onwards there had been significant shifts in the way in which these relationships were conceived, in particular by canon lawyers such as Gervase. The study of canon law had been placed on a new footing by Gratian, who had compiled a systematic collection of canon law known as the *Decretum*, published in final form shortly after the Second Lateran Council of 1139. Canon lawyers working at Bologna, Paris, and elsewhere, took this as the basis of commentaries on difficult points of law, and in addition the popes themselves produced a series of authoritative pronouncements on canon law in the form of judgments on specific cases, known as decretals; these too were collected and commented on by canonists.[147]

Twelfth-century secular rulers continued in most parts of Europe to take office by coronation and unction by clerics, but they were no longer able to regard themselves as ruling untrammelled over Christian society in their capacity as God's anointed; in ecclesiastical matters they were increasingly subject to papal and episcopal authority. The rulers of Germany faced particular difficulties, since they ruled also over Italy, and in addition expected to receive imperial coronation at the hands of the pope. However, not only did their rule in Italy potentially and actually conflict with the temporal rights of the popes, who had claims to temporal power and rule over substantial parts of central and southern Italy, some of which clashed with those of the emperors;[148] it was increasingly a matter for dispute amongst canonists whether they could claim imperial coronation as of right, or whether as emperors they were officials created by the pope for his purposes, and so were subject to papal examination of their candidacy.[149] Henry VI, a member of the Staufer dynasty which ruled from 1138 onwards, had in addition been concerned to secure hereditary succession for the kingship, rather than the principle of election by the princes which had come to prevail by the mid-twelfth century.[150]

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[136] See *Otia* ii. 21, pp. 474–7 and 482–7.

[137] *Otia*, i. 2.

[138] *Otia*, ii. 21, at nn. 43 and 59; iii. 103, at n. 46.

[139] *Otia*, iii. 57.

[140] *Otia*, iii. 103, pp. 784–5.

[141] Ibid., pp. 788–9.

[142] *Otia*, iii. 57, pp. 664–5.

[143] See especially *Otia*, iii. 103.

[144] e.g. *Otia*, i. 20, pp. 114–15; iii. 17; iii. 103, pp. 762–3, 766–7, and 776–7.

[145] See R. Bradley, 'Backgrounds of the title *Speculum* in mediaeval literature', *Speculum*, xxix (1954), 100–15, and E. Már Jonsson, 'Le sens du titre Speculum aux XII^{e} et XIII^{e} siècles et son utilisation par Vincent de Beauvais', in *Vincent de Beauvais: intentions et réceptions d'une oeuvre encyclopédique au moyen âge* (Montreal, 1990), pp. 11–32.

[146] See above, n. 98, for recent scholarship on mirrors for princes.

[147] On these developments see, besides the works cited in the following notes, the important collection *Sacerdozio e regno da Gregorio VII a Bonifazio VIII* (Rome, 1954); F. Kempf, *Papsttum und Kaisertum bei Innocenz III.* (Rome, 1954); and I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 295–321. The development of canon law is conveniently accessed through J. A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (London, 1995).

[148] Robinson, *The Papacy*, pp. 3–33, 398–524.

All these issues came to a head after the death of Henry VI in 1197, when, as we have seen, there was a disputed election in Germany, with three claimants: Henry VI's brother Philip of Swabia; his young son Frederick II, king of Sicily and a papal ward; and Otto IV, Gervase's patron. Innocent III, elected pope in 1198, insisted on his right to choose between the candidates in a series of memoranda and letters, which has been preserved in a special papal register, the *Regestum super negotio imperii*.[151] Innocent claimed that the empire belonged to the papacy both in its origins and in its purpose (*principaliter et finaliter*): in its origins, because the papacy had 'translated' the empire from the Greeks to the Franks; in its end, because the emperor received the imperial crown from the pope.[152] He decided to confirm Otto's election, hoping that he would prove a loyal supporter of the papacy as his ancestors had done: 'Otto is himself devoted to the Church and comes of devout people on either side, on his mother's from the house of the Kings of England, and on his father's of the family of the Dukes of Saxony, who were all loyal to the Church—especially his great-grandfather the Emperor Lothar, who twice entered Apulia for the honour of the Apostolic See and died obedient to the church of Rome.'[153]

In March 1201 Innocent proclaimed Otto as king of the Romans and emperor elect; in June at Neuss, near Dusseldorf, Otto swore not

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[149] On this question there is an extensive literature: see B. Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State, 1050–1300* (Engelwood Cliffs, NJ, 1964), pp. 116–38; W. Ullmann, 'Reflections on the Medieval Empire', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, xiv (1964), 89–108; D. Unverhau, *Approbatio—Reprobatio: Studien zum päpstlichen Mitspracherecht bei Kaiserkrönung und Königswahl vom Investiturstreit bis zum ersten Prozeß Johannes' XXII. gegen Ludwig IV.* (Lübeck, 1973), with extensive bibliography; B. Schimmelpfennig, *Könige und Fürsten, Kaiser und Papst nach dem Wormser Konkordat* (Munich, 1997).

[150] See U. Schmidt, *Königswahl und Thronfolge im 12. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, 1987), pp. 195–260.

[151] *Regestum Innocentii III papae super negotio Romani imperii*, ed. F. Kempf, Miscellanea historiae pontificiae, xii (Rome, 1947), henceforth cited as *RNI*. Some of the most important documents cited in what follows are translated by B. Pullan, *Sources for the History of Medieval Europe from the Mid-Eighth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 191–206.

[152] 'Deliberatio domini pape Innocentii super facto imperii de tribus electis', *RNI*, no. 29, pp. 74–91, at p. 75; transl. Pullan, p. 194.

[153] Ibid., p. 90; transl. Pullan, p. 200; cf. *Otia*, ii. 19, pp. 466–71.

to dispute the pope's claim to large territories in central Italy and to the kingdom of Sicily. This provoked an indignant letter to Innocent from the electors who had chosen Philip. On 26 March 1202 Innocent responded with the letter 'Venerabilem', in which he acknowledged that the princes had the right (originally granted to them by the Apostolic See) to elect a king who might subsequently be promoted to be emperor, but reserved to the papacy the right to examine the person chosen to be so promoted: 'For it is a regular and general convention that the man concerned with the laying-on of hands is also responsible for the examination of the person. For supposing the princes, even in full agreement (let alone in discord), elected to be King an excommunicate, a sacrilegist, a tyrant, an idiot, a heretic or a heathen, should we be obliged to anoint, consecrate and crown a man of that nature? God forbid such a thing!'[154]

Innocent's ability to impose these views in practice was much more limited, as we have seen; he had been on the point of accepting Philip as emperor when the latter was assassinated; he was unable to control Otto once elected, and could counteract him only by supporting the election of Frederick II as king, something he had previously sought to avoid because of the dangers inherent in a single ruler's holding both the empire and the kingdom of Sicily. Nevertheless, his views (which were not very different from those held by many canonists) were reflected in Gervase's treatment of these topics.

Gervase's most comprehensive treatment of the relationship between empire and papacy is found in the Preface to the *Otia imperialia*. His viewpoint is essentially hierocratic, but here he comes closest to putting the two powers on an equal footing. This Preface was probably composed soon after Otto's coronation in 1209, when it seemed that a new era of peaceful co-operation had been inaugurated. With its grand and solemn tone, it serves as a kind of triumphal fanfare at the start of the work. The world, Gervase says, developing a dictum of Pope Gelasius I much discussed by canon lawyers, is governed by two powers, the priestly and the kingly: they have different roles and spheres of action, but both are executors of divine law. The king governs earthly affairs and the bodily life of the people, while the priest is concerned with heavenly matters and the life of the soul. The author then sounds a warning note: 'But the kingly power should know itself to be set alongside, not over, the priestly; to be its adjutant, not its commander; given to be of practical help, not exalted to exercise domination.' The relation of the powers is comparable to that which exists between body and soul: although the body is formed first, it is ruled by the soul; in the same way, although Belus and Ninus were kings before the time of Aaron, 'the precedence is one of age, not dignity.'[155] Both priest and king are anointed with oil, but in the anointing of kings the oil runs down upon the shoulder, 'that they may have the strength to bear the burden of the defence of justice'; in the priestly anointing, on the other hand, the oil remains upon the head, because 'it belongs to the rod of uprightness.'[156] Here in turn there is a warning for the Church: it belongs to the priestly anointing to love justice and hate iniquity, and not to amass wealth in violation of the equity inherent in natural law.

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[154] *RNI*, no. 62, pp. 166–75, at p. 169; transl. Pullan, p. 204.

Gervase asserts that although the king receives his office at the hand of the priest, 'each actually receives his power from him who is lord of both.' It is true that the kingly power had its beginning by divine sufferance and not by divine ordinance; for it originated in violence and oppression.[157] Nevertheless, both powers were instituted by the Lord. It was the emperor Constantine who transferred his God-given power over the western empire to the papacy; the papacy therefore owes to the emperor in Constantinople its right to confer temporal power in the west.[158] God, the author and protector of both priesthood and kingship, united the two powers in the person of Christ, 'removing the rivalry from equality and the grievance from inequality'. Christ taught that among his followers there should be no argument concerning honour or greatness. In the case of the priesthood, the pope holds the plenitude of power and transfers a portion of responsibility to others;[159] but in the case of temporal rulers, their

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[155] A metaphor first clearly brought into play in this context by Cardinal Humbert in the eleventh century: see W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn. (London, 1970), p. 267.

[156] On this difference see Ullmann, *Growth of Papal Government*, p. 227.

[157] The Augustinian view that the kingship was a concession to human sinfulness was first brought into sharp focus in the Carolingian era: see W. Ullmann, *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 238.

[158] *Otia*, Preface, n. 36; on the discussion of the Donation of Constantine by Innocent III and Gervase see G. Laehr, *Die konstantinische Schenkung in der abendländischen Literatur des Mittelalters bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1925), pp. 73–81, who notes (pp. 76–8) that Gervase here trembles on the brink of a radical interpretation of the Donation, but draws back.

[159] Gervase, like Innocent himself, uses the term 'plenitudo potestatis' to describe only the pope's authority within the Church, never to suggest an abstract political supremacy. On the formula see J. Rivière, 'In partem sollicitudinis: évolution d'une formule pontificale', *Revue des sciences religieuses*, v (1925), 210–31.

power has been diminished by conflict and division. Earthly power will turn to dust and ashes; the spiritual power of the Church militant will likewise come to an end, but will be subsumed into the Church triumphant.

As a canon lawyer, Gervase is inclined to subordinate *regnum* to *sacerdotium*. He holds the claims of the two powers in tension, seeing both of them as directly God-given and equally necessary for the well-being of the people. Time and again he urges Otto to seek a relationship of harmonious complementarity with the papacy. But on several major issues Gervase shows himself in accord with the views advanced by Innocent III. As we have seen, Innocent upheld the principle of free election; Gervase likewise points to the dangers presented by hereditary succession.[160] Innocent's claim that the papacy had the right to accept or reject a candidate elected by the German princes is also repeatedly affirmed by Gervase.[161]

Gervase echoes the arguments by which Innocent had sought to demonstrate the authority of the papacy over the empire: he shows that the restoration of the western empire in the time of Charlemagne came as a gift from the pope, and that the emperor receives his authority from the pope, since it is the pope who consecrates him.[162] However, Gervase is not uncritical of this state of affairs. 'The emperor is elected by the princes of Alemannia, but the pope confirms the election and consecrates the emperor; so, as a result of this strange separation, the emperor's title proclaims his authority, while his consecration belies that authority: for he does not actually receive the imperial insignia, which the pope retains as having been conferred only on him.'[163] He remarks that the power of the emperor in Constantinople comes directly from God, while the pope derives his temporal authority over the west only from the emperor of the east, as a result of the Donation of Constantine;[164] and he questions whether it was in fact lawful for Constantine to transfer imperial authority to the pope, or for the pope, having received it, to pass it on to another.[165] By so doing he had caused confusion in the empire, 'for with two people holding the same title, division reduces their power.' As we have seen, he expresses the hope that Otto will reunite the empire by inheriting rule over the east by right of his wife's inheritance.[166]

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[160] *Otia*, i. 20, pp. 125–6; see also ii. 19, pp. 466–7. On the other hand, Gervase was by no means indifferent to the importance of a good pedigree; he is at pains to point out Otto's impeccable ancestry, thereby confirming his right to the empire, and he glorifies him with the Trojan origins which constituted the greatest mark of distinction for a medieval monarch; see e.g. *Otia*, ii. 16, pp. 396–7.

[161] e.g. *Otia*, ii. 19, pp. 470–1.

[162] *Otia*, ii. 18, pp. 450–1 and 19, pp. 468–71. Goez, *Translatio*, p. 137, notes that Gervase does not speak here of a 'translation' but of a division, since there had been a legitimate eastern Latin empire since 1204, whose existence was incompatible with the idea of a *translatio imperii*; see also pp. 201–2 for the adoption of this view from Gervase by Vincent of Beauvais.

[163] *Otia*, ii. 18, pp. 450–1.

[164] See *Otia*, Preface at n. 36; ii. 18, pp. 450–3. This was not a normal canonistic argument; see Goez, *Translatio*, pp. 137, 201.

Gervase laments the unhappy state Rome has been reduced to as a result of being subject to both a pope and an emperor.[167] He acknowledges that injustice is to be found in the workings of the papacy; for instance, when speaking of the unequal distribution of bishoprics in England, he applies to the papacy the line of Ovid, 'Ludit in humanis Romana potentia rebus', and says that instead of doing the will of the Most High, 'the papacy with its plenitude of power casts down many deserving men, and raises up the undeserving in their place.'[168] He also admits that the Church's ministers are not always worthy of their calling.[169] He asserts that the commands of a spiritual ruler, just as much as those of a temporal one, must be subjected to careful discrimination.[170]

Nevertheless, Gervase insists that since Otto owes his sovereignty over the west to the pope, he must show him due gratitude and obedience: 'Would that you would show yourself innocent to Innocent, and give proof of the sincerity which I presume to exist in you in relation to your consecrator in deeds of filial devotion! For you could never be justified in offending him, nor could you ever worthily repay such a deserving benefactor.'[171] He refers obliquely to Otto's broken promises with regard to the Italian territories,[172] and speaks repeatedly of the seriousness of excommunication, and the virtue of repentance.[173] He reminds Otto that the Church's defence is entrusted to the emperor, and he urges him to protect its ministers from the rapacity of secular lords, promote instruction in the faith, and work for the eradication of heresy, favouring only people who show a proper devotion to the sacraments.[174] Throughout the work Gervase urges Otto to live up to the ideal of a Christian emperor, bringing his people peace, justice, and salvation.

Gervase sums up his attitude to the two powers in the course of an exposition of the virtues of obedience. He says that 'God wishes human beings to be subject one to another in a twofold scheme: to a lord after the flesh because they are flesh, and to a lord after the spirit because they are spirit.' Each has his own proper sphere, and neither should encroach on the rights of the other. Then there will be no conflict between the two: for 'they are united in Christ, they are in harmony in the Christian. You will find no discord on either side, if you safeguard the obedience that is owed to each.'[175]

'The marvels of every province'

To ease the burden of care which came to lie so heavily on his benefactor, Gervase presents an extraordinary collection of the world's marvels. This was, as he says,[176] his main purpose in writing. That it should have been so is a reflection of the new atmosphere which had invaded Latin literature in the twelfth century, and which manifests itself in a delight in story-telling, a fascination with miracles and marvels, and an attentiveness to the phenomena of this world.

Although a few collections of stories had been made before (such as the Aesopic fables, Valerius Maximus' *Memorabilia*, and the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great), they were exceptional, and as a general rule, 'collections of stories and indeed individual self-subsistent stories scarcely exist . . . in written form during the first millennium in the West.'[177] They were regarded as trivial and deceitful unless they served some didactic or illustrative purpose, and story-tellers were condemned as vicious purveyors of lies.[178] But in the course of the twelfth century story-telling gradually gained literary status, and an increasing anecdotalism is observable in the works of many authors who regarded themselves as respectable. The change is evident first in the monastic milieu,[179] in the conversation of Anselm,[180] and the writings of monastic historians such as William of Malmesbury and Orderic Vitalis. But it soon spread to the more secular atmosphere of the courts and schools, and was embraced by many of the authors who flourished in that environment, particularly by those writing in England.[181] Geoffrey of Monmouth incorporated a large amount of fiction and legend in his *Historia regum Britanniae*, and, however bitterly more sober historians complained about it,[182] the work immediately won enormous popularity. Gerald of Wales packed his voluminous writings with stories, as did his colleague at the court of Henry II, Walter Map, whose one surviving work, *De nugis curialium* ('Courtiers' Trifles'), reveals in its ironic title the ambiguous status of its subject-matter.[183]

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[165] *Otia*, ii. 18, pp. 452–3.

[166] Loc. cit.; see above, p. xxxix.

[167] *Otia*, ii. 16, pp. 394–5; cf. ii. 18, pp. 450–1.

[168] 'The power of Rome sports with human affairs' (Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iv. 3. 49); *Otia*, ii. 10, pp. 312–15.

[169] e.g. iii. 35, pp. 628–31; iii. 103, pp. 784–5. This does not, however, invalidate their ministry: see iii. 57, pp. 664–5.

[170] *Otia*, iii. 35, pp. 628–9.

[171] *Otia*, ii. 19, pp. 468–9.

[172] *Otia*, ii. 18, pp. 452–3; cf. also ii. 12, pp. 338–41, where Gervase rebukes Otto for attempting to rule where he had no rights, while neglecting Provence.

[173] See e.g. *Otia*, i. 16; i. 19; iii. 103, pp. 788–9.

[174] *Otia*, i. 20, pp. 126–7; i. 1, pp. 18–19; iii. 57, pp. 664–5.

[175] *Otia*, iii. 35.

[176] See above, pp. xxxviii–xxxix.

[177] Shepherd, 'The emancipation of story', p. 45.

[178] Ibid. 45–6; P. Dronke, *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism* (Leiden and Cologne, 1974), pp. 13–78.

[179] Shepherd, 'The emancipation of story', pp. 48–50.

[180] See R. W. Southern, *St Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 217–26.

Gervase is aware of a need to justify his use of stories. He assumes the traditional attitude towards 'the lying tongues of players or actors',[184] and asserts that his own stories are not 'the crude falsehoods of idle tales':[185] on the contrary, he is a reliable author, reporting only 'those things which are sanctioned by the authority of age, or confirmed by the authority of scripture, or attested by daily eye-witness accounts'.[186] His aim is partly didactic: some of the stories serve as *exempla* conveying explicitly moral lessons,[187] while others whose didactic nature is less obvious are nonetheless introduced with edifying remarks.[188] The work is therefore related to the great didactic collections of the later Middle Ages, such as the *Dialogus miraculorum* of Caesarius of Heisterbach, the *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry, or the early fourteenth-century *Gesta Romanorum*.[189]

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[181] e.g. Petrus Alfonsi, *Disciplina clericalis*, ed. (incomplete) A. Hilka and W. Søderhelm (Helsingfors, 1911); on this, and on Petrus, a converted Spanish Jew who flourished in the first third of the twelfth century, see C. Bremond and M. A. Polo De Beaulieu, 'Pierre Alphonse, *Disciplina clericalis*', in *Exempla médiévaux: introduction à la recherche, suivie des tables critiques de l'Index exemplorum de Frederic C. Tubach*, ed. J. Berlioz and M. A. Polo De Beaulieu (Carcassonne, 1992), pp. 85–7.

[182] See William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, i. Proemium.

[183] See Shepherd, 'The emancipation of story', pp. 53–55.

[184] *Otia*, Preface, pp. 14–15.

[185] *Otia*, iii. Preface.

[186] Ibid.

[187] e.g. the stories which demonstrate the evils of adultery (*Otia*, iii. 95–9); the efficacy of the sacraments (iii. 57 and iii. 103, pp. 784–9); the importance of prayer (i. 20, pp. 112–15 and iii. 24); or the virtue of hospitality (iii. 100).

[188] e.g. *Otia*, iii. 68, 84, and 101.

[189] C. Bremond, J. Le Goff, and J-C. Schmitt, *L'"Exemplum"*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, xl (Turnhout, 1982); P. von Moos, *Geschichte als Topik: das rhetorische Exemplum von der Antike zur Neuzeit und die historiae im "Policraticus" Johanns von Salisbury* (Hildesheim, 1988); A. Strubel, 'Exemple, fable, parabole: le récit bref figuré au Moyen Age', *Le Moyen Age*, xciv (1988), 341–6; C. Delcorno, *Exemplum e letteratura:*

However, the majority of the stories are presented simply for their own sake, without any suggestion as to their interpretation, and the author is happy to admit that his aim is as much to amuse as to edify. This is the point of departure for the great European tradition of story-literature.

An enjoyment of stories combined naturally with a love of the marvellous. Gregory the Great had demonstrated the potency of this combination in his *Dialogues*, one of the best-loved books of the Middle Ages, and well known to Gervase. Miracles and marvels had a ready audience throughout the Middle Ages, but in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries their literature abounded. The first collections of miracles of the Virgin were made in the twelfth century;[190] the Virgilian legends were written down;[191] and the crusades stimulated interest in the marvels of the east. Caesarius of Heisterbach produced his *Dialogus miraculorum* in the early thirteenth century, and saints' legends and marvels in general proliferated, both in Latin and in the vernaculars.[192]

In his Preface to Book III, Gervase considers the question of what constitutes a marvel. He comments that it is a natural human characteristic to be fascinated by all that is new, of recent occurrence, rare, or strange. He goes on to distinguish between miracles and marvels: 'Now we generally call those things miracles which, being preternatural, we ascribe to divine power, as when a virgin gives birth, when Lazarus is raised from the dead, or when diseased limbs are made whole again; while we call those things marvels which are beyond our comprehension, even though they are natural: in fact the inability to explain why a thing is so constitutes a marvel.'[193]

Tra medioevo e rinascimento (Bologna, 1989); *Exempla médiévaux* (n. 181 above); C. Delcorno, 'Nuovi studi sull'exemplum. Rassegna', *Lettere italiane*, xlvi (1994), 459–97.

[190] See R. W. Southern, 'The English origins of the miracles of the Virgin', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, iv (1958), 176–216; P. Carter, 'The historical content of William of Malmesbury's Miracles of the Virgin Mary', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. R. H. C. Davis *et al.* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 127–65.

[191] See *Otia*, iii. 10, n. 4.

[192] See M. D. Legge, 'La précocité de la littérature Anglo-Normande', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, viii (1965), 341; for further references, see C. W. Bynum, 'Wonder', *American Historical Review*, cii (1997), 1–26, esp. 10–14 and nn., and J. Le Goff, *L'Imaginaire médiévale* (Paris, 1985), pp. 17–37.

[193] *Otia*, iii. Preface: Gervase was not the first to define a marvel as something natural but unexplained; cf. William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, i. 28: 'Mira . . . dicimus, non tantum propter raritatem, sed quia occultam habent rationem.' It became a commonplace to distinguish between miracles and marvels on these lines; Gervase, however, is remarkable for the 'scientific' approach he adopts towards marvels; see J. Le

This definition shows how the fascination with marvels was related to the new attentiveness to the external world which manifests itself in the twelfth century, as 'a certain existential naturalism' began to make itself felt in medieval culture.[194] A fresh perception of the challenging reality of the visible world emerged in both literature and art, becoming the life-force of a growing secularity. This perception prompted some early movements towards empiricism. For instance, a few travel records and topographical works based on empirical observation were written;[195] a delight in drawing from life began to find an outlet in the margins of manuscripts; and the revival of science encouraged the observation of eclipses, volcanoes, tides, earthquakes, and other natural phenomena.[196]

Gervase's collection of marvels forms a notable contribution to this movement. He possessed an insatiable curiosity and a keen alertness to the world about him which fostered his capacity for observation and description. It is clear from the provenance of the marvels that he had been collecting materials throughout the course of his career: England, Italy, and Sicily are well represented, and above all the south of France. Many of the chapters in Book III read like transcriptions from a notebook. While he is often dependent on written or oral sources, some chapters, such as his account of the kermes oak,[197] are evidently based on personal observation. He shows an interest in scientific studies, and delights in quasi-scientific explanations.[198] He describes the marine explorations of the Sicilian diver, Nicholas Pipe, and confirms his findings from his own observation of marine acorns on the sea-shore.[199] He advances an original theory as to why it is impossible to sail round the world, based on his observation of the Camargue.[200] He also claims to have conducted experiments in order to verify certain marvels,[201] and to have participated personally in the interrogation of a revenant.[202] He states that it is his aim to confound sceptics,[203] and yet he is himself remarkable for the sceptical approach which underlies his whole interest in marvels. This leads him on one occasion to suggest a natural explanation as an alternative to a supernatural one,[204] on another to record that an investigation on his part met only with repeated telling, rather than solid proof.[205]

Gervase drew his marvels from a wide range of sources. A considerable number are derived from the literary tradition: for instance, many of the marvels of the east described by Pliny make their appearance, mediated largely through Honorius' *De imagine mundi*, the *Letter of Pharasmanes to Hadrian*, and the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*. Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei* provided him with a mine of information, as did Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*. Other sources include Jerome's *Life of St Paul the First Hermit* and *Life of St Hilarion*, the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great and Sulpicius Severus, Orosius' *Adversum paganos* and Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, Eucherius of Lyons' *Passio Acaunensium martyrum*, the *Passio Sancti Thomae Apostoli*, tracts on the Edessan image and the Volto Santo di Lucca, a treatise on the consecration of stones, Fretellus' description of the holy places, and Pseudo-Marcella's *Vita S. Marthae*.

Alongside the material he drew from this learned and largely clerical tradition, Gervase records many stories and beliefs derived

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Goff, *L'Imaginaire médiévale* (Paris, 1985), p. 27. In this context, for William of Newburgh's discussion of revenants, see N. Caciola, 'Wraiths, revenants and ritual in medieval culture', *Past and Present*, no. 152 (1996), 3–45, at pp. 21–2.

[194] B. Stock, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, 1972), pp. 3 ff.; see also M.-D. Chenu, 'Nature and Man—the renaissance of the twelfth century', in *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century*, ed. and transl. J. Taylor and L. K. Little (Chicago, 1968), pp. 1–48.

[195] e.g. the lively descriptions of Ireland and Wales by Gerald of Wales (*Topographia Hibernica, Expugnatio Hibernica, Itinerarium Kambriae*, and *Descriptio Kambriae*), which display his considerable powers of observation alongside a large measure of folklore and ignorance. On twelfth-century topography, see Wright, *Geographical Lore*, pp. 115–21, and on its frequent origins in border regions (England/Wales, Germany/Slavs) see R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 12–13, 158–77; and *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. R. Bartlett and A. Mackay (Oxford, 1989), pp. 41–7 and 169–70.

[196] Cf. p. xliv above; see classically C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), pp. 332–7; Thorndike, *History of Magic*, vol. ii; U. T. Holmes, Jr., 'Transitions in European education', in *Twelfth Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society*, ed. M. Clagett, G. Post, and R. Reynolds (Madison, 1961), at p. 34; T. Stiefel, 'Science, reason, and faith in the twelfth century', *Journal of European Studies*, vi (1976), 1–16; G. Beaujouan, 'The transformation of the Quadrivium', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. L. Benson and G. Constable (Oxford, 1985), pp. 463–87.

[197] *Otia*, iii. 55.

[198] e.g. *Otia*, i. 12, on dew and clouds; ii. 12, pp. 336–43, on volcanoes and earthquakes.

[199] *Otia*, ii. 12, pp. 332–5.

[200] *Otia*, iii. 40.

[201] e.g. *Otia*, iii. 10, 14, and 112.

[202] *Otia*, iii. 103, pp. 782–3.

[203] Ibid., pp. 760–1

[204] On the absence of snakes on the island of Lérins he remarks: 'I do not know whether this is due to the religious observance of such great and holy fathers, or whether it is to be attributed to the soil's own constitution' (*Otia*, iii. 67).

[205] *Otia*, ii. 7, pp. 248–9, concerning a spring in which burning torches are extinguished, but extinguished torches are relit.

from oral tradition. At the time when he was writing, Europe was still a largely oral society.[206] Gervase is by no means unusual among medieval authors in his reliance on oral testimony, but he is one of the first to have set about recording in writing the things people said about their local customs and beliefs. He draws extensively on popular, often pre-Christian levels of culture, thus giving his work a peculiar interest as a record of European folklore. He is undaunted by the Church's ambivalent, even hostile attitude to such tales; though staunchly orthodox, he knows the value of a good story.[207]

Most of the folklore can be classified as local legend, the simplest form of traditional narrative. The narrative is usually short, consisting most often of only one motif. The commonest marvels are descriptions of remarkable natural phenomena, such as earth, springs, rocks, or trees. Sometimes magic qualities are attributed to these, as with the grapes which ripen and then disappear,[208] or the spring whose water never boils;[209] but others are simply things which are unusual or misunderstood, such as the kermes oak and its red 'berries'.[210] There are also a number of tales of animals and birds endowed with human characteristics, such as the raven of Clairevum.[211] Enchanted places feature in several chapters: the Peak Cavern,[212] for instance, or Laikibrais.[213] Various transformations are described: of men into wolves,[214] of women into cats or snakes.[215] Fairies, water-sprites, brownies, poltergeists, incubi, ghosts, and other less well-known spirits inhabit the pages. These beings range from benign home-helps to nightmarish nocturnal spectres which steal children, suck blood, or take people's bodies apart and reassemble them in the wrong order.[216] There are saints' legends and miracles,[217] wish-fulfilment fantasies,[218] and a number of legends concerning historical characters, from Virgil[219] to Raymond V of Toulouse.[220]

[206] See M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, Mass. and Oxford, 1993); B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy; Written Language and Models of Interpretation* (Princeton, 1993). Twelfth-century authors sometimes show an awareness of the effects of literacy on an oral society: see e.g. Gerald of Wales, *Gemma ecclesiastica*, ed. J. S. Brewer, RS xxi (2) (1862), 5–7.

[207] Sometimes he acknowledges a conflict between the ecclesiastical and popular traditions, but nonetheless presents them both side by side: see e.g. *Otia*, i. 15; iii. 12; iii. 86; iii. 93.

[208] *Otia*, iii. 102.

[209] *Otia*, iii. 48.

[210] *Otia*, iii. 55.

[211] *Otia*, iii. 95

[212] *Otia*, iii. 45.

[213] *Otia*, iii. 69.

[214] *Otia*, i. 15 and iii. 120.

[215] *Otia*, i. 15 and iii. 93.

[216] *Otia*, iii. 61 and 86.

[217] e.g. *Otia*, iii. 34–5.

[218] e.g. *Otia*, iii. 7.

[219] *Otia*, iii. 10, 12–13, 15–16, 112.

[220] *Otia*, iii. 103, pp. 784–9.

From this brief survey it can be seen that Gervase's marvels derive from the common stock of European folklore. Indeed many of the motifs are to be found the world over. Sometimes a universal motif is attached to a particular place or event: for example, the belief in the healing power of water is attached to the spring at Barles, by which people who suffer from goitre are cured;[221] or the motif of the animal which dies of grief at its master's death is applied to the extraordinary horse of the troubadour Guiraut de Cabrera.[222] The latter is an example of a story which has been preserved without any Christian overlay: Gervase confesses himself at a loss to explain the nature of the horse, but simply reports the story, neither dismissing it as untrue, nor attributing the horse's qualities to a demonic presence. Elsewhere the influence of Christianity makes itself felt: for instance, the universal motif of an approach to the Underworld through a lake is given a Christian interpretation as a bishop's vision of the gates of hell in a lake.[223] Sometimes old pagan superstitions are christianized by being associated with Christian feasts or prayers.[224] But very often such beliefs were condemned by the Church as pertaining to the devil: and so a supernatural wife is unable to bear being present at the consecration of the host,[225] and night-riders immediately fall to the earth if they name Christ.[226] This tendency to associate traditional heathen beliefs with the devil later gave rise to the notion of a voluntary pact with Satan, and led to the witch-hunts.[227]

Many of the marvels seem to have been written down by Gervase much as he would have heard them, with little literary interference on his part. In this respect he is a better guide to popular lore than authors like Geoffrey of Monmouth or Marie de France, who used traditional stories as a basis for literary re-working. Simplicity and directness mark Gervase's presentation for the most part, though some stories are treated with greater concern for effect, if they have more dramatic potential, as with the black knight of Wandlebury,[228] or serve to illustrate one of Gervase's didactic themes, as with the excommunication of Count Raymond of Toulouse.[229] Both these

[221] *Otia*, iii. 126.

[222] *Otia*, iii. 92.

[223] *Otia*, iii. 18.

[224] e.g. the customs relating to dew described in *Otia*, i. 12; or the use of the Lord's Prayer to activate the magic properties of the upside-down bean of *Otia*, iii. 14.

[225] *Otia*, iii. 57.

[226] *Otia*, iii. 93.

[227] See *Otia*, iii. 86, nn. 8 and 23; iii. 93, n. 6.

[228] *Otia*, iii. 59.

[229] *Otia*, iii. 103, pp. 784–9.

stories are told in a vivid narrative style, with a wealth of circumstantial detail; but even here an effective reporting of what he has heard, rather than free invention, seems to be Gervase's aim.

Some of the stories which Gervase records were subsequently developed in a literary tradition, and Gervase is an important witness to the original popular versions. This is the case with the story of Mélusine,[230] and also with the Virgilian legends.[231] The latter originated in Naples, a city which enjoyed Virgil's special favour, and which, according to legend, he built. Gervase was one of the first to write down these legends; in his versions they are mostly aetiological, and Virgil is depicted as a white magician who worked for the public good. But once the stories became known in the rest of Europe they lost their Neapolitan bias, and Virgil the necromancer became a very different character as the subject of popular romance.

It may seem hard to credit that Gervase believed some of the things he reports. Indeed some of his past critics, including the great Leibniz, have doubted his sanity. But when he is being his most improbable he often assures the reader that he has everything on good authority. A medieval author loved to have authorities, and if they did not exist he might invent them, as Geoffrey of Monmouth apparently invented the book which he was at such pains to translate into Latin.[232] But it would be wrong to accuse Gervase of deliberate falsification, or even of irony. He was far removed in his thinking from the 'anxious incredulity' that besets our age,[233] and cannot be judged by our canons of veracity and reliability. Like Herodotus,[234] he applied himself to report what was said, whether or not he believed it: hence the immense value of his collection to folklorists.

The marvels are presented in no particular order, though Gervase often visibly proceeded by association: for instance, a number of chapters concerned with flies lead him to Virgil's bronze fly, and thence to further Virgilian legends. The chapters range from brief jottings to extended narratives; they are written for the most part in a straightforward, relaxed style, varied occasionally by passages of earnest exhortation or dramatic narration.

The collection as a whole conveys a remarkably fresh and colourful picture of the author's world. Perhaps more than anyone else of his age, Gervase is able to recreate the experience of all that he has seen and heard.[235] The picture ranges from the shady forests of England to the harsh mountains of Catalonia, from the sun-baked streets of Naples to the castles and vineyards of Provence. Knights and ladies, monks and bishops, soldiers and farmers come before our eyes; there are vignettes of women doing their washing, a mother waking to her child's cry in the night, peasants sitting up late at their tasks on a winter's evening; and in the midst of these everyday scenes, we meet the whole array of marvellous creatures and phenomena with which Gervase set out to amuse and delight his ill-fated imperial patron.

III. THE MANUSCRIPTS

Descriptions of the manuscripts

There are thirty known manuscripts of the *Otia imperialia*. A thorough analysis of twenty-nine of them was made by the late J. R. Caldwell of Berkeley in a series of four articles;[236] a thirtieth copy was subsequently discovered by B. U. Hucker.[237] The following descriptions are arranged according to Caldwell's grouping, but it should be borne in mind that 'no manuscript is utterly faithful to the traits of its group. There is evidence all along the line of conflation. Moreover, all too frequently, for purposes of consistency, the collation revealed groups conjoining in various combinations'.[238] Conclusions regarding the relationships of the manuscripts are therefore necessarily tentative. However, certain patterns do emerge, which throw at least some light on the production and transmission of the text.

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[230] *Otia*, i. 15 and n. 14.

[231] *Otia*, iii. 10, 12–13, 15–16, 112. See iii. 10, n. 4, and especially the works of Comparetti and Spargo.

[232] *HRB*, c. 2 (= ed. Griscom, i. 1); see pp. xvii–xviii of Neil Wright's Introduction.

[233] Runciman, 'Some remarks', p. 239.

[234] *Historiae*, vii. 52.

[235] Jamison, for instance, said of him: 'Gervase perhaps of all Anglo-Norman contemporaries re-creates most vividly and intimately the incidents of everyday life and the friendliness and hospitality of the south' ('The Sicilian Norman kingdom', pp. 274–5; cf. Schlauch, 'Literary exchange', p. 170).

[236] 'The autograph manuscript of Gervase of Tilbury', *Scriptorium*, xi (1957), 87–98; 'Manuscripts of Gervase of Tilbury's *Otia imperialia*', *Scriptorium*, xvi (1962), 28–45; 'The interrelationship of the manuscripts of Gervase of Tilbury's *Otia imperialia*', *Scriptorium*, xvi (1962), 246–74; 'Gervase of Tilbury's addenda to his *Otia imperialia*', *Medieval Studies*, xxiv (1962), 95–126.

[237] 'Eine unbekannte Handschrift der *Otia imperialia* des Gervasius von Tilbury', *Scriptorium*, xxxviii (1984), 318–19. See the description of *SP* below (pp. lxxviii–lxxix).

[238] Caldwell, 'Interrelationship', p. 274.

N **Vat. Lat. 933** ff. 1^{r}–85^{r} (southern French, s. xiii^{1})

This manuscript contains 84 parchment leaves; f. 43 was lost after numeration, causing a lacuna in ii. 17. Its leaves mostly measure about 264 × 185 mm., though some are slightly smaller, and f. 36 is substantially smaller (239 × 140 mm.) and, unlike the rest of the codex, written in single column. Many of the leaves contain holes or slits. There is an irregular number of lines to a page, and five different hands can be distinguished in the text proper:

N_1: f. 30^{r}
N_2: ff. 1^{r}–9^{v} line 12; ff. 38^{r}–48^{r}; ff. 75^{r}–78^{r} line 21
N_3: ff. 9^{v} line 12–29^{v}; ff. 31^{r}–34^{v}; f. 37^{r-v}
N_4: ff. 35^{r}–36^{v}; ff. 49^{r}–74^{v}; ff. 78^{r} line 22–79^{v}
N_5: ff. 80^{r}–85^{v}.

N_1, which also supplies numerous marginal or interlinear corrections and additions, is taken to be the hand of the author.[239] A sixth hand supplies rubrics throughout the text. These include the titles of many of the chapters (for which a space was generally left; otherwise, the title was written in the margin or in accidental spaces in the text), frequent marginal indications of the subject or source, and a liberal use of the words *mirum* or *nota* to draw attention to points of special interest. These rubrics are certainly contemporary with the text: a considerable number were erased or crossed out, and written over or corrected by N_1. They are often linked with the appropriate line in the text by a brown line, probably drawn by N_1. N_1 also entered many similar marginalia in brown ink, preceded by *R*(*ubrica*), indicating that they were to be copied in red. But, unlike the marginal alterations to the text in this hand, these instructions for rubrics were not incorporated in the manuscript tradition. Finally, a few supplements and corrections are written in a seventh hand, which first appears on f. 64^{r}.

If we are right in supposing, with Caldwell, that this manuscript was used by the author as a rough draft, its provenance can be located precisely to Arles in the second decade of the thirteenth century. It has been used as the base manuscript in this edition.

See A. Pelzer, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, ii (1) (Rome, 1931), 355–6; Caldwell, 'The autograph'; below, pp. lxxix–lxxxv.

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[239] See below, pp. lxxxi–lxxxii.

Group I

The five manuscripts of Group I appear to reflect an early stage (*ν*) in the composition of *N*, before all of its marginalia had been entered. Along with *N*, they are the only copies which do not include the description of the Holy Land, drawn from Fretellus, which forms the bulk of ii. 24 in the other manuscripts (see Appendix ii. 2). *H* and *A* must have had a common ancestor (*α*) which misplaced ii. 26 (*De ortu provinciarum* . . .) after iii. 22; this chapter is omitted from the other three manuscripts of this group.

A **BL, Cotton Vespasian E. IV** ff. 2^{r}–99^{r} (Italian, s. xiv$^{\text{in.}}$)

A handsome volume of 211 parchment leaves. The text of the *Otia* is followed by 23 other items in Latin or French, including chronicles to the year 1280.

Its version of the *Otia* 'is of all copies the most faithful to N'.[240] In common with *H*, it misplaces ii. 26 (*De ortu prouinciarum* . . .) after iii. 22. Although it shows traces of the early version of the text represented by *H*, it lacks none of the marginalia missing in *H*, which suggests that there must have been a conflation with the final version of *N*.

In this edition it has been used, with *C*, as a witness to the tradition deriving from *N* and to reconstruct the section of ii. 17 missing in *N*.

See *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library Deposited in the British Museum* (London, 1802), p. 497; Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. xxv; Pauli, 'Gervasius von Tilbury', p. 326; Pauli, *MGH*, p. 361; H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, i (London, 1883), 194, 278–88; Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 34.

H **BN, Lat. 6490** ff. 1^{r}–158^{v} (French (Constance), 1406)

A manuscript containing 158 paper leaves. On f. 15^{v}, between chapters 15 and 16 of Book I, 'is inserted a copy of letters patent issued by Humbert II, Dauphin of Vienne, warranting the consecration of an archbishop, July 31, 1351. . . . Ff. 136 and 137 are transposed, the proper sequence being 135^{v}, 137^{r}, 137^{v}, 136^{r}, 136^{v}, 138^{r}.'[241] At the end of the work the scribe wrote: '*Explicit iste liber*[*:*] *qui scripsit sit crimine liber. Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexto*

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[240] Caldwell, 'Interrelationship', p. 259.

[241] Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 34.

die quarto mensis novembris per manum Ruauldi Silvestri clerici in Constanciensis Dyocesis.'[242]

This version of the *Otia* misplaces ii. 26 between iii. 22 and 23. It omits eleven of *N*'s marginalia entirely and four in part, omissions which occur in no other copy. It also wants the letter of presentation. This and other evidence suggests that an exemplar of *H* was copied from *N* at an early stage in its composition.[243] 'Lacunae, careless errors such as an eleven-word repetition (f. 2^{r}), *ad nubium* for *ad Danubium* (f. 42^{v}), and perhaps the versicle at the end (f. 158^{v}), *Detur pro pena scriptori pulchra puella; | Non sit in villa que sit formosior illa* indicate a certain abstraction in the mind of the scribe.'[244]

See Liebrecht, p. xiii; Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 34.

R **Cambridge, St John's College 219** ff. 1^{r}–93^{v} (English, s. xiii–xiv)

A manuscript of ii + 156 vellum leaves, containing in addition to the *Otia* the *Chronicle* of Martinus Polonus, lists of the popes down to Urban V and of the English kings down to Richard II, and descriptions of the Holy Land, Rome, etc.

This codex presents a radical rearrangement of the *Otia*, described by Liebermann as 'cobbled Gervase'. The marvels included by the author in the first two books of the *Otia* are tidied up into Book III; the order of the chapters of Book III has been changed; the Preface appears at the end; the final chapter of Book II (transposed to Book III in *A* and *H*) is omitted (as also in *V* and *b*, and most of the manuscripts of Group IIa). There are several interpolations, including a passage from Honorius' *De imagine mundi*, and a certain amount of rewriting. A continuation of chapter 19 of Book II (which has been moved to the end of Book III) refers to the rebellion of Simon de Montfort (1263) as 'hoc anno'.

See P. Meyer, *Romania*, viii (1879), 336; M. R. James, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 249–52; N. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (London, 1941), p. 102; Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 35.

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[242] Loc. cit.

[243] Caldwell, 'Interrelationship', pp. 256–8.

[244] Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 34.

V **Cambridge, Magdalene College F. 4. 23** ff. 111^{v}–195^{r} and 207^{r}–208^{r}, s. xv)

A volume of 216 paper leaves, containing in addition to the *Otia* a calendar with Brigittine feasts, *Compotus kalendarii, Tractatus qui dicitur ars kalendarii, Tabula Romanorum pontificum,* etc.

The *Otia* begins: *De mundi creacione disposicione et ornacione incipit liber.* As in *R*, the Preface appears at the end. It is interrupted on f. 195^{r} after 'in execucione dari per adiutorium non in'; the rest appears on ff. 208^{r} and 207^{r}, which are reversed. Chapters 1–19 of Book III are omitted; otherwise the chapters are presented in the same jumbled order as in *R*.

See M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the College Library of Magdalene College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1909), pp. 50–1; Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 35.

b **BL, Royal 13. E. IX** ff. 5^{r}–22^{r}, 25^{v}–26^{v}, 28^{r}–40^{r}, 72^{r}–77^{ra}, 77^{rb}–77^{v} (St Albans, s. xiv/xv)

A large manuscript of 326 vellum leaves, containing 21 items in Latin and French besides the *Otia*. Its recension of the *Otia* is a less complete form of the version represented by *R* and *V*.

See G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogues of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, ii (London, 1921), 113–16; Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 36.

Group IIa

The ten manuscripts of Group II appear to derive not from *N* but from another original version which Caldwell called β.[245] This was a version differing slightly from *N*; it too, however, received marginal additions, largely identical to those with which *N* was furnished, but lacking some of the latter. There also accrued to β a substantial body of addenda, evidently collected by the author and intended for eventual incorporation in the text proper.[246] These addenda are found entire or in part in *I*, *X*, *Q*, and *W*. They are also found in two manuscripts, *L* and *S*, which do not belong to Group II: here they are copied in a second hand. None of the manuscripts in Group

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[245] Caldwell, 'Interrelationship', pp. 259–67.

[246] See below, pp. lxxxiii–v; Caldwell, 'Addenda'.

II is directly descended from any other; the manuscripts of Group IIa appear to derive from a slightly earlier and less complete form of β (β^1) than the version (β^2) which lies behind those of Group IIb.

E **Wolfenbüttel, Helmstadt 481** ff. 1^r–88^r (southern French, s. xiii or xiv)

A quarto volume containing 88 parchment leaves. On f. 24^v there is a lacuna from 'celeritate uincunt' halfway through ii. 3 to 'hos habet suffraganeos: Capritanum' in the section *De principatu Capue* in ii. 9. Also in Book II the last two sentences of chapter 25 are wanting, as well as the whole of chapter 26, which is likewise lacking in *G*, *I*, *M*, and *c*. In Book III, chapters 124–30 are omitted.

At one time this manuscript was in the Augustine Library at Canterbury. It is the manuscript basic to Leibniz's edition. 'On ff. 71^v and 87^r there are English words in a fifteenth or sixteenth-century hand. On f. 88^v: *Inspice mentem discute mores acta reuolue. Semper ab hiis et in hiis potes cognoscere quis sis. Non damptnatur omnis qui cecidit set qui post casum resurgendi propositum non assumit. Solem de celo tollere uidentur qui amiciciam e uita tollunt. Amicus securus non reditur nisi cum de constancia recreatur. Ibi quilibet deuocionis obsequium debet tribuere unde principium noscitur affluxisse.*'[247]

See Pauli, 'Gervasius von Tilbury', pp. 329–330; Pauli, *MGH*, p. 362; O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel, Erste Abteilung, Die Helmstedter Handschriften*, i (Wolfenbüttel, 1884), 515; M. R James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), p. 297; id., *Catalogue of Manuscripts in Corpus Christi College*, ii (Cambridge, 1912), 302; Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', pp. 36–7.

F **Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale 448 (II 77)** ff. 1^r–200^r (Italian?, s. $\text{xvi}^{\text{in.}}$)

A volume of 200 paper leaves, presenting a version of the *Otia* which, like that of *E*, wants chapters 124–30 of Book III. On f. 1 it bears the words: 'Ex libris Guilielmi de Laroche, Aginnatis'.

See *Catalogue général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements*, vii (Paris, 1885), 257; Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 37.

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[247] Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', pp. 36–7.

G **BN, Lat. 6491** (formerly Colb. 611) ff. 1^r–147^v (s. xv)

A volume of 147 parchment leaves. Besides omitting, in common with *E*, ii. 26 and iii. 124–30, *G* also lacks the end of the last chapter of Book I and the beginning of the first chapter of Book II (as the result of a leaf having been cut out between ff. 30 and 31), and the letter of dedication at the end.

See Liebrecht, p. xiii; Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 37.

I **BN, Lat. 6492** ff. 1^r–234^r (s. xv)

A manuscript of 235 paper leaves. Chapter 26 of Book II is omitted. The main text ends with the letter of dedication on f. 218^r. F. 218^v is blank; ff. 219^r–222^v contain the first seven items of the addenda. A list of the chapters of Book III up to chapter 92 is presented on ff. 223^r–224^r (line 22); the reader is then directed to f. 233 for the rest of the list. Ff. 224^r (line 25)–233^r contain items 8 to 31 of the addenda. The list of chapters (including those of the addenda, and ending with *De exitu operis et est epistola*) is completed on ff. 233^v–234^r. The manuscript was written by two scribes:

I_1: ff. 1^r–24^v line 11; ff. 30^r line 15–182^v; ff. 203^r–222^v; ff. 225^v line 5–234^r.
I_2: ff. 24^v line 12–30^r line 14; ff. 183^r–202^v (gathering); ff. 223^r–225^v line 4.

The first item of the addenda is keyed to its place in the text on f. 13^r by a note in the hand of Claude Fabri de Peiresc: 'Hic inserendum supplementum de coelis ex fol. 219'. As Caldwell remarks: 'This is evidently the manuscript which Peiresc in his marginal annotations to MS. L refers to as "MS. Thuani" (*i.e.*, of Jean de Thou) and with which he compared the L text.'[248]

A late hand wrote on ff. 1^r and 233r: 'Pro libraria Regalis Collegii Campaniae alias Nauarrae Parisius fundati.'

I (with *X* and *Q*) has been used in this edition to reconstruct the text of β.

See Liebrecht, p. xiii; Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 37.

M **Madrid, BN 6213** ff. 97^r–199^r (French, s. xv)

A manuscript of 274 parchment leaves. In addition to the *Otia* it contains '(f. 1) *Tractatus contra alchymistos . . . per fratrem Bernardum*

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[248] Ibid. 37.

Strucii, dedicated in 1404 to the Archbishop of Toledo; an account of the crowning in the seventh year of the pontificate of Innocent III, of Peter, King of Aragon; a genealogical tree of the kings of Sicily; a treatise on Sicily by Urban VI, dated in the tenth year of his pontificate (ff. 25–29); "*Gervasii Tilb. de mirabilibus mundi*" (an alphabetical list, through T, of *mirabilia* derived from *O. I.*); *Epistola Rabbi Samuelis*; *Tractatus contra prefigentes certum terminum finis mundi*, etc.'[249]

It presents a version of the *Otia* lacking ii. 26, iii. 1, 2, 4–16, 18–22, 27, 29–38, 40–2, 44–53, 55–82, 84–9, 94–102, 104–30, and the letter of dedication. Chapter 28 of Book III follows chapter 103. The scribe signed his name at the end (f. 199^{r}): *Johannes de mota Sagien Dyoces.*

See Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 38.

c **Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 1136 (van den Gheyn 4562)** ff. 1^{r}–137^{r} (1454)

A manuscript of 138 leaves, parchment and paper. 'F. 57 has, as a note in the lower margin indicates, been wrongly bound. Standing as fourth from the middle of the gathering, it should be second. The proper order of reading is 56^{v}, 58^{r}, 58^{v}, 59^{r}, 59^{v}, 57^{r}, 57^{v}, 60^{r}, 60^{v}, 61^{r}, 61^{v}, 64^{r}, 64^{v}, 62^{r}, etc. Ff. 127 and 128 are also misplaced, but not misnumerated.'[250] The text lacks ii. 26, iii. 124–30, and the letter of dedication.

See *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, vii (Brussels, 1907), 2; Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 38.

Group IIb

W **BN, Lat. 6492A** ff. 2r–31^{v} (s. xv)

This small manuscript of 36 parchment leaves presents a version of Book III including items 9–23 of the addenda (items 1–7 are naturally omitted, since they pertain to Books I and II; item 8 is also omitted). Passing over the initial references to the earlier part of the work, it begins at 'Propositi nostri . . .' in the second sentence of the preface to Book III. A large part of iii. 35, all of 73–81, 97, 98, and the letter of dedication are omitted.

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[249] Ibid. 38

[250] Loc. cit.

On ff. 32^{r}–36^{r} the scribe inserted a supplemented version of the description of Rome found in ii. 8. On f. 36^{r} he quotes a short passage from i. 13 on the straining of red wine, the sweetness of springs in or by the sea, and how to sweeten salt water (beginning only), attributing it to the *historia Gervasii Marescalci Arelatensis Tilleberiensis*. There follows (in another hand) a *Historia de quodam mortuo qui apparuit post obitum* (ff. 36^{r}–36^{v}).[251]

See Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', pp. 38–9.

X **Vat. Lat. 993** ff. 75^{r}–123^{r} (s. xiv and xv)

A large codex which originally contained 126 parchment leaves, but f. 48 has been cut out. Besides the *Otia* it contains Albertanus Brixiensis' *Liber de doctrina dicendi et tacendi*, S. Martinus Dumiensis' *Formula honestae vitae*, and Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus' *Opus agriculturae*.

The text of the *Otia* lacks iii. 97 and 98, and the letter of dedication. A series of blunders occurs in chapters 16 and 17 of Book II, with substantial passages misplaced. A computation is inserted at the end of Book II,[252] and there are numerous other interpolations in the text, varying in length from a few words to substantial paragraphs; many, but not all, of them are also found in *Q*. *X* lacks item 8 of the addenda, but incorporates all the rest in the text, items 17 onwards being presented as additional chapters at the end of Book III rather than as addenda. Since *X* incorporates into the text items which appear as addenda in *I*, it would appear to derive from a later version of *β*.[253]

This manuscript is one of those used to reconstruct the text of *β* in this edition.

See A. Pelzer, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, ii (1) (Rome, 1931), 470–72; Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 39.

Z **Wales, National Library 5009C (Bourdillon 9)** (formerly Phillips MS 18120) ff. 97^{r}–151^{v} (s. xv)

The 64 paper leaves of this manuscript are bound in a composite volume with two printed works, Guido delle Colonne's *Historia*

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[251] Ibid. 39.

[252] See Appendix ii. 3; cf. above, p. xl. This computation appears in *X*, *Q*, and *Z* of Group IIb; the only other MS in this group (*W*) contains Book III only.

[253] See below, pp. lxxxiii–lxxxv.

destructionis Troiae and the *Gesta Romanorum*. The text of the *Otia* must originally have been part of a larger manuscript, for the numeration of the folios begins at 97 and continues to f. 156; there follow five more unnumbered folios.

The *Otia* ends on f. 151^{v} after chapter 121 of Book III. The remainder of f. 151^{v} and ff. 152^{r}–161^{r} are occupied with eight chapters concerning the Holy Land, Mohammed, the caliph of Egypt, etc. At the end of these interpolated chapters the scribe wrote: *Explicit Otia Imperialia Otia dant vicia librum legere non vitieris.*[254]

The *Otia* lacks a large part of Book II, from the last section of chapter 4 (*De urbibus Asie cathedralibus*) to the end of chapter 17 (*De regno Britonum*). As in *X* and *Q*, a computation is inserted at the end of Book II. Book III lacks the Preface, chapters 1–22, 27–34, 36–45, 48, 55–85, 87–92, 94–102, 122–30, and the letter of dedication.

See *Handlist of the Manuscripts in the National Library of Wales*, i (Aberystwyth, 1943) (8), 63; Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', pp. 39–40.

Q **BN, Lat. 13959** (Caldwell's MS a) (formerly St Germain 997) ff. 1^{r}–215^{r} (Provence[255] s. $xv^{ex.}$)

This manuscript of 215 paper leaves 'belonged to Seguier, later to Coislin. It was bequeathed to St. Germain-des-Prés by the Duc de Coislin in 1732.'[256]

Q has many features in common with *X*: the computation at the end of Book II, numerous other smaller interpolations and shared variant readings, and certain omissions, including chapters 97 and 98 of Book III. It incorporates items 3, 7, and 9–28 of the addenda in the text, but it lacks items 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, and evidently by loss of a leaf, all but the first line of item 29, and all of 30 and 31. Item 29 breaks off on f. 211^{v}; ff. 212–214 are blank; the letter of dedication appears on f. 215^{r}.

Q would seem to represent an even later version of β than *X*;[257] it has been used with *X* and *I* to reconstruct the text of β.

See Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 40.

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[254] Transcribed by Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 39.

[255] For evidence that this MS was produced in Provence, see below, pp. 92, n.; 626, n. 2; 661, n. 2; and 722, n. 1.

[256] Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 40.

[257] See below, p. lxxxv.

Group III

The four manuscripts of Group III appear to be descended from a common original (γ) deriving from a late stage of *N* in which practically all the marginalia had been entered. It was, however, defaced by a major lacuna: most of i. 24 and succeeding chapters up to the beginning of ii. 5 are wanting in these four manuscripts, but in no others. The manuscripts of this group have a number of other features in common, but none of them is directly descended from any other.[258]

B **BN, Lat. 6488** (formerly Bigotianus 188) ff. 1^{r}–119^{v} (s. $xiii^{ex.}$)

A manuscript of 119 parchment folios. Besides the lacuna from i. 24 to ii. 5 which distinguishes this group, this copy also lacks most of iii. 26 and succeeding chapters to about three quarters of the way through iii. 30. While the first lacuna had evidently already occurred in the exemplar, the second would appear to have resulted from the loss of a leaf before numeration. Following straight on from the letter of dedication there is a passage 46 lines long which duplicates part of the description of the Holy Land found at the end of ii. 24 in all manuscripts except *N*, *A*, *H*, *R*, *V*, and *b*.[259] This duplicated matter is also found at the end of *O* and *P*. 'There are numerous marginal corrections, and here and there brief passages have been obliterated by a disapproving corrector; e.g. f. 12^{r} (*Delatum istud quia videtur mendacio obvenire*). Also 16^{r}, 59^{v}, 74^{v}, 103^{r}, 108^{v}.'[260]

This manuscript was used by Leibniz to restore the lacunae in *E*.

See Leibniz, ii. 751; Pauli, 'Gervasius von Tilbury', pp. 326–7; id., *MGH*, p. 361; Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 40.

O **Vat. Reg. Lat. 707** ff. 1^{r}–78^{v} (s. xiv)

A manuscript of i + 79 parchment leaves. Half of 51^{v} and all of 52^{r} and ^{v} were left blank. As in *B*, *P*, and *S*, there is a lacuna from i. 24 to ii. 5, and as in *B* and *P*, a duplication of part of the description of the Holy Land at the end.

Stevenson took this manuscript as the basis for the extracts he included in the Rolls Series edition of Ralph of Coggeshall.

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[258] See Caldwell, 'Interrelationship', pp. 267–9.

[259] Appendix ii. 2.

[260] Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 40.

See Pauli, 'Gervasius von Tilbury', p. 330; Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. xxiii–xxv and 419–49; Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 41.

P **Barberini Lat. 2611** (formerly XXXIII 131) ff. 1^r–208^v (French, s. xv(?))

A folio volume of 210 paper leaves. 'Like O, B, S, it wants most of [i. 24] and succeeding chapters into [ii. 5]. It wants also [iii. 8] (save the first sentence) and [9]. Like O and B it continues the dedicatory letter with repetition of matter interpolated in [ii. 24].'[261] Ff. 208^v–210^v contain a table of the contents.

On the fly-leaf is written, in a later hand: *Descriptio historica totius mundi ab eius principio et de mirabilibus cuiusque provincie. Auctore Gervasio Tilleberiensi.* In the lower margin of f. 208^r, and less legibly on f. 1: *Conventus S[anct]e M[ari]e No[ve]lle de Flo[renti]a* O^{is} *P.*

See Pauli, 'Gervasius von Tilbury', p. 330; Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 41.

S **Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 414** pp. 3–248 (East Anglia, s. xiv)

A manuscript of 515 vellum leaves, containing in addition to the *Otia* a Life of Alexander, Pseudo-Turpin's History of Charlemagne, *Valerius ad Rufinum de Nuptiis non habendis cum expositione*, etc.

The lower half of p. 79 and all of p. 80 are blank, but there is no discontinuity in the text. However, this copy suffers from the same major lacuna as *B*, *P*, and *O*. It also lacks iii. 17 apart from the title, and subsequent chapters up to the middle of iii. 27, probably owing to the loss of two folios in an earlier copy. On pp. 242–8, after the letter of dedication, items 9–23 of the addenda are supplied in another hand.

See Pauli, 'Gervasius von Tilbury', p. 330; M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, ii (Cambridge, 1912), 300–3; Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 41.

Group IVa

Like the manuscripts of Group III, those which comprise Group IV contain practically all of the marginalia with which *N* in its final form

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[261] Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 41.

was furbished. Their common descent from a single original (δ^1) is suggested by their agreement against all the other manuscripts in a number of readings. *Y*, *U*, *D*, *K*, and *L* repeatedly agree with one another against other members of the Group, and therefore constitute a subdivision, Group IVa; the remaining manuscripts (Group IVb) derive from a version of the text (δ^2) with other distinctive features. There are signs of conflation with β in many of the manuscripts of Group IV.

Y **Leyden, Vossianus Lat. 15** ff. 1^r–145^r (French?, s. xvii)

A manuscript of 518 paper folios. The letter of dedication is omitted apart from the title. The *Otia* is followed by '(f. 359^r): *Cathologus breuis per modum cronicorum de Romanis pontificibus a beato petro apostolo ad Joannem papam 22 pontificatus sui anno decimo quinto decurrente* and (f. 459^r): *Brevis Cronica Imperatorum Romanorum propter tempora et annos in quibus sub eiusdem sancti martires passi sunt aut sancti Confessores et doctores floruerunt aut facta notabilia contigerunt.*'[262]

Y is generally in agreement with, but at times inferior to, *U*, which must therefore have been antecedent to it.

See Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 42; 'Interrelationship', p. 271.

U **BN, Lat. 6489** ff. 1^r–145^r (southern France, s. $xiv^{ex.}$)

A manuscript of 190 parchment leaves. Like *Y*, *U* has the title only of the letter of dedication. 'On f. 98^r, mg.: *Nota quod ab inicio mundi usque ad adventum Christi sunt tria milia nongenti et quinquaginta duo anni*; (another hand) *et nunc computatur a nativitate Christi usque ad presens tempus* mccclxxxviii *et nunc fluxerunt tempora usque ad presens tempus u*(na) *m. iiic. xxxv.*[263] On f. 145^v copies, in a third hand, of two letters from John of Armagnac, Count of St. Bertrand des Comminges, to Charles Visconti, dated August 10, 1383, and one from the Prior of Limoges, August 1, 1383, whence Pauli concludes that the manuscript belonged to the monastery of Lectoure in the Department of Gers. The codex contains also brief chronicles of the Popes to John XXII and of the Roman Emperors to Louis IV, and a letter from John, Archbishop of Reims, dated May 4, 1372.'[264]

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[262] Ibid. 42.

[263] *Sic* Caldwell. It seems a plausible assumption that the figure intended was *vm. iiic. xxxx*—i.e. 5,340 years. This is the sum of 3952 (the number of years from the creation of the world to Christ) and 1388 (the number of years from Christ to the present).

[264] Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 42.

See Pauli, 'Gervasius von Tilbury', pp. 327–8 (where it is erroneously referred to as MS. Lat. 6479); Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 42.

D **Cornell, University Library, B 6000** ff. 1^{r}–218^{v} (probably French, s. xv$^{in.}$)

A volume containing 220 vellum folios. The scribe interpolates a few glosses in the text, and supplies some alternative readings either in the text or in the margin. In some cases these alternatives are also found in *U*, from which the manuscript at least partly derives; in others they are the result of the scribe's collation of *U* with a descendant of *N* or, sometimes, of *β*. *K* and *L* repeatedly incorporate these marginal notes in their texts, and must therefore derive from *D*. After the letter of dedication (here present in full), an index of references to Arles in the *Otia* is provided on f. 219^{r}.

See E. P. Goldschmidt and Co., *Catalogue* 79 (1946); Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', pp. 42–3, and 'Interrelationship', p. 271.

K **BN, Lat. 6781** ff. 17^{r}–154^{r}and 162^{v}–220^{v} (s. xvi)

A paper manuscript of 222 leaves. Ff. 1^{r}–17^{v}, 155^{v}–161^{r}, and 221^{r}–222^{v} are devoted to 'aphorisms, cullings from ancient authors and palindromes.'[265] The first two books of the *Otia* occupy ff. 17^{r}–154^{r}; the text resumes on f. 162^{v} with the first chapter of Book III, the preface to Book III being omitted. *K* is derived from *D*, and antecedent to *L* (q.v.).

See Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 43.

L **BN, Lat. 6704** ff. 1^{r}–408^{v} (s. xvi and xvii)

This codex, containing 414 paper leaves, 'is a composite, consisting of a recension of the *O. I.*, in which Gervase's extensive lists of bishoprics and archbishoprics have been supplanted by fuller and later lists; plus transcriptions in a seventeenth-century hand of Gervase's lists and of other parts of the *O. I.*, including addenda copied verbatim from MS. I.'[266] *L* is evidently derived primarily from *K*; it incorporates certain marginalia of *K* in its text, but presents a less complete version of the *Otia*.

'The binding of the book is decorated with the emblem of Peiresc and bears many marginal notations in his hand, comparing it with MS. I and with a manuscript from Viviers.'[267]

See Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 43, and 'Interrelationship', p. 271.

Group IVb

C **BN, Lat. 6703** (formerly Colb. 5116) ff. 3^{r}–181^{r} (perhaps southern France, s. xiv)

A parchment manuscript of 181 folios. Ff. 117^{v}–128^{v} contain an interpolation from Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale*. Like *T* and *CM*, *C* lacks the letter of dedication and after iii. 130 adds an extra marvel, *De turri Peletenta Alesti*: see Appendix ii. 4. This manuscript represents primarily a late stage in the composition of *N*, but, in common with other manuscripts of its group, it also shows traces of a conflation with a late version of *β*, having many readings in common with *X* and *Q*. It has been used in this edition, along with *A*, to serve as a witness to and control of *N*, and to supply the text lost with f. 43 of *N*.

See *Archiv*, i. 302; Leibniz, ii. 751, 779; Liebrecht, p. xiii; Pauli, 'Gervasius von Tilbury', p. 327; Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', pp. 43–4.

T **Cambridge, University Library, Addit. 3446** (formerly Phillipps MS 11906) ff. 2^{r}–75^{v} (Italian, s. xiv)

This manuscript has lost the first and last three of its original 78 vellum leaves. The *Otia* begins towards the end of the Preface owing to the loss of f. 1. Like *C* it lacks the letter of presentation, and ends on f. 75^{v} with the extra marvel *De turre Peletenta*. The scribe then concludes: '*Explicit liber de mirabilibus mundi compositus per beatum Paulum p^{a} super berbia* [*sic*] *Deo gracias Amen*.'[268] F. 76 is lost, and the present ff. 77 and 78 contain an index in a later hand.

See Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 44.

J **BN, Lat. 652** ff. 60^{v}–181^{r} (s. xvi)

A manuscript of 225 paper leaves, containing in addition to the *Otia* '(f. 2^{v}) *Eulogium Marsilii Ficini*, (ff. 3–60) *Prohemium Marsilii Ficini*

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[265] Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 43.

[266] Loc. cit.

[267] Loc. cit.

[268] Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 44.

in Epistolas Pauli (*Explicit X^a Januarii 1514*), *Athenagoras De La Ressurection des Mors*, devotional writings, drafts of letters, etc.'[269] The text of the *Otia* contains the same interpolation from Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale* as *C*. It lacks chapter 27 onwards of Book III.

'The name of John de Monthelon is scribbled on a fly-leaf . On ff. 60^v, 74^v, and 80^r are notations in the hand of Peiresc, comparing this with manuscripts at Navarre (I) and at Viviers.'[270]

See *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, iii (Paris, 1744), 54; P. O. Kristeller, *Supplementum Ficinianum*, i (Florence, 1937), xxxvii; Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 44.

CM **Oxford, Bodleian, Canon Misc. 53** (Caldwell's MS Q) ff. 1^r–80^v (s. xiv)

A manuscript of 82 parchment leaves. Like *C* and *T*, it omits the letter of dedication, and adds *De rupe Pelletenta* at the end.

See H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codd. MSS Bibliothecae Bodleianae, pars tertia, codices Graecos et Latinos Canonicianos complectens* (Oxford, 1854), p. 467; Caldwell, 'Manuscripts', p. 45.

SP **Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. oct. 133** pp. 1–484 (Louvain, 1486)

A manuscript of ii + 242 + iv paper leaves, paginated 1–484. On one of the fly-leaves at the beginning the scribe wrote: *pertinet monasterio uallis sancti martini in Louanio*, and at the end another hand noted: *Est liber hic bibliothecae Sancti Martini in Louanio*. The manuscript was written at the monastery of St Martin in Louvain by Brother Otto Palm from Mechelen, and was completed on 24 October 1486 (p. 484): *Finitum hoc presens fuit opus Nono kalendas Novembrias, Anno salutis Octogesimo sexto super Millesimum et quadringentesimum In monasterio sancti martini louaniensis In dormitorio uetustiori ad orientalem eiusdem monasterii plagam per fratrem Ottonem palm ciuem Mechlinensem*. Otto Palm also signed his name at the beginning of the codex. In the early nineteenth century it was rebound by an English bookbinder (*Bound . . . by Mr Wilson*), and notes on the inside cover and fly-leaves confirm that it was then in English hands. In 1889 it was acquired

from the Meerman-Philipps Collection by the former Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin.

Caldwell was unaware of the existence of this manuscript. When Hucker discovered it in 1984, its provenance prompted him to suggest that it might derive from the fair copy presented to Otto IV, since after the emperor's death his widow returned to the court of her father, Henry of Brabant, in Louvain. Its version of the *Otia* has all the distinguishing features of the manuscripts in Group IV. It is closely related, but inferior, to *C*: it often reproduces *C*'s errors, though occasionally it avoids them, and it also has many others of its own. There are gaps scattered throughout the text where the copy from which it was made must have been illegible. It does not contain the interpolation from Vincent of Beauvais found in *C* and *J*, nor does it include the extra marvel found in *C*, *T*, and *CM*. Like them, however, it wants the letter of presentation, and many details combine to place it in Group IVb.

See B. U. Hucker, 'Eine unbekannte Handschrift der *Otia imperialia* des Gervasius von Tilbury', *Scriptorium*, xxxviii (1984), 318–19.

The status of N

We must now consider Caldwell's claim that in *N* we have the 'inceptive manuscript for all known copies', and that it is 'written, at least as regards its many marginal additions and emendations, in the hand of the author.'[271] The appearance of the codex suggests that *N* was originally intended as a fair copy, but took on the character of a rough draft. The first 26 folios were copied quite presentably, but then a lacuna on f. 26^v was restored on a single folio, which was sewn in at the middle of the gathering (f. 30). Further lacunae on ff. 31^r and 34^v were also restored on separate folios (ff. 35 and 36). From f. 26^v, therefore, the reader is directed to read the folios in the order: 30^r (30^v is blank), 26^v (from col. 2, 8 lines up)–29^v, 31^r (to col. 2, line 7), 35, 31^r (from col. 2, line 8)–34^v (to col. 2, 3 lines up), 36, 34^v (from col. 2, 3 lines up), 37. After this the book degenerates, and the end product is a rough and ready codex, with many defective skins, a cluttered presentation in a number of different hands, some scribbled drawings, or rather doodles, and spaces left for rubricated initial letters. F. 43 has been lost: the copyist evidently skipped a page and restored the missing matter on a single folio, which was sewn in after f. 42, but lost after the numeration of the codex.

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[269] Loc. cit.

[270] Loc. cit.

[271] 'The autograph', p. 87.

There is ample evidence that the book was produced over a substantial period of time and subjected to constant correction and improvement. Some sections were clearly written before others: f. 48^{v} and the last half column of f. 79^{v} are left blank, to link up with the succeeding sections which must already have been drafted. The unsatisfactory connection between the text before the lacuna on f. 31^{r} and the beginning of f. 35, which was inserted to repair it, suggests the cobbling together of different versions composed at different times.[272] Furthermore, the manuscript contains more than three hundred marginal or interlinear supplements and emendations, ranging from single words to substantial paragraphs, and extending from the first folio to the last. They supply 'in some instances minor repairs to the text, which is itself obviously at least a second draft; in some, additional information, often brought again from the author's sources, and in some added clarity or ease of style.'[273] Most of them are written 'in one distinctive, rapid and vigorous-appearing script, which moves through a wide range of orthographic formality and informality.'[274] Some of them are couched in the first person (e.g. 'ut ab ipsis indigenis accepi' in the account of Poland on f. 23^{r}). The other manuscripts integrate them in the text with a varying but generally high degree of completeness.[275]

It seems indubitable that *N* was involved in the actual process of composition. However, the claim that it served as the 'inceptive manuscript for all known copies' requires some qualification. There is substantial evidence that the author was keeping at least one other copy in line with *N*, besides the evidence for a distinct original for the manuscripts in Group II. *N* contains some copying errors (e.g. omissions caused by the proximity of two identical words or word-endings); this shows that it is itself a copy, or rather, a composite of copied sections. Approximately a third[276] of the marginalia in *N* represent corrections of scribal errors or omissions; these marginal restorations were most probably made from another copy. There are occasions where an alteration was made in *N*, but all the manuscripts collated for this edition retain the unaltered form of the text. There are mistakes, inferior readings, and idiosyncrasies in *N* which do not appear in the other copies. On occasions, *N*'s word order is different from that of the other manuscripts. And there are instances, too, where *N* alone has the correct reading.

All this implies the existence of at least one other 'original' version besides *N* and *β*, the lost original of the manuscripts in Group II. Possibly *N* was collated at an early stage with *β*, producing a version without *β*'s peculiarities and with most but not all of the corrections in *N*. But the existence of a third 'original' would seem an easier hypothesis, particularly in view of a passage in iii. 103 which is found in manuscripts *A* and *C* (belonging to Groups I and IV) but occurs neither in *N* nor in manuscripts *X*, *Q*, and *I* of Group II. It may be, then, that *N* was only one of three 'original' versions.

On the other hand, the presence of the marginalia in *N* suggests that the manuscript was closely involved in the formation of the tradition, and there is an abundance of evidence in the details of the tradition to support this view. There are, for example, numerous occasions where the text has been corrected in *N*, and some of the manuscripts follow the original reading while others follow the corrected version. *A* in particular very often preserves the uncorrected form, in keeping with its tendency to reflect an early stage of *N*. Unfortunately, however, the tradition shows signs of considerable conflation early on, with horizontal transmission constantly obscuring the relationships of the manuscripts. Consequently it is not possible to designate certain copies as consistently deriving from an earlier stage in *N* than others, or to posit *N* as the sole source of the later manuscripts, even of Groups I, III, and IV. Nevertheless *N* did undoubtedly play an important role in the development of the text.

It remains to examine with what degree of certainty N_1, the hand in which most of the corrections and supplements are written, can be identified as that of the author. The close relation of its contribution to the textual tradition shows that if not the author himself it was someone working in very close collaboration with him. It could, however, be argued that, given the existence of at least one other 'original' version, the marginalia might be the work of a scribe bringing *N* into line with another manuscript in process of composition, rather than the author's direct interventions.

There is some cause for hesitation in attributing this hand to the author. In some of its contributions it makes mistakes (e.g. writing *regione* for *regio genere* in ii. 14, and *uarietate* for *uariate* in ii. 15). Sometimes it appears to make a correction as a result of not realizing what the author intended (e.g. in iii. 90, where *ACXQI* correctly read *alternis ripis*, it corrected the scribe's *alterius ripis* to *alterius rupis parte*). The same hand provides a number of glosses which were not incorporated in the tradition. Normally these could be construed as the author annotating his source (e.g. in iii. 73 *id est comas* is written above the word *iubas* in *N*). But sometimes a gloss is provided where the text appears to have been composed by the author himself (e.g. in iii. 102 *id est grana* is written in the margin of *N* as a gloss to *acinos*). And on one occasion a word is glossed which had in fact been copied wrongly (*affectudine*, mistakenly written in the Preface to Book III for *assuetudine*, is glossed *id est affectione*): such confusion seems surprising if this is the author's hand.

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[272] See p. 324. Cf. 'The autograph', pp. 92–6.

[273] Ibid. 88.

[274] Ibid. 89. Caldwell, however, in his treatment of the marginalia, failed to distinguish this script from others: for instance, there is a marginal item in iii. 45 (*De castro de Pech*) which is not in this hand but is treated by Caldwell as an autograph supplement ('The Autograph', p. 89; 'Interrelationship', p. 246).

[275] 'Interrelationship', pp. 248–51.

[276] Ibid. 247.

Nevertheless, there is nothing which renders such an identification impossible. In such a long work, composed over a number of years, Gervase might well have forgotten what he had originally written; and authors as well as scribes can make mistakes. His fallibility is demonstrated in that some of the additions to the text actually obscure the original meaning (e.g. in ii. 4 the derivation of Mesopotamia from *moys* and *potaneos* is awkwardly interrupted by the information on Edessa and Aram); similarly, the occasional blunders perpetrated by N_1 need not disqualify it from being the author's hand. Certainly, the most natural explanation of the marginalia, nearly two hundred of which seem to be newly-composed supplements and improvements to the text, is that *N* served the author as a working copy. Also, the sheer intrusiveness of the hand conveys a sense of authority which suggests the author at work: besides providing the marginalia, it is everywhere present making minor corrections and clarifications; it also gives many instructions for rubrics (e.g. on f. 28^r a line leads from an initial I to the marginal comment: 'Rubea litera debet esse'), or corrects existing ones (though not before f. 33^r, where 'usque ad locum istum non ordinaui nec correxi nomina propria rubea' is written at the bottom of the page); it is also this hand which restores the first major lacuna on f. 30^r, and guides the reader through the confusion of ff. 26–37. It therefore seems reasonable to accept the hypothesis that *N* does indeed show us the author at work, and constitutes one at least of the original versions from which the other manuscripts derive.

The relationship between N *and* β

N's relationship with *β* constitutes the central problem posed by the manuscripts. The differences which the manuscripts of Group II share against all other copies are sufficient to suggest that they are descended from another original version. Some of these differences appear to reflect an early, incomplete stage of the text, while others can best be explained as the author's further work on the text after *N* had been discarded. The most likely hypothesis therefore seems to be that the author worked on both versions concurrently for a time, keeping them substantially but not completely identical with each other by a process of cross-copying. Then *N*, being only a rough draft, was put aside, but the author continued to make additions and alterations to *β*.

The incompleteness of *β* is most evident in the fact that it never received some of the additions to the text which appear as marginalia in *N*. An examination of all the manuscripts of Group II reveals eleven discrete omissions of marginalia, and eight further omissions of parts of marginalia.[277] Further, the manuscripts of Group IIa are more incomplete than those of IIb, wanting three other marginalia completely and two others in part.[278] Some phrases and sentences that appear in the text rather than the marginalia of *N* were evidently also lacking in *β*. On the other hand, the descendants of *β*, especially the manuscripts of Group IIb, contain additional matter not found in any of the descendants of *N*. *β* also received thirty-one items of addenda, eight of which were incorporated in the text of *N*, while the rest are not found in *N* or its descendants. The addenda were clearly collected by Gervase himself. Some of them are copied almost word for word from another author, some are excerpts and paraphrases, and some (the eight which were incorporated in *N*) are evidently of his own composition. Of the six manuscripts which contain some or all of the addenda, four, namely *I*, *X*, *Q* (Caldwell's a), and *W*, belong to Group II, while in the other two, *L* and *S*, the addenda are copied in a second hand.

The addenda are 'most abundant and in most primitive relationship to the text in MS I:'[279] all thirty-one items are attached at the

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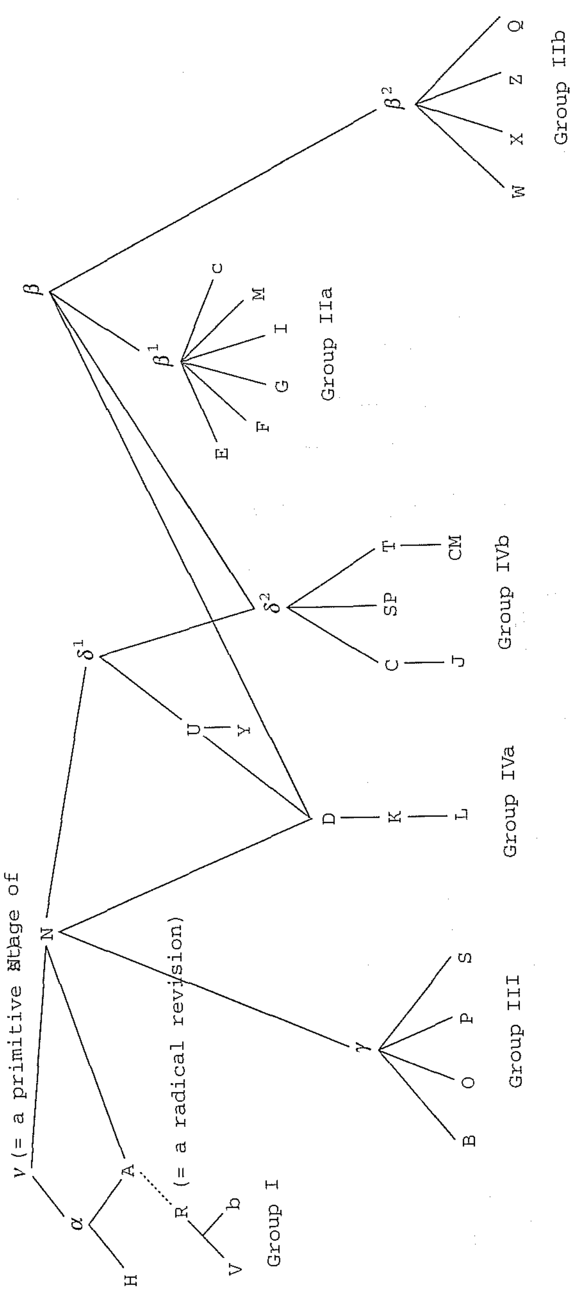
[277] Caldwell, 'Interrelationship', pp. 260–1. It is noteworthy that the marginalia wholly or partly omitted in *β* are different from those omitted in *H* of Group I, which apparently reflects an early version of *N* (*ν*). This lends support to the hypothesis that the author was working on two versions concurrently. When the exemplar of *H* was copied off, some material which was present (or later added) in *β* had not yet been entered in *N*, but *N* had already received material in its margins which the alternative version lacked; in fact the items omitted in all the MSS of Group II presumably never were entered in *β*.

[278] Ibid. 265.

[279] 'Addenda', p. 96.



The Relationships of the Manuscripts

A conjectural stemma

close of the work. The scribe wrote 'folio [blank] ad hoc signum' or simply 'folio' to indicate where in the text the items were to be incorporated, but there are no folio numbers or signs, except in the case of item 1, where they were supplied later by Peiresc. Since items 9–16 are incorporated in the text of *N* as iii. 103 (part) and 124–30, an original of *I*, presenting as addenda items that appear in the text of *N*, was presumably antecedent to and a partial source of *N*.[280] *X*, *Q*, and *W* lack certain of *I*'s addenda but incorporate others in the text: *X* lacks item 8 but incorporates all the rest; *Q* wants items 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, most of 29, and all of 30 and 31, integrating the rest; *W* wants items 1–8 and incorporates 9–31. Since *X* and *Q* incorporate the most items in the text, they would appear to be derived from Gervase's latest versions of the book, subsequent to *N*.

It is obviously of interest to establish the relative lateness of the versions in *X* and *Q*. Caldwell suggested that as 'a number of those items of the addenda which in X have been moved into the text are wanting in [Q], not only in the text but in the addenda as well . . . we may infer that as Gervase composed the X version, he usually discarded from the collectanea attached to the end of his basic manuscript β those items which he integrated with the text. In its lack of these items [Q] then would seem to represent a later though less complete derivative of β than X.'[281]

These manuscripts are clearly important, but they do not necessarily undermine *N*'s authority as an idiograph. As Caldwell pointed out: '"latest copy" and "master copy" were, after all, not necessarily identical in the vocabulary of an author who apparently worked on two or more "original" copies simultaneously and continued to alter after "completion".'[282] The version from which *X* and *Q* are descended was incomplete in that it never received some of the marginal supplements with which *N* is furnished. And 'it is MS N which dominates the textual tradition. Its marginalia have been incorporated in the great majority of copies. In it we have the tangible relics of the author, the ink of his pen.'[283]

IV. HISTORY OF THE TEXT

The survival of thirty manuscripts of the *Otia imperialia* dating from the early thirteenth to the seventeenth century, and produced in

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[280] Ibid. 122. [281] Ibid. 123. [282] Ibid. 126. [283] Loc. cit.

France, Italy, and England, shows that the work was widely read in the later Middle Ages. This is substantiated by the existence of two French translations, one made for Jean d'Acre by Jean d'Antioche before 1287, and the other made in France by Jean de Vignai about 1340;[284] further confirmation is provided by the fact that the *Otia* was prescribed as a set-book at Oxford University in 1380.[285] It also seems to have been used as a source by the makers of the Ebstorf world map.[286]

A number of later authors borrowed from the *Otia*, generally from the marvels. They include the authors of the *Gesta Romanorum*,[287] of the *Speculum morale* attributed to Vincent of Beauvais,[288] and of the *Speculum exemplorum*.[289] Gervase is also mentioned by Boccaccio,[290] Gaudentius Merula,[291] Symphorien Champier,[292] and others.

A. Duchesne printed extracts from the *Otia* in 1641, selecting parts of Book II on the kings of France and England.[293] The Preface and rather more of Book II were edited by J. J. Mader in 1673, presumably from *E*.[294] The one approximately complete edition of the work was produced by G. W. Leibniz, unfortunately without knowledge of the best manuscripts, in 1707, with emendations and supplements printed in 1710;[295] Leibniz used *E* and *S*, and drew on *B* and *C* and two of the other Paris manuscripts (not precisely identified) for his later supplements. Extracts from Book II were reprinted from Leibniz's edition in the *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*.[296] Much of the folklore and legendary material was reprinted from Leibniz's edition (with a few emendations and variants taken from the Paris manuscripts) and supplied with a learned commentary in 1856 by F. Liebrecht.[297] Excerpts relating to the history of England were edited for the Rolls Series by J. Stevenson from *O* and *P*.[298] Finally, selections from the whole work were edited by R. Pauli in 1885, with a useful introduction and survey of the manuscripts.[299] Pauli's edition was based on *A*, *B*, *C*, *U*, *CM*, *E*, *S*, *O*, and *R*.

The foundations for a critical edition were laid by J. R. Caldwell in his work on the manuscripts.[300] An annotated French translation of Book III has been published by A. Duchesne, using Leibniz's edition together with *N*.[301]

V. THIS EDITION

Six of the thirty manuscripts have been used to establish the text in this edition. *N* has been taken as the base manuscript. Additions and corrections to the text in the hand of N_1, comprising an entire word or more, are indicated with an attribution to the author in the apparatus. N_1's pen is, however, ubiquitous in making minor corrections, sharpening up letters, and clarifying words or parts of words, and any attempt to show all its contributions would result in a heavily overburdened apparatus. Alterations which only affect part of a word are therefore not recorded; nor are corrections made by the scribes *currente calamo*. Where the scribes of *N* left a space for a rubricated initial letter, this has been silently supplied; it is in fact often written in lightly by N_1. The numerous rubrics in the margins, and also the author's instructions for additional rubrics, have not been recorded except where they are of interest in themselves. Abbreviations have been expanded, apart from references to canon law. The sign | in the apparatus indicates a new line in *N*. The folio numbers of *N* are indicated in the text.

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[284] *Histoire littéraire de la France*, xxxiii (Paris 1906), 1 ff. and 624 ff.; J.-T. Welter, *L'Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen âge* (Paris, 1926–7), p. 58 n.; A. Duchesne, 'Gervais de Tilbury et les *Otia imperialia*', thesis (Paris, 1971), pp. 65–99. Editions of both translations have been produced as doctoral dissertations at Strasbourg under the supervision of C. Buridant: C. Pignatelli, 'La traduction des *Otia imperialia* de Gervais de Tilbury par Jean d'Antioche dans le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris no. 9113: édition et étude' (Diss., Université de Strasbourg 2, 1997, thèse microfichée 97STR20002); D.-P. Gerner, 'La traduction des *Otia imperialia* de Gervais de Tilbury par Jean de Vignay dans le ms. Rothschild 3085 de la B. N. de Paris: édition et étude' (Diss., Université de Strasbourg 2, 1995, thèse microfichée 95STR20032).

[285] Wilkinson, 'The *Otia imperialia*', p. 59.

[286] See above, p. xxxv.

[287] cc. 154–5 and 160–2.

[288] iii. 7. 2 (in Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum maius*).

[289] ix. 42 (ed. Douai, 1618).

[290] *De genealogia deorum*, vii. 25.

[291] *Memorabilia*, iii. 44.

[292] *Liber de antiquitate Lugduni.*

[293] 'Fragmentum de regibus Francorum et Anglorum', in *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, iii (Paris, 1641), 363–79.

[294] *De imperio Romano, et Gottorum, Lombardorum, Brittonum, Francorum, Anglorumque regnis commentatio* (Helmstedt, 1673).

[295] 'Otia Imperialia', in *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium*, i (Hanover, 1707), 881–1004, and ii (Hanover, 1710), 751–84.

[296] ix (1757), 45; xi (1767), 317; xiv (1806), 13–16.

[297] *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia imperialia in einer Auswahl neu herausgegeben und mit Anmerkungen begleitet* (Hanover, 1856).

[298] Excerpts from the *Otia imperialia* appended to the *Chronicon Anglicanum* of Ralph of Coggeshall, RS lxvi (1875), 417–449.

[299] Excerpts from the *Otia imperialia* in *MGH*, *Scriptores* xxvii (1885), 359–94.

[300] See above, n. 236.

[301] A. Duchesne, *Gervais de Tilbury: Le Livre des merveilles* (Paris, 1992). We are indebted to Annie Duchesne for some of our references to modern French works.

Two of the best copies showing affinities with *N* rather than *β* have also been collated: *A* of Group I and *C* of Group IV. For the most part the readings of *A* and *C* serve as a silent witness to and control of *N*. However, they have also been used to supply the section of ii. 17 which is missing in *N* as a result of the loss of f. 43; and they provide the readings in the text where errors and idiosyncrasies in *N* are recorded in the apparatus. It occasionally happens that *N* has an acceptable reading but both *A* and *C* agree with *β* in a significant variant; such agreement is recorded in the apparatus, in order to indicate that the reading in the text is peculiar to *N*.

As well as presenting the text of *N*, an attempt is also made to reconstruct the text of *β*. Three manuscripts have been collated for this purpose. One, *I* of Group IIa, presenting as it does all the addenda as addenda, appears to represent an early stage in the composition of *β*; the other two, *X* and *Q* of Group IIb, which integrate the majority of the addenda, presumably reflect the author's most developed ideas about the text.

Significant variants occurring in these descendants of *β* are recorded in the apparatus; where all three of them are in agreement, they are designated as *β*. There are instances where *N*'s version is faulty, sometimes giving rise to more or less successful attempts at emendation in *A* and *C*; the reading of *β* is then adopted in the text, and full notification is given in the apparatus. For the reconstruction of the text of *β* where it diverges from that of *N*, *X* has been taken as the base manuscript, on the grounds that it is a later version than *I*, and a more complete one than *Q*. Orthographic variants among the descendants of *β* have not been recorded; sometimes a spelling from *I* or *Q* is silently substituted for that of *X*. The interpolations found in *X* (which are usually, but not always, also found in *Q*) have been recorded in the apparatus[302] since it seems likely that they represent the author's further tinkering with the text after *N* had been put aside.

The addenda which accrued to *β* (apart from items 9–16, which are included in the text of *N*) are to be found in Appendix I. Appendix II contains four passages which do not appear in *N* but were probably attached to the work at some stage by the author. Appendix III contains Gervase's *Commentary on the Lord's Prayer* (see below, pp. xcii–xcv).

The chapter numbering is editorial. For the most part it coincides with that of Leibniz. However, chapter 25 of Book I, which does not appear in the list of chapters at the beginning of the book in the manuscripts, is given no number in the text in Leibniz's edition. In Book II the section *De situ Rome*, here included as part of chapter 8, forms Leibniz's chapter 9; the *Tituli particulares*, here chapter 9, form Leibniz's chapter 10. The title of chapter 10 (*De partibus Europe occidentalibus; de urbibus maioris Britanie*) is omitted from the list at the beginning of the book in most of the manuscripts, and in Leibniz's edition. From chapter 11, therefore, the numbering once again coincides, up to chapter 19. Chapters 20, 25, and 26 are omitted from Leibniz's list; he therefore gave no number to these chapters in the text, and numbered chapters 21–24 as 20–23. The list of chapters for Book III is only found in manuscripts descended from *β* and does not appear in Leibniz's edition. In the text he gave no separate number to our chapter 129; his chapter 129 therefore appears as chapter 130 here. Among the emendations and supplements which he published in Volume II he printed the chapter *De turri Peleuteca Alesti* (found only in *C*, *T*, and *CM*) as chapter 130;[303] here it appears as Appendix ii. 4.

Orthography and word order

The spelling of *N*, with its many inconsistencies, has been retained as far as possible. It is of course characterized by the developments which occurred in the Middle Ages. Thus the diphthongs 'ae' and 'oe' are always represented by a simple 'e' (e.g. *equitate, pena*). The following features will also be met, more or less frequently, in the text:

interchange of i and e (e.g. *quadragisimali, merediem*)
interchange of o and u (e.g. *noncupatur, muntes*)
interchange of i and y (e.g. *phisicus, hystoria*)
omission of medial u (e.g. *linga, distingentes*)
substitution of g for consonantal i (e.g. *magestas*)
omission, addition, or misplacing of h (e.g. *ostiam, haguntur, Micahelis*)

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[302] Except for the two longest, which are presented in Appendix ii. 1 and 3.

[303] Leibniz, ii. 784.

f for ph (e.g. *filosofus, fenice*)
s for ps (e.g. *salmo, sallentium*)
interchange of c and qu (e.g. *cadrigarum, loquutus*)
interchange of p and b (e.g. *obtimos, puplico*)
interchange of n and m in certain situations (e.g. *camdelabrum, secumdum, inperialis, anbulantis*)
interchange of final t and d (e.g. *aput, inquid, capud*)
interchange of s, c, and t (e.g. *sentensiam, tercia, euultionem, solatium*)
interchange of s or c and sc (e.g. *putresit, pices, scimile, abscens*)
interchange of c or t and ct (e.g. *direcione, beneditionis, delictiosa*)
interchange of s, x, cx, xs, and xc (e.g. *consiliatris, fisos, construcxit, expecto, excercendum, excorta*)
insertion or omission of medial p (e.g. *uerumptamen, sollempnis, scultura, consumto*)
double consonant for single and vice versa (e.g. *transsiret, sagita*)

Occurrences of the above have been retained in the text, except where it was deemed that a spelling might impede recognition of the word (such as *aut* for *haud*), or represented a merely mechanical error (such as *fluninum* for *fluminum*). In such cases, and in the case of some other more eccentric spellings, *N*'s version has been relegated to the apparatus, and the reading given in the text is that of *A* or *C* or both, unless otherwise stated.

The forms 'Iesus' and 'Ierusalem' are always used, even though the abbreviated forms frequently include an 'h' after the initial 'I': a common mistake when Greek was little known. For the endings of the ablative singular and genitive plural of third declension adjectives, *N*'s usage has been followed. The author himself was thoroughly confused as to the correct forms: an ablative i is often corrected to an e or vice versa, but the result does not necessarily accord with classical usage. Medieval expressions such as 'a priori' and 'a posteriori' stand as evidence that the classical rules had generally been forgotten.

The word order of *N* has been followed, except in a few cases where that of the other manuscripts was distinctly preferable from the point of view of euphony or clarity; the reading of *N* is then recorded in the apparatus.

Treatment of place names and biblical quotations

There are many hundreds of place names in the *Otia imperialia*, principally upwards of 900 names in the lists of bishoprics in Book II,

but also many other place names distributed throughout the then known world. Gervase himself remarks on the difficulty of dealing with names which shift and alter in form and spelling: 'Nor should the reader ascribe to ignorance or mendacity the fact that the names we give are sometimes different from those known in our time, since at times we have paid homage to the past, while at other times we have had to fall in with spoken usage.'[304]

The version of the names given in the text is generally that of *N*, which is in fact very often the best version. Where the form is corrupt (e.g. *Orita* for *Creta*), the correct form is noted in the apparatus; where β has a different version, it is recorded. On the whole, however, variants have been kept to a minimum.

In translating the names, we have adopted the following principles:

- For biblical names, of which there are many, the form given in the Authorized Version of the Bible is used.
- For well-known foreign places, the English form, where such exists, is used (e.g. Naples, not Napoli).
- Some familiar names have been retained, even where they are no longer current (e.g. the Hellespont, Constantinople); where it seemed helpful, the modern name is supplied in a note.
- Other names are generally given in their modern local form, where that is known (e.g. Pécs for *Quinque Ecclesiae*).
- Where places cannot now be identified (as is the case, for example, with many of the bishoprics *in partibus infidelium*), the Latin name is retained. Since the Latin is often in adjectival form, or, where it is substantival, may be either nominative or genitive, there can frequently be no certainty as to the 'correct' spelling, and a certain amount of guesswork has inevitably been involved.

For the translation of biblical quotations and allusions, the familiar resonances of the Authorized Version and the Book of Common Prayer have been exploited where possible; the Douai Version has also been used, and a measure of free adaptation.

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[304] *Otia*, ii. 25, pp. 526–7. Cf. *Otia*, ii. 3, pp. 180–1, where the following plea was written in the margin by the author and incorporated in the copies: 'hanc lectoribus meis prestans cautelam, quod si quas regiones aut urbes aliis quam uulgus nominat appellationibus nominauero, uenia detur, eo quod euentus uarii circa loca nomina uariauerunt cum gentibus.'

VI. *COMMENTARY ON THE LORD'S PRAYER* AND OTHER WORKS

Gervase composed for the Young King a *Liber facetiarum*, or 'Book of Entertainment'. The work has not survived, but it doubtless belonged to the new genre of secular works fostered by the courts, aiming to entertain at least as much as to instruct, purporting to be truthful, and yet relying largely on the reporting of stories and marvels for their appeal.[305] Gervase was preparing a longer work for him when Henry died; this was later to form the basis of the *Otia imperialia*.[306] Two other early works (also lost) mentioned in the *Otia* were apparently of a more devotional nature: a *Vita abbreuiata et miracula beatissimi Antonii*,[307] and a *Liber de uita Beate Virginis et discipulorum* (which he also refers to as *Tractatus de transitu Beate Virginis et gestis discipulorum* and *Tractatus de uita Beate Virginis et discipulorum et eorum transitu*).[308]

The *Commentary on the Lord's Prayer* presented in Appendix III is the only work by Gervase known to have survived apart from the *Otia imperialia*.[309] As was shown above, it was probably composed in the 1220s. The text is found in Hereford Cathedral Library, MS P. I. 13, ff. 124^{v}–125^{v}. This manuscript dates from the early thirteenth century, and contains 154 leaves (mostly 285 × 200 mm.), comprising four booklets and added leaves. Gervase's commentary is the last item in the second booklet, the contents of which are written in an English protogothic bookhand, with two columns of fifty lines to a page. The first item in this booklet is a sermon in praise of Innocent III, written shortly after his death; this part of the manuscript must therefore date from after 1216. It also contains Innocent III's *De officio missae*, and four sermons on parts of the Apostles' Creed.

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[305] As with Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, and the short work of Ralph de Diceto, 'De mirabilibus Britanniae', in *Abb. Chron.*, pp. 11–15. See in general Türk, '*Nugae curialium*'. The same characteristics remain to the fore in the *Otia imperialia*, although a great deal of much weightier material has been added. A hint of the nature of the contents of the *Liber facetiarum* is provided in *Otia*, ii. 10, pp. 298–9, where Gervase remarks on the fashion for wearing tight clothes, and adds: 'I have expanded on this subject in the *Book of Entertainment*'.

[306] *Otia*, Preface, pp. 14–15.

[307] *Otia*, i. 18, pp. 98–9.

[308] *Otia*, ii. 16, pp. 375–6, iii. 25, and iii. 50.

[309] See below, pp. 902–23. We are indebted to the Hereford Cathedral Librarian, Joan Williams, for drawing our attention to this text, which was discovered by R. M. Thomson while engaged in a revision of the catalogue: see R. A. B. Mynors and R. M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 71.

As has been noted above,[310] the work is of great interest for the light it throws on Gervase's biography, since it was almost certainly written at the end of his life. It is a modest work of devotion, in which the author sets out to comment phrase by phrase on the Lord's Prayer, which he describes as 'the prayer of prayers, the rule and model of all prayer' (pp. 902–3). However, when he reaches the phrase 'And forgive us our debts', he comes to an abrupt close with the words: 'It would take a long time to set forth our debts, which it was easier to incur than it is to discharge, and so we are going to postpone this task to another day' (pp. 922–3). So far as we know, this promise was never fulfilled; it is as though the author's energy had failed him.

The commentary is remarkable for the quantity of biblical quotations and allusions which are woven into the text. There is hardly a sentence which is not indebted to at least one passage of scripture. There are many biblical allusions in the *Otia* as well, but nowhere in such concentrated profusion. Such a thorough familiarity with the scriptures and the texts of the liturgy, imbuing the author's every thought and expression, could only be the fruit of long years of study and prayer.

There are a number of points of connection between the commentary and the *Otia*. For instance, the phrase 'Our Father, who art in heaven' prompts Gervase to distinguish between the eternal heavens and the heavens which will pass away, at which point he reproduces some material which is found in the cosmographical section of the *Otia*.[311] He then goes on to assert, with reference to the present tense of the verb 'art' (*es*), that there was a timeless eternity before time began, just as he had stated earlier in the same chapter of the *Otia*, even using the identical words: 'fuit quando non fuit tempus.'[312] In both works he alludes to the phrase 'ius suum cuique tribuens' from Justinian's *Institutes*.[313] And even in such an unworldly work as this commentary, Gervase includes a quotation from his beloved Ovid,[314] the poet he quotes more often than any other in the *Otia*.

In the course of his exposition of 'Give us this day our daily bread', Gervase offers 'a few points for your consideration, brothers, concerning the sacrament of the altar' (pp. 918–19). His evident reverence for this sacrament is reminiscent of passages in the

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[310] See pp. xxxvii–xxxviii.

[311] Appendix iii, pp. 908–9; *Otia*, i. 1.

[312] Appendix iii, pp. 910–11; *Otia*, i. 1, n. 6.

[313] *Inst.* i. 1, Introduction and law 3; *Otia*, Preface, n. 2; Appendix iii, n. 111.

[314] Appendix iii, pp. 908–9.

Otia where he expounds its supreme efficacy and value;[315] it is interesting to note that a special devotion to the Blessed Sacrament is also characteristic of the Premonstratensian Order. Gervase quotes again a prayer which he has quoted in the *Otia*: 'Lord God, we pray that your sacraments may fulfil in us what they embody, that what we now perform outwardly, we may receive in truth.'[316] This prayer, attributed by Gervase to Eusebius, had been used in the ninth century to defend the theory of transubstantiation, which is here propounded by Gervase. Further, in the commentary, as in the *Otia*, Gervase emphasizes the strictness of God's justice, and the fearful reality of eternal punishment;[317] but he also shows a genuine devotion to Christ as Saviour and Redeemer, and a predilection for the poor and powerless. Thus a continuity and development in Gervase's attitudes can be discerned between the *Otia* and the commentary.

There are many similarities of language. For instance, phrases such as 'Quid plura?' and 'Quid ultra?', which occur so frequently in the *Otia*, are also found in the commentary.[318] The sentence 'Quid superest, nisi ut conregnemus cum Christo?' is reminiscent of the peroration of the Preface of the *Otia*: 'sic feliciter regnans in temporali regno ut cumregnetis in eternum cum Christo.'[319] Gervase also shows his penchant for displaying his knowledge of Greek, but, as often in the *Otia*, fails to get it quite right.[320]

Gervase gives full rein to his rhetorical training in the commentary, using especially asyndeton, anaphora, rhetorical questions, and parallel clauses; in fact there are so many groups of parallel clauses that the device threatens to become tedious.[321] Similarly the repetition of 'orandus' eleven times in the space of two sentences produces a certain impression of surfeit.[322] However, Gervase's sincerity is unmistakable, and the work as a whole possesses a certain charm.

Although the author remains the learned and respected Master Gervase, he is writing here, not to entertain and amuse, but to foster devotion. This little work shows the kind of devotion which could and often did flourish among the learned, even in the most secular environments; it reflects the fluidity of the boundary between sacred and secular at the time, and the easy and fruitful interchange which could occur between them.

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[315] See especially *Otia*, iii. 57.

[316] pp. 920–1; cf. *Otia*, iii. 24, n. 5

[317] Cf. pp. 906–9 with *Otia*, i. 15 (pp. 86–7) and i. 20 (pp. 114–15).

[318] See pp. 908 and 916.

[319] Cf. p. 912 with *Otia*, Preface (p. 14).

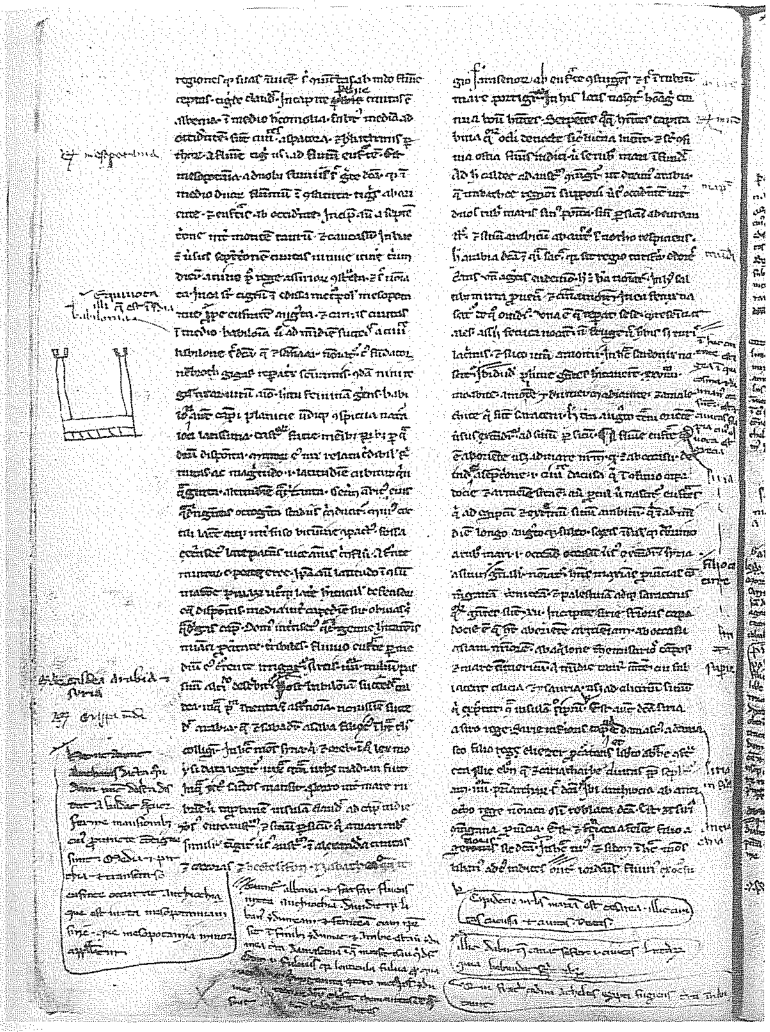
[320] See p. 918.

[321] The following is a typical example: 'Loquitur nobis Christus magister discipulis, dominus seruis, pater filiis; ut magister instruit, ut dominus precipit, ut pater eterne hereditatis successionem aperit. Instruenti credendum, mandanti obediendum, hereditanti gratificandum' (p. 904).

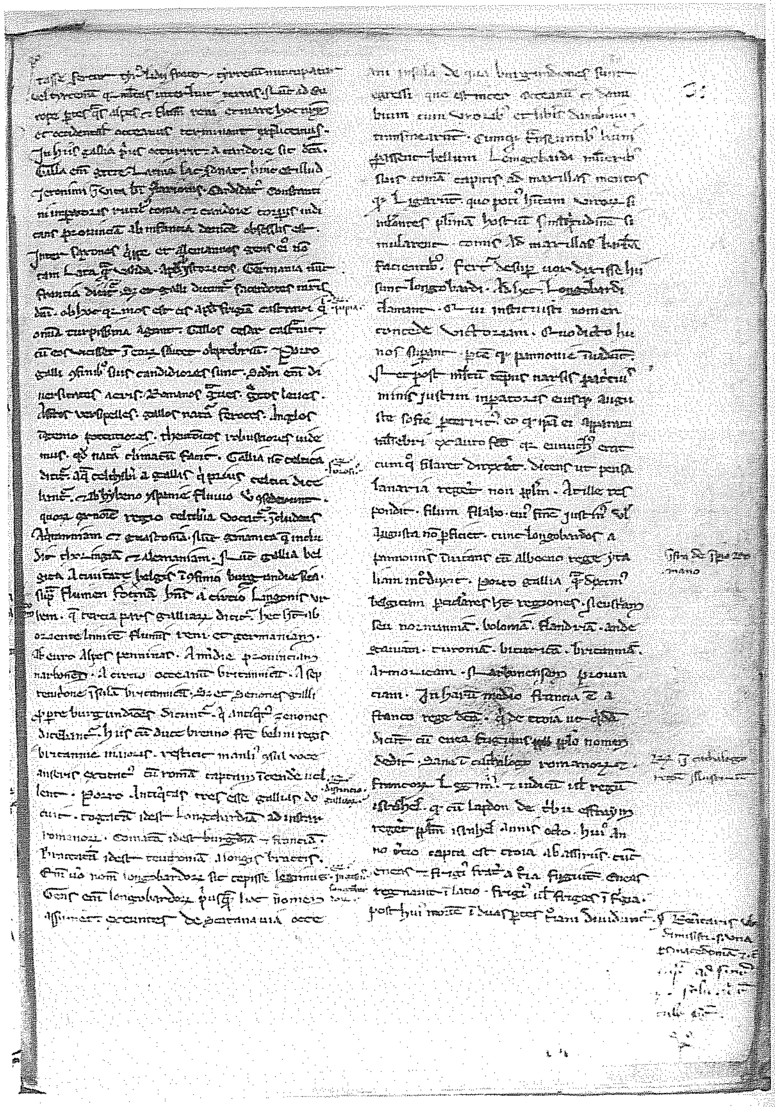
[322] Loc. cit.

LIST OF SIGLA

A	BL, Cotton Vespasian E. IV, s. xiv^{m}
β	the archetype of the MSS of Group II, determined by the agreements of *I Q* and *X*
C	BN, Lat. 6703, s. xiv
I	BN, Lat. 6492, s. xv
N	Vat. Lat. 933, s. xiii^{1}
Q	BN, Lat. 13959, s. xv$^{ex.}$
X	Vat. Lat. 993, s. xiv and xv



1. MS Vat. Lat. 933, f. 19^{v}: part of ii. 4 (printed below, pp. 194–202), showing marginalia almost certainly in the author's hand, and what appears to be a representation of Babylon. On this manuscript, see pp. lxiv and lxxix–lxxxv.



2. MS Vat. Lat. 933, f. 30ʳ: part of ii. 10 (printed below, pp. 284–8), written entirely in what is taken to be Gervase's own hand, to supply a lacuna on f. 26ᵛ. See pp. lxiv and lxxix.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

PREFATIO

In nomine Domini amen. Incipit liber a magistro Geruasio Tilleberiensi editus et intitulatur *Otia imperialia.*

Serenissimo domino suo[a] Dei gratia Ottoni quarto Romanorum imperatori[b] semper augusto, Geruasius Tilleberiensis, uestri dignatione marescalus regni Arelatensis,[1] humilis, deuotus, et fidelis, salutem, uictoriam, et pacem interiorem et exteriorem.

Collatio sacerdocii et regni

[2]Duo sunt, imperator auguste, quibus hic mundus regitur, sacerdocium et regnum.[2] Sacerdos orat, rex imperat. Sacerdos debita dimittit, rex errata[c] punit. Sacerdos animas ligat et soluit, rex corpora cruciat et occidit. Vterque diuine legis executor suum iusticie debitum cuique tribuit,[3] malos cohercendo et[d] bonos remunerando.[e] Quippe

> diuisum imperium cum Ioue Cesar habens,[4]

terrena moderatur et lutea figmenta iudicat, hec probans, illa conterens;[f] sacerdos animas informat, spiritus diuini seminis ubertate recreat: dum 'celum celi Domino, terram autem dedit filiis hominum.'[5] Sane filios hominum decent arma et sagite, filios Dei orationes, uota, ac sacrificia, ut carbones succendantur ab eis,[6] dum uita pastoris doctrina pascualis est ouis et rigor punientis pax est popularis.

Porro sacerdocio regnum se nouerit adesse, non preesse; adici, non prefici; in executionem dari per adiutorium, non[g] in maioritatem efferri[h] per dominationis auctoritatem. Constituens enim Dominus in homine corpus et animam, in utroque per preuaricationem suam

[a] Serenissimo . . . suo] *written in margin of N; three-and-a-half lines left blank for the elaboration of these words in text* [b] imperatori *supplied by author N* [c] errata *supplied by author N* [d] et *om. N* [e] bonos remunerando *supplied by author N* [f] conterans *N* [g] non *supplied by author(?) N* [h] efferri *ACQI;* offerri *NX*

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[1] For Otto IV and Gervase's appointment as marshal of Arles, see above, pp. xxxi–xxxiii.

[2–2] From the letter of Gelasius I to Anastasius (496); cf. *Decretum*, D. 96 c. 10; this was a much-quoted passage in discussions of the relationship between royal and ecclesiastical

PREFACE

In the name of the Lord, amen. Here begins the book written by Master Gervase of Tilbury, entitled *Recreation for an Emperor.*

To his most serene lord Otto IV, by the grace of God ever august emperor of the Romans: Gervase of Tilbury, by your patronage marshal of the kingdom of Arles,[1] your humble, devoted, and faithful servant, wishes you health, victory, and peace both within and without.

A Comparison of the Priestly and Kingly Powers

[2]There are two powers, august Emperor, by which this world is governed, the priestly and the kingly.[2] The priest prays, the king commands. The priest forgives sins, the king punishes transgressions. The priest binds and looses souls, the king tortures and kills bodies. Each, as an executor of divine law, renders to everyone his due,[3] curbing the wicked and rewarding the good. For

> Caesar, holding a share of power with Jupiter,[4]

governs earthly affairs and judges creatures of clay, raising some up and trampling others down; while the priest moulds souls and recreates spirits out of the abundance of divine life: for 'the heaven of heaven is the Lord's, but the earth he has given to the children of men.'[5] Armour and weapons befit the sons of men, but prayers, vows, and sacrifices befit the sons of God, that coals may be kindled by them.[6] If the life of the pastor is doctrine for the nurture of the sheep, yet too the rigour of the chastiser is peace for the people.

But the kingly power should know itself to be set alongside, not over, the priestly; to be its adjutant, not its commander; given to be of practical help, not exalted to exercise domination. For the Lord, ordaining that man should consist of body and soul, perceived that

power. It is possible that in his discussion of *regnum* and *sacerdotium* in this preface and in *Otia* ii. 18 (pp. 450–5), Gervase is drawing on a canonistic source which we have not succeeded in identifying.

[3] Cf. *Inst.* i. 1, Introduction and law 3.

[4] Attributed to Virgil; cf. *Anthologia Latina*, ed. A. Riese, i (1) (Leipzig, 1894), no. 256.

[5] Ps. 113B (115): 16.

[6] Cf. 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 22: 9, 13; Ps. 17 (18): 9 (8).

senciens lesam maiestatem, corpori dedit legem talionis, et anime satisfactionem contritionis cum adiuncta uerecundia confessionis, secundum illud Apostoli: 'Quem enim fructum tunc habuistis, in quibus nunc erubescitis?'[i][7] Sicut ergo prius corpus ex lutea formatur materia et exhinc anima uasi infonditur, nec tamen anima, corporis inclusa carcere,[j] corpori debet subesse sed carnis opera regendo ad mensuram rationis disponere, ita regnum[k] sacerdocium ante tempora legis Mosaice in Belo et Nino, Assiriorum rege primo,[8] precedens,[l] ad hominum studens oppressionem, non antefertur dignitate[m] sed etate. Forciusque rex ille summus simul[n] et sacerdos, Christus, secundum ordinem Melchisedech,[9] suo sacerdotium consecrauit imperio, sortem suam in clero constituens, cuius merito clerici uelut in sortem Domini uocati nuncupantur. Vtrorumque ergo creator et dominus, clericos in funiculum sue uocauit portionis, et laicos in corporalis uenire uoluit ministerium executionis.

Hinc est quod cum communi quadam actione[o] Araon et Saul, sacerdos et rex, ungerentur in capite. [10]Quando puer natus est nobis et filius datus est nobis, factus est principatus eius[p] super humerum eius,[10] et unctio sacerdotalis, sicut unguentum in capite,[11] descendit in regibus super humerum ut portent honus uindicte in fortitudine,[q] regentes populum nunc in uirga ferrea cum dure fuerit ceruicis, nunc in uirga uigiliarum cum fuerit cordis pigri, nunc in uirga uirtutis quam emittet Dominus ex Syon dominari in medio innimicorum tuorum, princeps sacratissime. Has quippe uirgas regales innuit propheta cum diceret: 'Reges eos in uirga ferrea';[12] et alibi: 'Virgam uigilantem ego uideo';[13] et iterum: 'Virgam uirtutis tue[r] emittet Dominus ex Syon: dominare in medio inimicorum tuorum.'[14] Verum unctio sacerdotalis inmutata semper et uniformis in capite persistit, et ad uirgam pertinet directionis, de qua rex ille et propheta

[i] erubescias *N* (-a- *written over erasure*) [j] carere N [k] rex *corrected by author to* regnum *N*; rex *ACβ* [l] precendens *N* [m] dignitat *N* [n] simul *supplied by author*(?) *N* [o] actioni *N* [p] eius *supplied by author N* [q] fortudine *N* [r] sue *N*

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[7] Cf. Rom. 6: 21.

[8] Ninus, son of Belus or Bel, was the legendary founder of the city of Nineveh. He was said to have conquered almost the whole of western Asia, with the help of Ariaeus, king of Arabia, and to have founded the first empire; he was the husband of Semiramis.

[9] Ps. 109 (110): 4; Heb. 5: 6. Gervase is here echoing Innocent III and other papalist thinkers; cf. *RNI*, p. 6, no. 2, n. 1.

[10–10] Cf. Isa. 9: 6.

[11] Ps. 132 (133): 2. For the distinction between anointing on the head and on the shoulders see W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages* (3rd edn.,

each part committed treason by sinning in its own way; and so he gave to the body the law of retaliation in kind, and to the soul the possibility of making amends through contrition with the accompanying shame of confession, in accordance with the words of the Apostle: 'What fruit therefore had you then in those things of which you are now ashamed?'[7] The body is formed first from the clay of which it is made, and then the soul is poured into the vessel; yet the soul, though confined in the prison of the body, should not be subject to the body, but should rather rule the works of the flesh and order them under the guidance of reason. In the same way the kingship preceded the priesthood, for there were kings before the time of the Mosaic Law in the persons of Belus and of Ninus, the first king of the Assyrians;[8] but the kingship arose out of a drive to oppress people, and the precedence is one of age, not dignity. More notably Christ, supreme both as king and as priest according to the order of Melchizedek,[9] consecrated the priesthood by his authority, casting his own lot among the clergy; and so the clergy are said to be called to the lot of the Lord. As creator and lord of both, he called the clergy to share in his own lot, while the laity he desired to undertake the function of bodily service.

This explains why Aaron and Saul, priest and king, were both anointed on the head by one and the same rite. [10]When a child was born to us and a son was given to us, his government was upon his shoulder;[10] so the priest's oil, like precious ointment on the head,[11] runs down upon the shoulder in the anointing of kings, that they may have the strength to bear the burden of the defence of justice. For they rule the people with a rod of iron at times when they are stiff-necked, with a rod of watching at times when they are hard of heart, and at other times with the rod of power which the Lord will send forth from Zion to rule in the midst of your enemies, most worshipful Prince. To these royal rods the prophet was referring when he said: 'You shall rule them with a rod of iron';[12] and elsewhere: 'I see a rod watching';[13] and again: 'The Lord will send forth the rod of your power out of Zion: rule in the midst of your enemies.'[14] The priestly anointing, on the other hand, remains ever unchanging and the same upon the head. It belongs to the rod of uprightness, of which the king

London, 1970), pp. 227–8; *Ordines coronationis imperialis*, ed. R. Elze (*MGH Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui*, ix (Hanover, 1960), 2, no. 1).

[12] Ps. 2: 9.

[13] Jer. 1: 11.

[14] Ps. 109 (110): 2.

Dauid: 'Sedes tua, Deus, in seculum seculi: uirga directionis uirga regni tui. Dilexisti iusticiam,[s] et odisti iniquitatem: propterea unxit[t] te Deus, Deus tuus, oleo letitie, pre consortibus tuis.'[15] Quoniam igitur ad sacerdotalem pertinet unctionem diligere iusticiam et odire iniquitatem, ius suum cuique tribuendo[16] et contra equitatem iuris naturalis nihil proprium affectando, cum per iniquitatem quis hoc dixerit meum, illud tuum, ut Ca. .xii. q. .i. c. .ii.[17] (de qua iniquitate, f. 1v quasi[u] contra communionem legis naturalis, equitate | deprauata, dicit Dominus in euangelio: 'Facite uobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis',[18] quasi de diuiciis contra equitatem iuris et communionis naturalis congregatis), merito ab unctione capitis non descendit unctio sacerdotalis ad humerum, quia non in fortitudine uiri beneplacitum erit Domino,[19] sed super humilem et mansuetum et trementem uerba Domini[20] requiescit spiritus eius; ut qui percusserit te in una maxilla, prebeas ei et aliam,[21] secundum illud: 'Dedi genas meas uellentibus et conspuentibus in me.'[22]

Ecce quod duobus rectoribus mundus iste subicitur,[23] et tamen a manu sacerdotali rex principatus sui unctionem habet, et ab utrorumque domino uterque suam recipit potestatem. Vicario Christi, Petro, dicitur a Domino: 'Tu uocaberis Cefas, quod est interpretatum capud.'[24] Et adiungitur:[v] 'Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram'[w] que ego sum, et in cuius fide tu solidatus es, 'edificabo ecclesiam meam, et porte inferi non preualebunt aduersus eam.'[25] Et iterum: 'Tibi dabo claues regni celorum. Quodcumque ligaueris' etc., 'et quodcumque solueris' etc.[26] Et alibi: 'Et tu conuersus confirma fratres tuos.'[27] Sic ab ipso ore dominico Petrus principatum et Araon sacerdotium obtinuit.

[28]Sane regnum diuina permissione non a diuina cepit institutione,[28]

[s] dilexisti iusticiam *supplied by author N* [t] unxit *om. N* [u] quasi *supplied by author N* [v] aiungitur *N* [w] petram *supplied by author N*

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[15] Ps. 44 (45): 7–8 (6–7).

[16] Cf. *Inst.* i. 1, Introduction and law 3, and n. 3 above.

[17] *Decretum*, C. 12 q. 1 c. 2 para. 1.

[18] Luke 16: 9.

[19] Cf. Jer. 9: 23.

[20] Cf. Isa. 66: 2.

[21] Cf. Matt. 5: 39; Luke 6: 29.

[22] Cf. Isa. 50: 6.

[23] Again, an allusion to Gelasius. However, Gelasius' argument, at a time when rulers were not yet anointed, was that priests would have to render account for the souls of kings. On the argument from unction, see *Decretum*, C. 24 q. 1 c. 4: *ille, qui benedicit, maior est eo, cui benedicitur* (col. 968), and for the difference between being anointed on the head and on the shoulders see above, n. 11.

[24] Cf. John 1: 42.

[25] Matt. 16: 18; cf. Isidore, *Etym.* vii. 9. 2–3.

[26] Cf. Matt. 16: 19.

and prophet David said: 'Your throne, O God, is for ever and ever: the rod of your kingdom is a rod of uprightness. You have loved justice, and hated iniquity: therefore God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness above your fellows.'[15] It does indeed belong to the priestly anointing to love justice and hate iniquity, giving each his due[16] and not claiming anything as personal property but upholding the equity of natural law; for according to C. 12 q. 1 c. 2,[17] it is a violation of that equity whenever anyone says 'this is mine, that is yours' (and it is to this iniquity, which as it were goes against the common life of natural law and perverts equity, that the Lord is referring when he says in the gospel: 'Make for yourselves friends of the mammon of iniquity',[18] meaning by that riches amassed in violation of the equity inherent in the law and life of nature). It is only right, therefore, that the oil of the priestly anointing does not run down from the head upon the shoulder, because the Lord will not take pleasure in a man's strength;[19] rather his spirit rests on the one who is humble and meek and trembles at the words of the Lord.[20] So if someone strikes you on one cheek, offer him the other also,[21] according to the words: 'I have given my cheeks to them that plucked them and spat upon me.'[22]

You see then that this world is subject to two masters,[23] and while the king receives his office through his anointing at the hand of the priest, each actually receives his power from him who is lord of both. To Peter, the vicar of Christ, the Lord says: 'You shall be called Cephas, which means head.'[24] And he also says: 'You are Peter, and upon this rock', that is, upon me, for your strength is founded on your faith in me, 'I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'[25] And again: 'I will give to you the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever you shall loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.'[26] And elsewhere: 'And you, when you are converted, strengthen your brothers.'[27] Thus from the very mouth of the Lord, Peter received the princely power and the priesthood of Aaron.

[28]In fact it was by divine sufferance and not by divine ordinance that kingship had its beginning.[28] For it originated in oppression, and

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[27] Cf. Luke 22: 32.

[28–28] An echo here—in thought as much as words—of Gregory VII's letter to Hermann of Metz (ed. E. Caspar, *Das Register Gregors VII*, viii. 21, *MGH Epistolae Selectae*, ii. 546–62).

quod obpressionem habuit pro exordio, natura cummunis libertatis in ipso uiolenciam paciente, quasi eatenus humanum genus ritu pecudum uixerit et tunc primum ueluti ad nouam prouidentiam concussum excitatumque uigilauerit. [29]Ninus enim, rex Assiriorum primus, ut scribunt historiografi, propagande[x] dominationis libidine arma foras extulit cruentamque[y] uitam quinquaginta annis per totam Assiam bellis egit; a meridie et Rubro mari surgens, sub ultimo septentrione Euxinum pontum uastando perdomuit, Sichicamque barbariam,[z] adhuc tunc imbellem[a] ac innocentem, torpentem excitare seuiciam, uires suas[b] nosse, et non lacte iam pecudum uiuere sed sanguinem hominum bibere, ad postremum uincere, dum uincit,[c] edocuit.[29]

Enimuero qui dat salutem regibus,[30] hic loquutus est ad Moysen ducem et Aaron sacerdotem, Moysi peculiariter loquens et per ipsum ad populum mandata sua transfundens. Moysi, duci 'impediti oris[d] et lingue tardioris',[31] Aaron iungitur ut ponat uerba Domini in ore eius. Notans ergo Dominus quod utriusque potestas ab ipso sit sine liuore paritatis, ait: 'Ego ero in ore tuo et in ore illius, ut[e] ostendam uobis quid agere debeatis. Ipse loquetur pro te ad populum, et erit os tuum: tu autem eris ei in hiis que ad Deum pertinent.'[32]

Ecce quod Moyses prefertur Leuite, et qui preest dignitate in sancta sanctorum non intrat neque sacerdotium accipit in orationes et sacrificium. Ipse tamen Aaron in summum ungit sacerdotem eique uestimenta ornamentaque pontificalia donat.[33] Enimuero Saul a Domino in regem eligitur et a Samuele inungitur.[34] Si a propheta uel a[f] sacerdote regnum penderet, lex regis ab ipso, non a Domino prodiisset. Verum ab ipso Domino dicitur ad prophetam: 'Contestare eis, et predica ius regis, qui regnaturus est super eos. Hoc erit ius regis, qui imperaturus est uobis: filios uestros tollet, et ponet in curribus suis, et faciet sibi equites,[g] precursores cadrigarum suarum, et constituet sibi tribunos, et centuriones, et aratores agrorum suorum, et messores segetum, et fabros armorum; filias quoque uestras unguentarias, focarias, et panificas. Agros uestros, et uineas,

[x] propagante *N* [y] cruentatamque *XQ* [z] barbariem *ACXQ and Orosius;* barberiem *I* [a] inbelleem *N* [b] suas *supplied by author N* [c] uincit *NAQI;* uicit *CX;* uincitur *Orosius* [d] impeditioris *AC and Vulgate* [e] ut *MSS;* et *Vulgate* [f] a *Cβ;* ad *expunged N* [g] et *add. after* equites *Vulgate*

[29–29] Ninus . . . dum uincit, edocuit] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 4. 1–2; *Otia*, ii. 1, n. 23. For Ninus, see above, n. 8.

[30] Cf. Ps. 143 (144): 10.

the universal freedom which belonged to our natural state suffered violation in it. Up to that point the human race had lived like the beasts, but then for the first time it stirred itself, as if shaken and roused to a new consciousness. [29]For Ninus, the first king of the Assyrians, as historians record, embarked on foreign wars out of a lust for more power, and for fifty years led a life of bloody warfare all through Asia; rising up from the south and the Red Sea, he laid waste and subjugated the country up to the far north along the Black Sea, and he taught the barbarous Scythia, till then peaceful and harmless, to rouse her dormant fierceness, to realize her strength, and no longer to live on the milk of cattle but to drink the blood of men, until finally by conquering he showed her how to conquer.[29]

Truly the one who gives salvation to kings[30] spoke both to Moses the leader and to Aaron the priest, speaking particularly to Moses and through him conveying his commands to the people. To Moses, the leader, 'of slow speech and slower tongue',[31] was united Aaron, that Moses might put the words of the Lord in his mouth. And the Lord, indicating that the power of each of them derived from himself with no cause for rivalry, said: 'I will be in your mouth, and in his mouth, that I may show you both what you must do. He shall speak in your stead to the people, and shall be your mouth: but you shall be to him in those things that pertain to God.'[32]

Mark, then, that Moses is placed above the Levite, and yet he who is preferred in dignity does not enter the holy of holies and does not assume the role of the priest for prayers and sacrifice. He does however anoint Aaron as high priest and bestow on him the pontifical vestments and ornaments.[33] Then again, Saul is chosen by the Lord to be king and is anointed by Samuel.[34] If the kingship derived from the prophet or priest, the law of the king would have proceeded from himself, not from the Lord. But the Lord himself says to the prophet: 'Testify to them, and foretell the right of the king, that shall reign over them. This will be the right of the king, that shall reign over you. He will take your sons, and put them in his chariots, and make them his horsemen, and his footmen to run before his chariots. And he will appoint them to be his tribunes and centurions, and to plough his fields, and to reap his corn, and to make arms for him. Your daughters also he will take to make ointments for him, and to be his cooks and bakers. And he will take your fields, and your vineyards,

[31] Cf. Exod. 4: 10.

[32] Exod. 4: 15–16.

[33] Cf. Exod. 28.

[34] Cf. 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 8–10.

et oliua obtima tollet, et dabit seruis suis.[h] Greges uestros addecimabit.'[35]

f. 2r | Sicut ergo[i] potestas Petro datur ligandi et soluendi[j] super terram, ita regi ius regis datur super populum, utrumque a Domino, utrumque ab eodem auctore Deo. Constantini gesta si memoramus, ab ipso collata legitur potestas in partes occidentales[k] tantum Siluestro; orientalis[l] regio facta est caput imperii, licetque uicario Christi Petro imperator[m] eiusque successoribus ius regis in hoccidente constituisset, diademate cesso ceterisque insignibus Siluestro collatis ad gloriam, non tamen imperii nomen uel imperium ipsum transsire uoluit imperator in Siluestrum, quod sibi successoribusque[n] suis conseruauit intactum, sola sede mutata, non dignitate.[36] Vnde primus Carolus Magnus a Grecorum dicione legitur recessise, monitu Gregorii iunioris pape, ut infra, titulo *De imperio*.[37]

Quis ergo maior in terrenis, qui dat an qui accipit?[38] Profecto qui dat auctor est honoris quem dat, non qui accipit. Deus auctor imperii, et imperator auctor papalis triumphi. Pontifex animarum caput est post Christum, imperator corporum dominus post Deum, quin immo per Deum, a quo ius regis est institutum. Pilati nempe potestas in Christum data desursum esse perhibetur.[39] Si ergo qui[o] potestati resistit Dei ordinationi resistit,[40] si ducibus est obediendum tamquam a Deo missis, si reges uenerandi sunt,[41] si que sunt Cesaris reddenda sunt Cesari et que Dei Deo,[42] si descriptioni augustali Christus matrem subici uoluit,[43] si staterem Christus pro tributo soluit,[44] quis ambigat regnum diuina auctoritate firmatum, si tamen a Christo petra,[45] ut a fidei fondamento, non separatur? Vtriusque Deus[p] auctor sacerdocii et regni, utriusque protector,[q] utrumque priuilegio suo insigniuit, dum sacerdotium in se uniens regno [46]constitutus est rex a

[h] cuis *N* [i] Sicut ergo *supplied by author N* [j] soluandi *N* [k] occidantales *N* [l] orienta|talis *N* [m] imperatori *N* [n] ac successoribus *Cβ* [o] qui *supplied by author N* [p] Deus *supplied by author N* [q] sacerdocii . . . protector] *supplied by author N*

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[35] Cf. 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 8: 9, 11–14, 17.

[36] The allusion here is to the Donation of Constantine, a forged document in which the emperor Constantine (306–337) was represented as bestowing on Pope Sylvester I (314–335) temporal power over the western empire together with primacy over the great patriarchates of the Church. See *Constitutum Constantini* c. xvii–xix, ed. H. Fuhrmann (*MGH Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui*, x (Hanover, 1968), 93–8); id., *Einfluß und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen* (*Schriften der MGH*, xxiv (1–3) (Stuttgart, 1972–4)), ii. 354–407; and *Decretum*, D. 96 c. 14; for its use here in the debate over the powers of *regnum* and *sacerdotium* see G. Laehr, *Die konstantinische Schenkung in der abendländischen Literatur des Mittelalters bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1926), pp. 76–8, who notes the inconsistency Gervase shows here and in *Otia* ii. 18–19, and Goez, *Translatio*, p. 137.

and your best oliveyards, and give them to his servants. Your flocks also he will tithe.'[35]

Just as to Peter is given the power of binding and loosing on earth, so to the king is given the right of the king over the people; both given by the Lord, both with God as their author. If we call to mind the deeds of Constantine, it is recorded that power over the western regions only was transferred by him to Sylvester; the eastern region became the head of the empire, and although the emperor had bestowed upon Peter, the vicar of Christ, and upon his successors the right of the king in the west, yielding the crown to Sylvester and conferring on him the other insignia for his glory, he did not wish the name of empire or the imperial power itself to pass to Sylvester. This he kept intact for himself and his successors, changing only the seat, not the office.[36] And so we read that the first Charles the Great withdrew from the authority of the Greeks, on the advice of Pope Gregory the Younger, as will be treated below, in the chapter *The Empire*.[37]

Now who is the greater in this world, he who gives, or he who receives?[38] Assuredly the giver, not the receiver, is the author of the honour which he gives. God is the author of the empire, and the emperor is the author of the papal triumph. The pope is, after Christ, the head of souls, the emperor is, after God, the lord of bodies, or rather through God, by whom the right of the king was established. You remember that the authority of Pilate over Christ is said to have been given from above.[39] If then whoever resists authority is resisting the ordinance of God,[40] if leaders are to be obeyed as people sent from God, if kings are to be revered,[41] if the things that are Caesar's are to be rendered to Caesar and the things that are God's to God,[42] if Christ was willing for his mother to be subject to the imperial census,[43] if Christ paid a stater for tribute,[44] who could doubt that the kingship rests on divine authority, provided that it is not separated from Christ, the Rock,[45] but is based on the foundation of faith? The author of both priesthood and kingship is God; he is the protector of both; he marked both with the seal of his prerogative when the one who united priesthood and kingship in himself [46]was

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[37] *Otia*, ii. 16, at nn. 168–9; cf. ii. 18, n. 54. The situation referred to is the appeal made to Charles Martel by Pope Gregory III in 737; the appeal was actually unsuccessful.

[38] Cf. above, n. 23. [39] Cf. John 19: 11. [40] Rom. 13: 2.

[41] Cf. Rom. 13: 1; 1 Tim. 2: 1–2; Tit. 3: 1; 1 Pet. 2: 13–14.

[42] Cf. Matt. 22: 21; Mark 12: 17; Luke 20: 25. [43] Cf. Luke 2: 1–5.

[44] Cf. Matt. 17: 23–6. [45] Cf. 1 Cor. 10: 4. [46–46] Cf. Ps. 2: 6.

Deo super Syon, montem sanctum[r] eius, et[s] predicans preceptum Domini[46] factus est sacerdos in eternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech.[47] Vniuit in se regnum et[t] sacerdocium, tollens de equalitate inuidiam et de imparitate calumpniam. Dixit:[u] 'Qui maior est in uobis, fiat sicut minor',[48] per hoc docens nullam inter eos habendam de dignitate maioritateque discordiam, quorum erat cor unum et anima una[49] in Domino. Terrenis siquidem dictum est quod reges dominantur eorum[v] et qui potestatem habent super illos benefici uocantur.[50] Porro in sacerdocio equalitas mater est potestatis augende, nec illic queritur quis maior sit, sed quis[w] in dispensatione fidelior.[x] Verumtamen in summo pontifice, uelut primi Aaron successore summique sacerdotis Christi uicario Petrique herede, plenitudo uiget potestatis, et in alios per eum porcio transfunditur sollicitudinis. At in paucis fuit monarchia principibus,[51] et post illos diuisio fuit mater discordie minoratioque potestatis terrene.

Omne ergo imperium[y] aut celeste, quod integrum est et non ueterascit, aut subceleste (quia spirituale), quod Petro datum a Christo glorificatum a Constantino in Siluestro, aut terrenum, quod raro pacificum et per multa tempora diuisum. Duo ergo temporalia, primum eternum; duorum finis erit,[z] primum sine fine, 'a modo' enim 'et usque in sempiternum.'[52] Rapine namque terminus est, iusticie uero finis infinitas. Terrenum imperium cum carne cinis erit[a] et puluis; quasi celeste uel subceleste[b] militantis ecclesie est, que dum ad triumphandum properat cursum suum dirigit ad id quod est perfectum.

Et quoniam apud nos sunt mutationes[c] et uicissitudinum obumbrationes,[53] nunc inter felicia letatur animus, nunc inter tristia meditatur, semper mouetur, raro quiescit. Enimuero in dilucidis interuallis[54] imperialis magestas nonnonquam sono cithare Dauid
f. 2v uexationem | in Saule a spiritu[d] perturbante factam amotam sentit aut emollitam.[55] Quia igitur optimum nature fatigate remedium est amare nouitates et gaudere uariis, nec decet tam sacras aures spiritu

[r] montem sanctum *ACXQ and Vulgate;* sanctum montem *NI, with* sanctum *supplied by author N* [s] et *om. ACXQ and Vulgate* [t] et *supplied by author(?) N* [u] dixit *supplied by author N* [v] eorum *supplied by author N* [w] quis *supplied by author N* [x] fideliorum *N* [y] imperi | perium *N* [z] erit *supplied by author N* [a] erit *supplied by author N* [b] uel subceleste *supplied by author N* [c] mittationes *N* [d] a spiritu *supplied by author N*

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[47] Ps. 109 (110): 4; Heb. 5: 6.

[48] Luke 22: 26.

[49] Cf. Acts 4: 32.

[50] Cf. Luke 22: 25.

[51] Adam, Noah, Alexander, and Augustus: see *Otia*, i. 10.

appointed king by God over Zion, his holy mountain, and the one who preached the law of the Lord[46] was made a priest for ever according to the order of Melchizedek.[47] He united in himself the kingship and the priesthood, removing the rivalry from equality and the grievance from inequality. He said: 'He that is the greater among you, let him become as the younger',[48] showing by this that among his followers, who had but one heart and one soul[49] in the Lord, there should be no argument concerning honour or greatness. Certainly it has been said to the people of this world that their kings lord it over them, and that they that have power over them are called beneficent.[50] But in the priesthood, equality is the mother of increasing authority, and there the question is not who is the greater, but who is more faithful in stewardship. Nevertheless in the person of the pope, as successor of Aaron the first priest, and vicar of Christ the high priest, and heir of Peter, there flourishes the plenitude of power, and through him a portion of responsibility is transferred to others. But in the case of secular rulers only a few have ever held sole sway,[51] and since their time division has been the mother of discord and has served to curtail earthly power.

All power is either celestial, which is perfect and does not grow old, or subcelestial (so-called because it is spiritual), which was given to Peter by Christ and glorified in Sylvester by Constantine, or earthly, which is rarely at peace and for many ages has been divided. The latter two are temporal, while the first is eternal; the latter two will come to an end, but the first is without end, having been established 'from henceforth and for ever.'[52] For there is a limit to violence, but the bounds of justice are boundless. Earthly power will turn to dust and ashes along with all flesh; the quasi-celestial or subcelestial power is that of the church militant which, as it hastens towards its triumph, directs its course towards that which is perfect.

Our lives are full of change and the shadows of alteration.[53] So at one time the mind is buoyed up by happy circumstances, and at another it broods in sorrow; it is always moving, rarely at rest. Now it happens that in lucid intervals[54] the imperial majesty sometimes feels the vexation caused in Saul by his troubling spirit banished or soothed by the sound of David's harp.[55] Since therefore the best remedy for a weary nature is to delight in novelties and to enjoy variety, and since it is not fitting that such sacred ears should be

[52] Isa. 9: 7 and 59: 21.

[53] Cf. Jas. 1: 17

[54] Cf. *Code*, vi. 22. 9.

[55] Cf. 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 16: 14–23.

mimorum[e] fallaci uentilari, dignum duxi[f] aliquid auribus uestris ingerere quo humana recreetur ocupatio. Quippe ex animi mei uoto pridem fuerat post *Librum facetiarum*,[56] quem ex mandato domini mei illustrissimi regis Anglorum Henrici[g] iunioris, auunculi uestri, dictaueram, alium ad recensendam eius beniuolunciam libellum dictare,[h] per tres decisiones distinctum, in quo tocius orbis descriptio saltem in summa contineretur, prouinciarumque diuisio cum maioribus minoribusque sedibus, et sic singularia cuiusque prouincie mirabilia[i] subnectere que fuisse mirabile, audisse apud ignorantes deliciosasque aures delectabile foret. Nec iam, sicut fieri solet, optimates per mimorum aut ystrionum lingas mendaces percipiant Dei uirtutes, sed per fidelem narrationem quam uel ex ueteribus[j] auctorum libris congessimus uel ex[k] oculata fide firmauimus, cui cotidiana subest probatio si loca singularia fuerint per descriptas prouincias perscrutata.

Quoniam igitur tam honoratissimi principis domini auunculi uestri iudicio deuotum opus seruitutis mee subtrahitur, deliberaui celsitudini uestre id oblatum ferre, ut qui ex diuina dispositione digniorem locum imperii tenetis, illi in deuoto tractatus mei seruicio subcedatis,[l] et quod ex officio marescalcie sub debito[m] armorum ministerio exequi teneor, acute lingue gladio ducam in ministerium. Id ergo precor apud inperialis magestatis beniuolentiam[n] ut non ex uestra dignitate iudicetis quod offero, sed ex affectione offerentis, qui quod defuit in oblationis tantille precio suppleuit uotiuo ministrandi desiderio. Valeat in euum[o] dominatio uestra, sic feliciter regnans[p] in temporali regno ut cumregnetis in eternum cum Christo.

Explicita est[q] prefatio. Sequuntur[r] tituli capitulorum[s] operis sequentis.

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[e] minorum *N* [f] dignum duxi *supplied by author N* [g] Henrici *supplied by author N; om. CXQ* [h] dictitare *with* ti *expunged N*, dictare *CX;* dictitare *AQI* [i] cuiusque . . . mirabilia] *supplied by author N* [j] ueteribus *supplied by author N* [k] ex *supplied by author N* [l] illi . . . subcedatis] *supplied by author N* [m] sub debito *supplied by author N* [n] beniuolanciam *N* [o] euum *supplied by author N* [p] regneras *N* [q] explicita est *NI;* explicit *ACXQ* [r] sequuntur *NAI;* incipiunt *CXQ* [s] tituli capitulorum *NA;* capitula *Cβ*

fanned by the lying breath of players, I have decided to present something for your hearing to refresh you in the midst of your worldly cares. To be sure, I had promised myself long ago that, after the *Book of Entertainment*[56] which I had composed at the command of my lord your uncle, the illustrious king of England, Henry the Younger, I would compose another book in recognition of his kindness. This was to be divided into three sections, and was to contain a description, at least in brief, of the whole world, and its division into provinces, naming the greater and lesser sees. Then I intended to add the various marvels of each province. Their very existence is remarkable, and to hear of them should afford pleasure to a listener who is not already informed of them and is able to appreciate such things. No longer need great men learn of God's power, as happens all too often, from the lying tongues of players or actors: now they will have a reliable account which we have either culled from the books of ancient authors or established from eyewitness testimonies, confirmation of which can be had any day if the various localities throughout the provinces described should be investigated.

Since, then, this work, the humble token of my allegiance, cannot be presented to the judgment of that honourable prince, your uncle, I have decided to offer it to you, Your Highness, in order that you who by divine ordinance hold the higher rank of emperor may take his place in receiving my faithful service in this treatise, and that I may fulfil the obligation of armed service to which I am bound by virtue of my office as marshal, bringing to bear the sharp sword of my tongue. Therefore I beg this of your kindness, Imperial Majesty, that you judge my offering not according to what you deserve, but according to the love of the one who offers it, who has supplied what was lacking in the value of so small a gift with a fervent desire to serve. May Your Lordship prosper for ever, reigning so felicitously in the temporal realm that you may reign with Christ for eternity.

The end of the Preface. There follow the titles of the chapters of the ensuing work.

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[56] This work, composed for Henry the Young King, has not survived: see above, p. xcii.

PRIMA DECISIO

i. De origine mundi et eius creatione[a] et quot modis mundus acipitur et celum
ii. Diuersitas opinionum et confutatio hereticorum Albiensium
iii. De[b] dispositione chaos
iv. De[c] dispositione aeris[d]
v. De sole, luna, stellis, et signis
vi. Quot[e] modis annus distingitur
vii. De ornatu aeris et uentis
viii. De iumentis, reptilibus, et bestiis
ix. De creatione anime et spiritus
x. De quatuor monarchiis et quinque[f] zonis et paradiso
xi. De fonte et quatuor fluuiis
xii. De rore celi et pluuia et nebulis
xiii. De mari
xiv. De ligno uite et[g] ligno scientie[h] boni et mali
xv. De oculis apertis post peccatum
xvi. De gladio uersatili
xvii. De duobus paradissis et infernis
xviii. De faunis[i] et satiris
xix. De filiis Ade et de[j] diuisione eorum et prima ciuitate
xx. De inuentione musice et multorum artificiorum
xxi. De Seth et eius generatione
xxii. De Enoc et Matusalem[k]
xxiii. De causa diluuii
xxiv. De diluuio et yri et archa
xxv. ⟨Egressus ab archa expositio[l]⟩

Finiunt tituli.[m] Incipit prima libri decisio.[n]

BOOK I

1. The Origin of the World and its Creation, and the Various Meanings Conveyed by the Words 'World' and 'Heaven'
2. Some Divergent Opinions, and a Confutation of the Albigensians
3. The Ordering of Chaos
4. The Ordering of the Air
5. The Sun, the Moon, the Stars, and the Signs of the Zodiac
6. The Various Ways of Reckoning a Year
7. The Adornment of the Air, and the Winds
8. The Cattle, the Creeping Things, and the Beasts
9. The Creation of the Soul and the Spirit
10. The Four Monarchies, the Five Zones, and Paradise
11. The Spring and the Four Rivers
12. The Dew of Heaven, Rain, and Clouds
13. The Sea
14. The Tree of Life and the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil
15. The Opening of the Eyes after Sin
16. The Turning Sword
17. The Two Paradises and Two Hells
18. Fauns and Satyrs
19. The Sons of Adam, their Division, and the First City
20. The Invention of Music and Many Other Arts
21. Seth and his Begetting
22. Enos and Methuselah
23. The Cause of the Flood
24. The Flood, the Rainbow, and the Ark
25. Exposition of the Departure from the Ark

That is the end of the titles. Here begins Book I of the work.

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[a] creatio|tone *N* [b] De *supplied by author N* [c] De *supplied by author N* [d] *This title is placed before the preceding one in CXQ* [e] Quod *N* [f] qunque *N* [g] et *supplied by author N* [h] stiente *N* [i] faunis *supplied by author N*

[j] de *om. Aβ* [k] De Enoc (*altered to* Enoch *by a later hand*) et Matusalem *I; om. NACXQ* [l] Egressus . . . expositio] *ed.; om. MSS* [m] Finiunt tituli *om. CXQ* [n] decisio *supplied by author N*

i. *De origine mundi et eius*[a] *creatione et quot modis dicitur mundus*[b]

f. 3r | Cum uniuscuiusque rei principium eius pars sit potentissima, ad suscepte materie seriem ac contextum arbitror pertinere inter initia descriptionis mundane, primum pauca constituere de mundi creatione, dispositione, et ornatu,[1] quasi prolixioris tractatus preambula more cursorum, sic mediocriter temperata quod materiam amplius inquirendi prestare poterunt sciolis et fastidium non debebunt generare perfecte scientibus. Enimuero imperialem decet celsitudinem ad[c] instructionem fidei laborantem ut summatim nouerit quod in catholicis comprobet et confirmet et plantet, in[d] hereticis quod reprobet, puniat, et euellat.

Originem ergo mundi a diuina ordinatione et creatione sumpsisse inicium testatur Moyses cum dixit: 'In principio creauit Deus celum et terram.'[2] Ordinauit Deus creanda preuidendo, que postea creata disposuit, et de congesta materia separauit. Pater creauit in sapiencia, que est Filius, operante Spiritu Sancto, unusque in Trinitate Deus creata disposuit, et disposita ornauit ac ordinauit. Hoc inquam fecit qui 'dixit et facta sunt, mandauit et creata sunt',[3] in Filio et cum Filio, qui se testatur esse principium cum dicit: 'Ego sum alpha et omega';[4] 'ego principium, qui et loquor[e] uobis.'[5] Filius ergo [f]principium temporis, principium mundane creationis. Si enim, ut ait Boecius,[6] fuit quando non fuit tempus, [7]tempus[f] et mundus, creatus in principio temporis, coeua sunt. Vnde sicut Deus solus eternus, ita mundus sempiternus, quia semper, id est per omne tempus, eternus. Angeli quoque sempiterni, quia temporaliter eterni.[7] Principium itaque ens sine principio: cum principio, de principio, in principio temporis, creauit celum et terram, hoc est mundum.

[a] eius *supplied by author N* [b] dicitur mundus] mundus accipitur *CXQ* [c] ad *repeated N* [d] et *add. before* in *ACβ* [e] et loquor] eloquor *N* [f-f] principium . . . tempus, tempus] *supplied by author N*

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[1] The creation was accomplished on the first day; its arrangement took up part of the first day and all the next two days; its adornment was the work of the remaining three days (cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1056)).

[2] Gen. 1: 1.

[3] Cf. Ps. 32 (33): 9.

[4] Rev. 1: 8, 21: 6, 22: 13.

[5] Cf. John 8: 25.

[6] Cf. Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*, v. prose 6, and iii. metre 9. 2–3; Augustine, *Conf.* xi. 13 (*CSEL* xxxiii. 290–1 = *PL* xxxii. 815), *Civ.* xi. 5 (*CSEL* xl (1). 517–18 = *PL* xli. 320–1).

1. *The Origin of the World and its Creation, and the Various Meanings of the Word 'World'*

Since the commencement of anything is always the most important part of it, I believe it will contribute to the order and coherence of my subject-matter to give first of all, in the initial stages of my description of the world, a short account of its creation, its arrangement, and its adornment.[1] This will serve as a kind of forerunner to the lengthier part of the work. Its scope will be sufficiently moderate that it will be able to provide anyone who has a smattering of knowledge with a basis for further inquiry, while not proving tedious to those whose knowledge is complete. For indeed, it is fitting for His Imperial Highness, in his efforts to promote instruction in the faith, to possess a summary knowledge of what he should approve, encourage, and implant in the faithful, and what he should reprove, punish, and eradicate in heretics.

The origin of the world derived from a divine decree and act of creation. This is attested by Moses, who said: 'In the beginning God created heaven and earth.'[2] God ordained what was to be created by foreseeing it; afterwards he set what he had created in order, and separated it from undifferentiated matter. The Father created in wisdom, that is, in the Son, by the working of the Holy Spirit. One in three persons, God set what he had created in order, and once it was in order he adorned it and regulated it. This was done, as I say, by the one who 'spoke and they were made', who 'commanded and they were created',[3] in the Son and with the Son. The Son bears witness that he is the beginning when he says: 'I am Alpha and Omega';[4] 'I am the beginning, who also speak to you.'[5] The Son, then, is the beginning of time, the beginning of the creation of the world. For if, as Boethius[6] says, there was a timeless eternity before time began, [7]time and the world which was created at the beginning of time are coeval. So, as God alone is eternal, the world is sempiternal, because it lasts for ever, that is, for all time. The angels are also sempiternal, because they are eternal in time.[7] The beginning, therefore, is a being without a beginning: with the beginning, from the beginning, in the beginning of time, God created heaven and earth, that is, the world.

[7–7] tempus . . . quia temporaliter eterni] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1056).

[8]Sane mundus nunc celum empireum, nunc mundus archetipus, nunc mundus sensilis,[g] nunc sola regio sublunaris, nunc homo, nunc renouatio rerum eiusdem generis, mundus nuncupatur. Empireum celum mundum dixerim propter sui munditiam,[8] a *pir* Greco, quod est ignis, quasi eminens super celum igneum siue sidereum. [9]Hoc quam cito factum statim dispositum est et ornatum, id est sanctis angelis repletum.[9]

Super istud arbitror esse celum Trinitatis,[h] ubi sola Trinitas habitat, non localiter, sed incircumscripte; [i]de quo Dauid: 'Dominus in templo sancto suo, Dominus in celo sedes eius.'[10] De hac[i] inenarrabili gloria et inatingibili ait[j] [k]poeta:

Mitte archana Dei celumque inquirere quid sit.[11]

De quo[k] Lucifer, ens in empireo: 'Ascendam in celum, et ero similis[l] Altissimo.'[12] Conspiciens enim Trinitatis pluralitatem in personis et equalitatem in deitate, cogitabat eadem ratione equalitatis quartam posse superaddi personam, et pro sue claritatis eminencia se id esse presumpsit.

Porro sub celo[m] hoc est celum superempireon, in quo tradunt esse Christum hominem, et ibidem gloriosam Virginem, secundum illud ecclesiasticum: 'Exaltata est sancta Dei Genitrix super choros angelorum ad celestia regna, ubi cum Christo regnat in eternum.'[13] Hinc est quod, ascendente Domino intuentibusque discipulis in celum, ecce duo uiri, hoc est angeli sub forma uirili, astiterunt iuxta illos, qui dixerunt: 'Viri Galilei, quid statis aspicientes in celum, quasi obliti quid facere debeatis? Hic Iesus, qui assumptus est a uobis in celum, sic ueniet quemadmodum uidistis eum ascendentem[n] in celum.[14] Sic

[g] sensibilis *with* bi *expunged N*, sensilis *Q;* sensibilis *AI and Comestor*, sencibilis *CX*
[h] Trinitatis *supplied by author N*
[i–i] de quo . . . De hac] *Cβ;* et *NA*
[j] ait *Cβ;* de quo *NA*
[k–k] poeta . . . De quo] *supplied by author N*
[l] similis *supplied by author N*
[m] sub celo *supplied by author N*
[n] euntem *β and Vulgate*

[8–8] Sane . . . propter sui munditiam] Cf. ibid. 1055. The Comestor only distinguishes four meanings of the word *mundus*, omitting the *mundus archetipus* and the *renouatio rerum eiusdem generis;* for these, Gervase is drawing on Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 2 (ed. Flint p. 49 = *PL* clxxii. 121). For a discussion of the various uses of the term *mundus* in the Middle Ages, with some further references to the practice of medieval writers, see E. Grant, *Planets, Stars and Orbs* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 7–8 and 137.

[9–9] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 4 (*PL* cxcviii. 1058).

[10] Ps. 10 (11): 5 (4).

[11] Cf. *Anthologia Latina*, ed. A. Riese, i (2) (Leipzig, 1906), no. 716, l. 72; see also Cato, *Distichs*, ii. 2, l. 1 (ed. Chase, p. 24).

[12] Cf. Isa. 14: 14; Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 4 (*PL* cxcviii. 1058).

[8]The word 'world' can denote the empyrean, or the archetypal world, or the perceptible world, or just the sublunar region, or man, or the renewal of things of the same kind—all these things can be called the 'world'. I should say that the empyrean is called the world (*mundus*) on account of its cleanness (*munditia*).[8] The word empyrean comes from the Greek πῦρ, which means 'fire', conveying that it is high up (*eminens*) above the fiery or starry heaven. [9]This heaven, as soon as it was made, was immediately arranged and adorned, that is, filled with the holy angels.[9]

Above the empyrean there is, I believe, the heaven of the Trinity, where the Trinity dwells alone, not in space, but in infinity. David was speaking of this heaven when he said: 'The Lord is in his holy temple: the Lord's throne is in heaven.'[10] Of this inexpressible and unapproachable glory the poet says:

Do not meddle in the secrets of God
Or seek to know what heaven is.[11]

Lucifer was also referring to this higher heaven when he said from his place in the empyrean: 'I will ascend into heaven, and I will be like the Most High.'[12] For, observing the plurality in persons and equality in godhead of the Trinity, he thought that a fourth person could be added in the same relation of equality, and because of his own surpassing splendour he presumed that that fourth should be himself.

Next, beneath this heaven there is the superempyrean, in which according to tradition the humanity of Christ dwells; the glorious Virgin is also there, as the Church proclaims: 'The holy Mother of God is exalted above the choirs of angels to the heavenly realms, where she reigns with Christ for ever.'[13] That is why, at the Lord's ascension, while the disciples were gazing up into heaven, all at once two men, that is, angels in human form, were standing at their side, who said: 'Men of Galilee, why do you stand looking up to heaven, as if you had forgotten what you have to do? This Jesus, who has been taken up from you into heaven, shall so come as you have seen him ascending into heaven.[14] For you shall see him coming to judgment,

[13] These words are found in association with the feast of the Assumption in various parts of the liturgy, including some versions of the preface of the mass; they are found, for example, as early as the mid-ninth century in the Paduan Sacramentary: see Jean Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien* (Freiburg, 1971), p. 654; cf. *Corpus Praefationum*, ed. E. Moeller, 2 vols. in 5, *CCSL* clxi, clxi A–D, ii, no. 602; Anselm, *Homiliae*, ix (*PL* clviii. 649); *CAO*, i. 284–5.

[14] Cf. Acts 1: 10–11.

enim baiulis nubibus[o] uidebitis in aere ad iudicium uenientem.'[15] Ideo quippe apparuerunt angeli ut Dominum uere in celum ascendisse demonstrarent, scilicet in regionem supereminentem regioni[p] angelorum; non sicut Elias, qui raptus in curru igneo[16] ascendit ad sublunarem regionem, [q]nec eam transcendit, sed translatus in paradisum terrestrem, qui adeo eminet quod pertingit ad sublunarem regionem.[q] [17]

Sub empireo celum est sidereum uel ethereum, quod firmamentum nominat Moyses, dicens de opere secundi diei: 'Fecit Deus firmamentum in medio aquarum,'[18] [19]quamdam scilicet exteriorem mundi f. 3v superficiem, | ex aquis congelatis ad instar cristalli solidatam, perlucidam, et sensibilia intra se continentem. In hoc firmamento infixa sunt sidera. Quod non tantum propter sui firmitatem firmamentum dicitur, sed quia terminus est aquarum que super ipsum sunt, firmus et intransgressibilis.[19] Vnde in salmo: 'Extendens celum sicut pelles:[r] qui tegis aquis superiora eius;'[20] et iterum: 'Et aque que super celos sunt[s] laudant[t] nomen Domini.'[21] [22]Istud pro sui concameratione Greci dicunt *uraron*, quod sonat 'palatum'; diciturque celum hoc quasi *casa elios*, sol enim ipsi suppositus ipsum illustrat. Hanc quoque camerationem[u] filosophus sumitatem ignis intellexit. Cum enim ignis non habet quo ascendat, circumuoluitur, ut in clibano patet.[22] De hoc igne dixit Ouidius:

> Ignea conuexi[v] uis et sine pondere celi
> Emicuit summaque locum sibi legit in arce.[23]

'Summa' dixit quia celi empirei notitia ad philosophos non peruenit.[24]

Sane celo sidereo subiungitur celum aereum,[25] in quo sancti

[o] nubibus *supplied by author N* [p] regioni *supplied by author N* [q-q] nec . . . sublunarem regionem] *supplied by author N* [r] pellem *CI and Vulgate* [s] sunt *supplied by author N* [t] laudent *ACQI and Vulgate*, laudet *X* [u] cameratione *N* [v] conuexit *N*

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[15] Cf. Dan. 7: 13; Matt. 24: 30 and 26: 64; Rev. 1: 7.

[16] Cf. 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 2: 11.

[17] For a further discussion of the earthly paradise, see *Otia*, i. 10.

[18] Cf. Gen. 1: 6–7.

[19-19] quamdam . . . firmus et intransgressibilis] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 4 (*PL* cxcviii. 1058).

[20] Ps. 103 (104): 2–3.

[21] Cf. Ps. 148: 4–5.

[22-22] Istud . . . in clibano patet] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 4 (*PL* cxcviii. 1058). The Migne text of the Comestor has the more correct *uranon* instead of Gervase's *uraron*, but

borne on the clouds in the sky.'[15] The angels appeared for this reason, that they might show that the Lord had truly ascended into heaven, that is to say, into the realm above that of the angels. It was not so with Elijah: when he was carried off in the fiery chariot,[16] he ascended to the sublunar region, but did not go beyond it; he was translated to the earthly paradise, which rises so high that it reaches the sublunar region.[17]

Below the empyrean is the starry or ethereal heaven, which Moses calls the firmament, saying about the work of the second day: 'God made the firmament in the midst of the waters.'[18] [19]The firmament constitutes a kind of outer shell of the world, being a crystalline layer formed from solidified water; it is transparent, and contains the perceptible creation within itself. The stars are fixed in this firmament. It is called the 'firmament' not only because of its firmness, but because it is the firm and impassable limit of the waters which are above it.[19] Hence the words of the psalm: 'You who stretch out the heaven like a pavilion: who cover its higher rooms with water';[20] and again: 'And the waters that are above the heavens praise the name of the Lord.'[21] [22]Because of its vaulted aspect, the Greeks call this heaven *οὐρανός* (heaven), which means 'the roof of the mouth'. It is also called *κάσα ἡλίου* (the abode of the sun), because the sun lights it up from its position beneath it. The philosopher judged this vault to be a roof of fire, since when fire cannot travel upwards it whirls around, as is demonstrated in an oven.[22] Ovid said of this fire:

> The fiery, weightless element of which heaven's arch is formed
> Sprang up and took its place upon the highest vault.[23]

He said 'the highest' because the philosophers did not know of the existence of the empyrean.[24]

Below the starry heaven is the airy heaven,[25] where the saints have

incorrectly reads *palatium* for *palatum*. The Comestor was drawing on Isidore: 'Palatum nostrum sicut caelum est positum, et inde palatum a polo per derivationem. Sed et Graeci similiter palatum *οὐρανὸν* appellant, eo quod pro sui concavitate caeli similitudinem habeat' (*Etym.* xi. 1. 55). The phrase *casa elios* is also found in Honorius (*De imagine mundi*, i. 89 (84), ed. Flint p. 81 = *PL* clxxii. 141), who adds: 'id est domus solis' ('that is, the abode of the sun'); cf. Ps. 18 (19): 6 (4); Appendix iii, n. 46. For a statement of the Aristotelian view that the element of fire is found at the circumference of the world, see e.g. *De caelo*, 276b.

[23] Ovid, *Met.* i. 26–7.

[24] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1055).

[25] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 4 (*PL* cxcviii. 1058).

habitant[w] usque ad iudicium; et in eius confinio est infernus malorum,[x] ut infra, decisione tercia, titulo *De mortuo*.[26]

Sub hoc est celum animancium, quod terram contingit et[y] humectat,[z] de quo illud euangelii: 'Aues celi comederunt illud;'[27] et in cantico puerorum:[a] 'Benedicite uolucres celi Domino.'[28]

Est et[b] septimum celum, in quod transferentur[c] sancti post iudicium; de quo scriptum est quod erit celum nouum et terra noua,[d] [29] cum de aliis celis a sublunari regione inferioribus[e] dicatur:[f] 'Celum et terra transibunt, [g]uerba autem mea non preteribunt',[30] ut dicitur super illum uersum psalmi: 'Ipsi peribunt, tu autem permanebis',[g] [31] et[h] in glosa super Marcum.[32] Sed Gregorius in *Dialogo*[33] uidetur uelle quod sancti statim celum intrant, et post iudicium id solum plus habebunt,[i] quod corporis[j] recipient beatitudinem.[k]

Ad hec mundus sensilis mundus dicitur, a Grecis *pan*, a filosophis 'omne';[34] constatque ex quatuor elementis, qui et terra dicitur, uelut materia omnium corporum,[35] secundum illud: 'Celum et terram ego impleo';[36] et iterum: 'In principio tu, Domine, terram fundasti.'[37] Est autem ad[l] exemplum archetipi mundi, secundum quod legitur: 'Qui manet in eternum creauit omnia simul.'[38] Mundus quoque sublunaris regio nominatur, quia hec sola animantia nobis nota habet.[39] Hic quoque mundus dicitur [m]nunc per species et formas sex[n] dierum distinctus,[40] secundum quod legitur: 'Viditque Deus cuncta que

[w] sancti habitant] sanctos manere dicunt *Cβ* [x] et in eius . . . malorum] sicut in aere est infernus ab illo qui sub terra est plurimum distans *Cβ* [y] et |et *N* [z] Sub hoc est . . . humectat] Sub hoc celo est celum volucrum (et *add. X*) terram contingens et humectans *Cβ* [a] puerorum *supplied by author N* [b] et *supplied by author N* [c] transferentur *β;* transferuntur *NAC* [d] per immutacionem non per essentiam *add. after* noua *Cβ* [e] a sublunari regione inferioribus] sublunaribus *Cβ* [f] dictum sit *β* [g-g] uerba . . . tu autem permanebis] *om. Cβ* [h] ut *Cβ* [i] uidetur uelle quod . . . habebunt] dicit modo sanctos statim celum ingredi et post iudicium id solum plus habituros *Cβ* [j] et (ut *X*) anime *add. after* corporis *Cβ* [k] Sed de his lacius, titulo De mortuo, infra inuenietur, et infra De diluuio *add. after* beatitudinem *CXQ;* Sed de hiis latius titulo De mortuo *add. I;* infra De diluuio in fine *written by author in margin N* [l] ad *supplied by author*(?) *N* [m-m] nunc . . . bona; nunc dicitur (*p. 26*)] *om. CXQ* [n] seu *altered by author to* sed *N*

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[26] *Otia*, iii. 103.

[27] Cf. Matt. 13: 4; Mark 4: 4; Luke 8: 5; Comestor, Gen., c. 4 (*PL* cxcviii. 1058).

[28] Dan. 3: 80 (S. of III Ch. 58).

[29] Cf. Isa. 65: 17 and 66: 22; 2 Pet. 3: 13; Rev. 21: 1.

[30] Matt. 24: 35; cf. Mark 13: 31.

[31] Cf. Ps. 101 (102): 27 (26); Heb. 1: 11.

[32] The gloss on Mark 13: 31 (*Glossa ordinaria, PL* cxiv. 228), asserts that heaven and

their dwelling until the Day of Judgment; it also contains a hell for the wicked, as will be explained below, in the chapter *The Dead Man* in Book III.[26]

Below this is the heaven of living things; this heaven is next to the earth, which it waters. It is this one which is referred to in the gospel text: 'The birds of heaven devoured it';[27] likewise in the Song of the Three Children: 'Birds of heaven, bless the Lord.'[28]

There is also a seventh heaven, into which the saints will be transferred after the Day of Judgment. It is of this heaven that it is written that there will be a new heaven and a new earth,[29] while of the other heavens from the sublunar region down it is said: 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.'[30] The verse of the psalm: 'They shall perish but you shall remain'[31] is understood as having the same meaning, which is found again in the gloss on Mark.[32] But Gregory in his *Dialogue*[33] seems to be of the opinion that the saints enter heaven immediately, and that their only gain after the Day of Judgment will be to receive the beatitude of the body.

The word *mundus* is also used of the perceptible world, called by the Greeks πᾶν (all), by the philosophers 'the whole'.[34] This is constituted from the four elements, and is also called 'earth', meaning the material from which all bodies are made,[35] as in the text: 'I fill heaven and earth';[36] and again: 'In the beginning, Lord, you founded the earth.'[37] This world is modelled on the archetypal world, which is referred to in the text: 'He who lives for ever created all things together.'[38] *Mundus* is also used as a term for the sublunar region, because the living things known to us are found in this region alone.[39] And sometimes *mundus* refers to everything that was distinguished by species and form in the six days,[40] of which one reads: 'And God saw all the things that he had made, and they were

earth will pass away 'secundum imaginem' but endure for ever 'secundum essentiam'. Gervase incorporates most of the material of the gloss on this verse in *Otia*, i. 24 (pp. 158–61).

[33] Cf. Gregory the Great, *Dial.* iv. 26 (ed. Moricca, pp. 263–4 = iv. 25, *PL* lxxvii. 356–7); *Otia*, iii. 103, pp. 774–5.

[34] Here Gervase returns to the various meanings of *mundus*, with a slightly muddled version of the Comestor's text: 'quandoque sensibilis mundus, qui a Graecis *pan*, a Latinis *omne* dictus est quia, philosophus empyreum non cognovit' (*Gen.*, c. 1, *PL* cxcviii. 1055).

[35] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1055).

[36] Jer. 23: 24.

[37] Cf. Ps. 101 (102): 26 (25); Heb. 1: 10.

[38] Ecclus. 18: 1; cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 2 (ed. Flint p. 49 = *PL* clxxii. 121).

[39] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1055).

[40] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 2 (ed. Flint p. 49 = *PL* clxxii. 121).

fecerat, et erant ualde bona';[41] nunc dicitur[m] ab uno ad aliud traductus, ut est homo ab homine, pecus ab alio pecore, arbor a sua semente, secundum quod scriptum est: 'Pater meus usque modo operatur.'[42]

Sane mundus a motu quo semper mouetur sic dicitur;[43] [44]cuius figura rotunda est ad[o] modum pile, et instar habet oui, elementis distinctus. Ouum quippe exterius undique testa circuncluditur, albumen uero testa circumducitur, et uitellum albumine, uitello uero gutta pinguedinis, in qua uis germinis consistit. Sic mundus: celo quippe, ut testa, purus ether, puro ethere turbidus aer, turbido aere terra, que est materia germinis, circumcluditur.[44]

In summa, homo mundus appellatur quia in se tocius mundi representat ymaginem,[45] habens esse cum lapidibus, uiuere cum arboribus, sentire cum animalibus, et dicernere cum angelis.[46] Vnde Dominus in euangelio hominem omnem dicit creaturam, cum ait:[p] 'Ite, predicate omni creature.'[47] Et Grecus hominem microcosmum,[q] hoc est minorem mundum, appellat.[48] Mundus quoque renouatio dicitur per[r] eiusdem generis diuersas species, unde illud: 'Ecce ego
f. 4r noua facio omnia';[49] et alibi: 'Et erit celum nouum | et terra noua.'[50]

Has sane uarias mundi appellationes innuit euangelista pro magna parte, cum ait: 'Erat lux uera que illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in hunc mundum. In mundo erat, et mundus per ipsum factus est, et mundus eum non cognouit.'[s] [51] Filius enim hominis in terra uisus est;[52] a mundo[t] enim[u] celesti egressio eius[53] ad mundum terrenum, et cum hominibus conuersatus est[54] per quem mundus factus est,[55] dicente propheta: 'In principio tu, Domine, terram fundasti, et opera manuum tuarum sunt celi.'[56] Et mundus, hoc est

[o] ad] a *N* [p] dicit *XQ* [q] microcosinum *N* [r] propter *XQ*
[s] eum non cognouit *supplied by author N* [t] mundo *supplied by author N*
[u] enim *om. CXQ*

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[41] Gen. 1: 31.

[42] John 5: 17; cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 2 (ed. Flint p. 49 = *PL* clxxii. 121); see also Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 82 (*PL* cxcviii. 1579). Gervase means that *mundus* may include not only the 'works of the six days' but God's perpetuation of these creatures as well.

[43] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* iii. 29, xiii. 1; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 1 (ed. Flint p. 49 = *PL* clxxii. 121).

[44–44] cuius . . . materia germinis, circumcluditur] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 1 (ed. Flint p. 49 = *PL* clxxii. 121); Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 4 (*PL* cxcviii. 1058). On the ancient image of the world as an egg, see P. Dronke, *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, ix (Leiden and Cologne, 1974), pp. 79–99 and especially pp. 155–66, where a list of Latin and vernacular allusions to the cosmic egg up to *c.*1300, including our passage, is given.

[45] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1055).

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very good;'[41] sometimes, again, it signifies the propagation of the species, the way a human being is born from a human being, and a beast from another beast, while a tree grows from its own seed. The text: 'My Father works until now'[42] supports this meaning.

The word *mundus* is derived from *motus* (motion), since it is in constant motion.[43] [44]In shape it is round like a ball, and it resembles an egg in that it is composed of different elements. For an egg is completely covered on the outside with its shell; inside the white is surrounded by the shell, the yolk by the white, and in the yolk is a drop of fat in which the germ of new life resides. Likewise the world: the pure ether is surrounded by heaven as by a shell, the dense air by the pure ether, and the earth, which provides the material for growth, by the dense air.[44]

Finally, man is called *mundus* because he represents in himself an image of the whole world.[45] He has existence in common with stones, life in common with trees, sensation in common with animals, and intelligence in common with angels.[46] And so in the gospel the Lord calls man 'every creature', when he says: 'Go, preach to every creature.'[47] And the Greek calls man a microcosm, that is, a miniature world.[48] *Mundus* is also a term for the renewal of things according to the various species of each kind. This lies behind the words: 'Behold, I make all things new;'[49] and in another place: 'And there will be a new heaven and a new earth.'[50]

The evangelist suggests many of these different uses of the term *mundus*, when he says: 'That was the true light, which enlightens every man that comes into this world. He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world did not know him.'[51] The Son of Man was seen on earth;[52] for he left the heavenly world[53] and came to the earthly world, and he by whom the world was made[54] dwelt among men[55]—the one of whom the prophet says: 'In the beginning you, Lord, founded the earth, and the heavens are the works of your hands.'[56] And the world, that is, man, did not know him when he

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[46] Gervase has taken this well-known formulation of the four levels of existence from Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, vi. 16 (*CCSL* cxliii. 298 = *PL* lxxv. 740).

[47] Cf. Mark 16: 15.

[48] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1055). Man is described as a microcosm in Photius' *Life of Pythagoras:* see *Excerpta e uita Pythagorae, Bibliotheca*, 249 and 440 (*PG* ciii. 1584–5).

[49] Cf. Rev. 21: 5; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 2 (ed. Flint p. 49 = *PL* clxxii. 121).

[50] Cf. Isa. 65: 17 and 66: 22; 2 Pet. 3: 13; Rev. 21: 1.

[51] John 1: 9–10.

[52] Cf. Bar. 3: 38.

[53] Cf. Ps. 18 (19): 7 (6).

[54] Bar. 3: 38.

[55] Cf. John 1: 10.

[56] Cf. Ps. 101 (102): 26 (25).

homo,[v] eum non cognouit quando in propria uenit, et sui eum non receperunt.[57] Venienti quippe Christo sidera[w] famulantur,[x] occurrunt angeli, terra fontem olei producit, bos et asinus cedunt; arbores procedenti ramos et flores producunt; imperanti obediunt uenti et mare;[y] aqua pedibus anbulantis subiecta firmatur; immundi spiritus obsessos deserunt; sol et luna morienti conpaciuntur, petre scinduntur, corpora sanctorum occurrunt, abyssus[z] in tenebras redit, infernus ululans predam reddit. Solus homo, omnium malorum ipse coagulum, coagulatum cor habens,

> semper feliciter usus
> Precipiti[a] cursu bellorum et tempore rapto,[58]

dampnat mundi factorem, uitam adimens illi per quem uiuit et sine quo eius uiuere mori est. Qui ponit nubes[b] ascensum suum et ambulat super pennas uentorum[59] misero homini clamat:

> Micius inueni quam te genus omne ferarum.[60]
> Tantum ausus scelerum non Sirtis barbara quantum
> Dilicie fecere tue.[61]

ii. *Diuersitas[a] opinionum et confusio[b] Albiensium[c]*

Creauit, ut dixi, Deus celum et terram, [1]non ex preiacente materia; non ex yle, quam coeternam Deo et ideis Plato conscripsit; non quod duo sint coeua, mundus et opifex, qui ex duobus principiis, materia scilicet et[d] forma, operatus est sine principio et operatur[e] sine fine, ut ait Aristotiles; non quod duo fuerint omnium primordia, inane et athomus, quasi natura quasdam athomos conflauerit in terram, alias in aquam congesserit,[f] alias in ignem extulerit, ut ait Epicurus;[1] sed sola dispositione prouidentie sue dixit et fecit omnia quecumque uoluit in celo, terra, mari,[g] et in omnibus abissis.[2] Simul creauit in dispositione

[v] homo *supplied by author N* [w] sidera *supplied by author N* [x] familantur *N* [y] imperanti . . . mare] *supplied by author N* [z] abyssus] ab ipsis *N* [a] usus precipiti *supplied by author N* [b] nubem *XQ*

[a] diuersitas *supplied by author N* [b] confusio *NC;* confutatio *Aβ* [c] Albiensium *supplied by author N* [d] et *supplied by author(?) N* [e] est sine . . . operatur] *supplied by author N* [f] aquam congesserit *supplied by author N* [g] mari *supplied by author N*

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[57] Cf. John 1: 10–11.
[58] Lucan, *Pharsalia*, x. 507–8.
[59] Cf. Ps. 103 (104): 3.
[60] Ovid, *Heroides*, x. 1.
[61] Lucan, *Pharsalia*, x. 477–8.

came to his own, and his own did not receive him.[57] The stars, indeed, attended Christ at his coming, angels came to greet him, the earth produced a fountain of oil, the ox and ass made way for him; the trees offered branches and flowers to strew his way; the winds and the sea obeyed his command; the water was made firm beneath his feet as he walked on it; unclean spirits departed from people who had been possessed; at his death the sun and moon were moved to compassion, rocks were sundered, the bodies of the saints came to meet him, the abyss returned to darkness, and with a great cry hell gave up its prey. Man alone, in whose hard heart all evil is hard-bound,

> Ever making good use
> Of promptness in warfare, seizing his opportunity,[58]

condemned the creator of the world, taking the life of him by whom he lives and without whom his life is death. He who makes the clouds his chariot and walks on the wings of the winds[59] cries out to wretched man:

> I have found every kind of wild beast kinder than you.[60]
> Nothing, not even savage Syrtis, ever dared such crimes
> As you in your wantonness have committed.[61]

2. *Some Divergent Opinions, and a Confutation of the Albigensians*

God, as I have said, created heaven and earth. [1]He did not create from pre-existent matter; he did not create from ὕλη (matter), which Plato described as coeternal with God and the ideas; it is not that there are two coevals, the world, and its maker who, using two first principles, namely matter and form, has worked without beginning and goes on working without end, as Aristotle says; it is not that there were two sources of all things, the void and the atom, as if nature blew some atoms together to form the earth, collected others to make water, and raised up others into fire, as Epicurus says;[1] but solely by the disposition of his providence he spoke and made whatsoever he wished in heaven, on earth, in the sea, and in all the deeps.[2] He

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[1-1] Gervase's immediate source for these views, which ultimately derive from such works as Aristotle's *De caelo*, 279b–283b, and *Physica*, 192b–195b, Plato's *Timaeus*, 35A, and Epicurus' views on atomism (probably as reported by a source such as Cicero, *De natura deorum*, i. 20, or Isidore, *Etym.* xiii. 2. 1–2), is the Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1055–6).
[2] Cf. Ps. 134 (135): 6.

sue prouidentie, non hoc prius[h] illud posterius, non hoc solus[i] illud cum alio, non hoc plenius illud imperfectius. Quod ergo semiplenum defectiuumque nascitur aut producitur,[j] non ex deffectu prouenit artificis, apud[k] quem nihil imperfectum, nihil maius aut minus, sed ex diminutione procedit[l] seminis aut sementis. Quis enim consiliarius opificis fuit?[3] Quis perficit quod apud eum reputant inperfectum?

Mendaces heretici delitescant, adhereant faucibus suis Albiensium lingue,[4] qui dicunt duos esse deos: bonum a quo bona, malum a quo punitiones malorum. Bonus, ut inquiunt, perfecta creauit non peritura, celum celorum et angelos; malus corrupta corpora creauit, sublunaris regionis fecit opera, talionem indixit pro facinore, iusticiam excercet cum sanguinis effusione. Malus facit terram motu meretricie conceptionis germinare; bonus in altis sedet, dimittit peccata, non punit. Moysi locutus est deus ille malorum; euangelium loquitur deus alter bonorum. In apostolis bonus erat; in nostris sacerdotibus, ut aiunt, regnat malus.

Proh[m] pudor! Prophetas dampnant, apostolos predicant, sacramenta nostra derident, et quasi sparsi uelleris oues[5] inter se contendunt; dum renuis tu quod petit alter,[6] inter se diuersi in opinionibus suis et aduersi, scisuras faciunt. Profecto audite, miseri et infelices, Apostolum inducentem illud Dauid in auctoritatem: 'In principio tu, Domine, terram fundasti, et opera manuum tuarum sunt f. 4v celi. Ipsi peribunt, | tu autem permanebis.'[7] Si propheta a malo deo cum celo et terra factus est, et non potest arbor mala fructus bonos facere,[8] ut quit Apostolus ad epistole sue firmamentum producit uerba malorum, quasi fructus sit bonus de arbore mala? Sed et[n] Apostolus arbor bona est, et ita ab alio deo creatus quam nos aut prophete. Aut si arbor mala est, fructus uerborum respicite qui ex eo

[h] non hoc prius *supplied by author N* [i] solus *supplied by author N* [j] prodicitur *N* [k] apud *supplied by author N* [l] procidit *N* [m] Proh *supplied by author N* [n] et *om. CXI; written above line NQ*

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[3] Cf. Isa. 40: 13; Rom. 11: 34.

[4] Cf. Ps. 21 (22): 16 (15); 136 (137): 6. For the beliefs of the Albigensians or 'Cathars' of southern France and northern Italy, see M. Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford, 1998); G. Rottenwöhrer, *Glaube und Theologie der Katharer* (Munich, 1993); C. Thouzellier (ed.), *Rituel cathare* (Paris, 1977); ead., *Catharisme et Valdéisme en Languedoc à la fin du 12e et au début du 13e siècle* (Paris, 1969^2); ead. (ed.), *Livre des deux principes* (Paris, 1973); ead. (ed.), *Une somme anticathare: le Liber contra Manicheos de Durand de Huesca* (Louvain, 1964).

[5] Cf. Gen. 30: 32; Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 28 (*PL* cxcviii. 1079). The speckled sheep here represent those whose faith is not pure.

[6] The Horace half-line (*Epist.* ii. 2. 63) is 'renuis tu, quod iubet alter'. Gervase's *petit,*

created everything at once in the disposition of his providence, not creating one thing first and another afterwards, or one thing on his own and another with help, or one thing well and another not so well. Anything, therefore, which is born or brought forth unfinished or defective does not come from a shortcoming in the maker, in whom there is no imperfection, nothing too great or too small; rather, it proceeds from a falling away in the seed or the sowing. For who gave advice to the maker?[3] Who makes good the shortcomings they attribute to him?

Let the lying heretics hide away, let the tongues of the Albigensians cleave to their jaws![4] For they maintain that there are two gods: a good one from whom good things come, and an evil one by whom evil is punished. It was the good one, so they say, who created all that is perfect and imperishable, the heaven of heavens and the angels; while the evil one created corrupt bodies, produced the works of the sublunar region, ordained punishment for wrongdoing, and administers justice by the shedding of blood. The evil one makes the earth bring forth life under the impulse of lewd reproduction; the good one is seated on high, and does not punish sins but absolves them. It was the god of evil who spoke to Moses; the other, the god of good, proclaims the gospel. The good one was in the apostles; the evil one, so they say, reigns in our priests.

For shame! They damn the prophets but extol the apostles, they scorn our sacraments, and fight among themselves like speckled sheep;[5] while you reject what the other demands,[6] at odds and opposed to each other in their opinions, they manufacture schisms. Listen now, you unhappy wretches, to the Apostle using the words of David as a testimony: 'In the beginning you, Lord, founded the earth, and the heavens are the works of your hands. They shall perish, but you shall remain.'[7] If the prophet was created, along with heaven and earth, by an evil god, and if a bad tree cannot produce good fruit,[8] how come the Apostle brings forward the words of evil people to lend support to his epistle, as if there could be good fruit from a bad tree? For the Apostle is a good tree, and so created by a different god from the one who made us or the prophets. Or if he is a bad tree, you must respect his words, the fruits which come from him, and condemn the

which is metrically correct, is probably a misquotation rather than an alternative reading, since the succeeding line begins 'Quod petis, id sane est inuisum'.

[7] Heb. 1: 10–11; cf. Ps. 101 (102): 26–7 (25–6).

[8] Cf. Matt. 7: 18.

sunt, et ipsum reprobate[o] qui ex malo patre bonus fructus est. Quibus inquam dicit[p] Dominus: 'Ego sum uitis,[q] uos palmites'?[9] Si bonis hominibus, ergo ex humana corruptione nati bonos fructus facere possunt; si malis, ergo mali et a malo deo facti palmites sunt bone uitis, que est Christus. Sed et ut quid Christus in euangelio Dauid producit in testimonium de Christo, cum ait: 'Dixit Dominus Domino meo, sede a dextris meis'?[10] Sic et loquens ad Iudeos ait: 'Ego dixi: Dii estis, et filii Excelsi omnes.'[11] Cum non possit, ut ipse Christus dicit,[12] solui scriptura, aut ergo filii estis Excelsi cum Iudeis et christianis, aut soluitur scriptura. Audite, miseri, simbolum apostolicum: 'Credo in Deum, creatorem celi et terre.' Sed et in ipsa orratione dominica subicitur: 'Fiat uoluntas tua, sicut in celo et in terra.' De opere mali dei, que potuit esse boni dei uoluntas nisi ut pereat memoria eius cum sonitu,[r] Dominus autem in eternum permaneat?[13]

Dauid aut arbor mala fuit, et ita aut Christus non est ex Dauid, quod euangelio refragatur, aut Christus bonus fructus est ex arbore mala; aut Dauit arbor bona est, et ita admittenda[s] sunt uerba eius cum dicit: 'Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus, quoniam in seculum misericordia eius',[14] 'qui fecit celos in intellectu, lunam et stellas'[15] etc.. Si bonus Dominus, et idem Deus bonus hec fecit, quid deum malum hec dixistis[t] operatum? Attendite, infelices, quod gentiles sanius[u] de Deo senciunt quam uos qui christianos uos dicitis:

> Estque dei sedes, nisi terra et pontus et aer
> Et celum et uirtus?[v] Superos quid querimus ultra?
> Iupiter est quodcumque uides, quocumque[w] moueris.[16]

Iupiter enim, quasi iuuans omnium pater, Deus est,[x] omnia in omnibus.[17]

O uani et mendaces filii hominum in stateris,[18] credite Deum[y] qui dixit: 'Celum et terram ego impleo'[19] creasse celum et terram,

[o] reprobate *supplied by author N* [p] dixit *N* [q] et *add. after* uitis *CXQ* [r] cum sonitu] consonitu *N* [s] admittanda *N* [t] dixisti *N* [u] sanius *supplied by author N* [v] uirtus *supplied by author N* [w] quodcumque *A and Lucan* [x] est *om. CXQ* [y] Deum *supplied by author N*

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[9] John 15: 5.
[10] Matt. 22: 44; Mark 12: 36; Luke 20:42; cf. Ps. 109 (110): 1; also Acts 2: 34.
[11] John (10: 34) quotes the first part of this statement from Ps. 81 (82): 6.
[12] John 10: 35.
[13] Cf. Ps. 9: 7–8 (6–7).
[14] Ps. 105 (106): 1; cf. Ps. 135 (136): 1.

Apostle himself, who produces good fruit from an evil stock. To whom, I ask you, does the Lord say: 'I am the vine, you are the branches'?[9] If to good people, then it follows that people born from human corruption can produce good fruit; if to evil people, then people who are evil and created by an evil god are branches of the good vine, which is Christ. Again, how is it that Christ produces David as a witness concerning himself in the gospel, when he says: 'The Lord said to my Lord, sit at my right hand'?[10] So also speaking to the Jews he says: 'I have said: You are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High.'[11] As Christ himself says,[12] scripture cannot be cancelled. Either therefore you are sons of the Most High along with Jews and Christians, or scripture is cancelled. Listen, you wretches, to the Apostles' Creed: 'I believe in God, the Creator of heaven and earth.' And the Lord's Prayer itself contains the words: 'Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven.' What could be the will of the good god concerning the work of the evil god, except that the memory of him should perish with a crash, but that the Lord should remain for ever?[13]

Either David was an evil tree, and so Christ is either not of David's line, which is to deny the gospel, or Christ is good fruit from an evil tree; or David is a good tree, and so his words must be accepted when he says: 'Give thanks to the Lord, for he is good, for his mercy endures for ever,'[14] 'who made the heavens in understanding, the moon and the stars'[15] and so on. If the Lord is good, and the same good God made these things, why have you claimed that it is the work of an evil god? Give heed, you poor fools, to what the pagans believe about God—for they have a truer notion than you who call yourselves Christians:

> And what is God's abode save earth and sea and air,
> And heaven above, and human virtue?
> Why do we look beyond these for gods?
> Jupiter is whatever you see, he is wherever you turn.[16]

For Jupiter, from *iuuans pater*, the helping father of all, is God, and all in all.[17]

O vain children of men, you liars in the balances,[18] you must believe that the God who said: 'I fill heaven and earth'[19] is the Creator

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[15] Cf. Ps. 135 (136): 5, 9.
[16] Lucan, *Pharsalia*, ix. 578–80.
[17] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* viii. 11. 34.
[18] Cf. Ps. 61 (62): 10 (9).
[19] Jer. 23: 24.

[20]terram utique ab initio inanem et uacuam,[21] quia inutilem et infructuosam et ornatu suo uacuam. Hanc confusam machinam mundialem, uelut primordialem materiam, nunc ylem, nunc chaos, nunc terram, nunc abyssum, nunc aquas nominant. Vnde in Genesi sequitur: 'Terra autem erat inanis et uacua, et tenebre erant super faciem abyssi',[22] id est lucis absentia uel obscuritas quedam a Deo creata. Vnde in cathalogo[z] creaturarum dicitur: 'Benedicite, lux et tenebre,[a] Domino.'[23,20] De hac massa philosofatus est poeta cum dixit:[b]

> Ante mare et terras et quod tegit omnia celum
> Vnus erat toto nature uultus in orbe,
> Quem dixere chaos: rudis[c] indigestaque moles
> Nec quicquam nisi pondus iners congestaque eodem
> Non bene iunctarum discordia semina[d] rerum.[24]

[25]Spiritus autem Domini, quasi consiliatris eius uoluntas ad dispositionem creatorum, 'ferebatur super aquas',[26] id est super factam congeriem, sicut uoluntas prouidi[e] artificis fertur super materiam de qua suum formaturus est artificium. Non hunc ergo Spiritum dicimus animam mundi, ut Plato, sed Spiritum creantem, de quo f. 5r illud: | 'Emite Spiritum tuum, et creabuntur.'[27, 25]

iii. *De dispositione chaos*

Videns ergo Deus confusa parum profutura ad discreta generanda si non essent ipsa discreta, uelut ad operandum lucerna accensa, fecit lucem, quam tradunt [1]nubem lucidam fuisse, illuminantem superiorem mundi partem claritate tenui, ut apparere solet in aurora. 'Et diuisit lucem a tenebris',[2] dispositione[a] [3] distingente ea per loca et

[z] cathalago *N* [a] tenebre *supplied by author N* [b] dicit *CQI* [c] rudis *supplied by author N* [d] semina *CI;* semine *N*, *with* uel semina *written by scribe after* rerum, *deleted by author and written above* semine; semine *A;* semine uel semina *XQ* [e] *prouidi supplied by author N*

[a] dispositone *N*

[20-20] terram . . . et tenebre, Domino] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 2 (*PL* cxcviii. 1056).

[21] Gen. 1: 2.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Dan. 3: 72 (S. of III Ch. 48).

[24] Ovid, *Met.* i. 5–9.

[25-25] Spiritus . . . et creabuntur] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 2 (*PL* cxcviii. 1057).

[26] Gen. 1: 2.

[27] This is a liturgical text (based on Ps. 103 (104): 30), which was widely used, generally in association with the feast of Pentecost, by Gervase's time. It occurs, for example, in the

of heaven and earth. [20]At first, to be sure, the earth was without form and void,[21] since it was useless and unproductive and lacking its adornment. This jumbled fabric of the world, the primordial matter as it were, is called variously *hyle*, chaos, the earth, the deep, or the waters. And so the account in Genesis continues: 'The earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep,'[22] that is, an absence of light or a kind of obscurity created by God. This is why the Catalogue of Creation includes the words: 'O you light and darkness, bless the Lord.'[23,20] On the subject of this mass the poet reflected in the words:

> Before the sea and the lands and the all-sheltering sky came into being,
> Nature had but a single face over the whole globe,
> And it has been called chaos: a rough and unformed mass it was,
> Nothing but inert bulk and warring seeds
> Of ill-matched elements thrown together.[24]

[25]But the Spirit of the Lord, his will, as it were, acting as his counsellor for the ordering of creation, 'moved over the waters',[26] that is, over the undifferentiated mass he had made, just as the will of a careful craftsman passes over the raw material to which he is about to give shape. We do not call this Spirit the world's soul, as Plato did, but the creating Spirit, of which it is written: 'Send forth your Spirit, and they shall be created.'[27,25]

3. *The Ordering of Chaos*

God, then, seeing that the undifferentiated matter would not be much use for engendering separate creatures unless it was itself separated out, made light, just as if he were lighting a lamp by which to work. They say that the light was [1]a luminous cloud lighting the upper part of the world with a faint glow, such as customarily appears at dawn. 'And he divided the light from the darkness':[2] his arrangement[3]

missal written in the second half of the eleventh century for the New Minster at Winchester (*The Missal of the New Minster, Winchester*, ed. D. H. Turner, HBS xciii (London, 1962), 13 (Offertory Verse for the Vigil of Pentecost), and 17 (Alleluia Verse for Feria Quarta)); see also *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan*, ed. A. Hughes, i, HBS lxxxix (London, 1958), 66 (Versicle at None for Pentecost Sunday); *The Bec Missal*, ed. A. Hughes, HBS xciv (London, 1963), 88 (Alleluia Verse for Feria Secunda); *CAO*, i. 226–7.

[1-1] nubem . . . quod est obscurum (p. 36)] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 3 (*PL* cxcviii. 1057).

[2] Gen. 1: 4.

[3] The division of the light from the darkness marks the beginning of the *dispositio* of the world (cf. *Otia*, i. 1, n. 1; Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 3, *PL* cxcviii. 1057).

tempora, quasi diuersis emisperiis[b] sibi e regione respondentibus.[4] Sicque luce migrante sub terris tenebrisque subortis, et iterum[c] redeunte luce super molem congestam, factus est dies primus, a dian[d] Greco, quod est[e] claritas, sicut nox a noctui,[f][5] quod est obscurum.[1]

[6]Secunda die disposuit Deus superiora mundi sensilis, constituitque celum 'quod tegit omnia,'[7] et firmamentum inter aquas, ut diximus, stabiliuit. Hoc die tradunt Ebrei angelos cecidisse, unde in ecclesia feria secunda missam de angelis ad laudem stantium canit ecclesia.[6] Tradunt alii factam esse diuisionem angelorum quando diuisit Deus lucem a tenebris, quasi bonos appellans lucem et malos tenebras.[8] Nec pretereundum quod Iudei septem celos distinguunt, unicuique suum nomen contribuentes, et septem[g] terras quas, ut aiunt, Dauid 'fundamenta muntium'[9] uocat, sacro septenario totum assignantes.[h][10]

[11]Tercio die congregauit aquas sub firmamento, et terra paululum subsidens sicut matrix ipsas conclusit, et sic que humus antea propter circumfusum humorem dici potuit, nunc arida dici potuit ab ariditate, et terra quia teritur.[11] Hiis satis respondit poeta, cum diceret:

> Frigida pugnabant calidis ac humida[i][12] siccis,
> Mollia cum duris, sine pondere habentia pondus.
> Hanc Deus et[j] melior litem natura diremit.
> Nam celo terras et terris abscidit undas
> Et liquidum spisso secreuit ab aere celum.
> Tum freta diffudit.[k][13]

Et post pauca:

[b] emisperiis *supplied by author N* [c] iterum *supplied by author N* [d] dia *Comestor* [e] est *supplied by author(?) N* [f] noctin *ACQ*, nyctum *I*, nyctim *Comestor* [g] celos distinguunt . . . septem] *supplied by author N* [h] *X here incorporates item 1 of the Addenda; I contains a sign, and the marginal instruction:* Hic inserendum supplementum de coelis ex fol.219. *See Appendix i. 1.* [i] humentia *C*, humetantia *I*; umentia *Ovid* [j] et *supplied by author(?) N* [k] diffundit *XQ*; diffundi *Ovid*

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[4] Cf. Comestor: '[lucem ac tenebras] divisit locorum distantia, et qualitate, ut scilicet nunquam simul, sed semper e regione diversa hemisphaeria vicissim sibi vindicarent' ('he divided the light and the darkness, putting a spatial distance between them and making them different in quality, so that they would never both claim the same hemisphere, but would always take it in turns to claim the hemispheres for themselves from their different regions'). By taking *diversa* as describing *hemisphaeria* Gervase has obscured the sense of *e regione*.

[5] These etymologies are not found in Isidore, and what forms were intended by Gervase (or the Comestor) is not clear.

distinguished them according to place and time, so that the opposite hemispheres took it in turns with each other to be light or dark.[4] And so as the light departed under the earth the darkness came up, and when the light came back over the undifferentiated mass the first day (*dies*) was created, from the Greek *dian*, which means 'light', just as night (*nox*) comes from *noctui*,[5] which means 'dark'.[1]

[6]On the second day God set in order the upper regions of the perceptible world. He established the heaven 'which covers all,'[7] and fixed the firmament, as we have said, in the midst of the waters. It was on this day according to Jewish tradition that the angels fell, which is why the Church sings the mass of the angels on the second day of the week in praise of the unfallen ones.[6] Others say that the division of the angels occurred when God divided the light from the darkness, as if he called the good ones light and the bad ones darkness.[8] And we must not omit to mention that the Jews distinguish seven heavens, giving each its own name, and seven earths which, so they say, David calls 'the foundations of the mountains',[9] conferring the sacred number seven on the whole.[10]

[11]On the third day God gathered together the waters under the firmament, and the earth, settling down a little, enclosed them like a womb. And so whereas previously it could be called ground (*humus*) because of the wetness (*humor*) which enveloped it, now it could be called dry land (*arida*) by virtue of its dryness, and earth (*terra*) because it is trodden under foot (*teritur*).[11] The poet came very close to this when he said:

> Cold things warred with hot and wet[12] with dry,
> Soft with hard, and weightless with weighty.
> But God with his higher nature ended this strife.
> For he divided the land from the sky and the sea from the land,
> And parted the clear ether of heaven from the dense air beneath.
> Then he poured forth the waters.[13]

And a little further on:

[6–6] Secunda . . . stantium canit ecclesia] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 4 (*PL* cxcviii. 1058–9).

[7] Ovid, *Met.* i. 5. [8] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 3 (*PL* cxcviii. 1057).

[9] Ps. 17 (18): 8 (7).

[10] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 30 (*PL* cxcviii. 1080).

[11–11] Tercio . . . terra quia teritur] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 5 (*PL* cxcviii. 1059); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 1.

[12] Gervase misquoted Ovid here, substituting the metrically imperfect *ac humida* for Ovid's *umentia*; a correction was made, or attempted, in *C* and *I*.

[13] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* i. 19–23, 36.

Addidit et fontes et stagna inmensa lacusque
Flumina et[l] obliquis cinxit[m] decliuia ripis,[n]
Que, diuersa locis, partim sorbentur ab ipsa,
In mare perueniunt partim.[14]

[15]Addidit et tercio diei ut germinaret 'terra herbam uirentem et facientem semen, et lignum pomiferum faciens fructum.'[16] Ex hoc arbitrantur plerique mundum factum in uere, quia tunc omnia uirent.[o] Alii senciunt in Augusto sub Leone, quia subiungitur 'lignum faciens fructum'. Sed in Marcio factum docet ecclesia.[15] Ouidio fortassis immittitur[p] illa ueris opinio quando dixit:

Ipsa quoque inmunis rastroque[q] intacta nec ullis
Saucia uomeribus per se dabat omnia tellus.
Ver erat eternum.[17]

iv. *De dispositione aeris*

In dispositione celi et terre nihil credendum est esse pretermissum, nihil incompositum; [1]ideoque quamuis de aere non sit specificatum, sane intelligenti non fuit omissum. Dispositus enim est[a] cum ab aquis liber notam nobis formam accepit,[1] quod apud filosofos indubitatum est. Vnde poeta, cum celum igneum quasi sidereum premisisset, subiunxit:

Proximus est aer celo[b] leuitate locoque;
Densior his tellus elementaque grandia traxit
Et pressa est grauitate sui;[c] circumfluus humor
Vltima possedit solidumque cohercuit orbem.[2]

[3]Notantur per hoc quatuor elementa, sic dicta quia sunt yle ligamenta ex quibus constant.[4] Sunt autem in modum circuli in se reuoluta,

[l] fluminaque *CI and Ovid* [m] auxit *XQ* [n] ripis *β and Ovid;* rupis *NAC* [o] uirunt *N* [p] innittitur *NXQ* [q] rastro que *N*

[a] est *supplied by author N* [b] celo *MSS;* illi *Ovid* [c] sui *MSS;* sua *Ovid*

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[14] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* i. 38–41.
[15–15] Addidit . . . factum docet ecclesia] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 5 (*PL* cxcviii. 1059).
[16] Gen. 1: 11.
[17] Ovid, *Met.* i. 101–2, 107.

[1–1] ideoque . . . nobis formam accepit] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 5 (*PL* cxcviii. 1059).
[2] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* i. 28–31.

He also made springs, vast pools, and lakes,
And cradled in sloping banks the down-flowing rivers
Which in their various terrains either sink back into the earth
Or travel on to the sea.[14]

[15]Also as part of the third day's work he ordained that the earth should bring forth 'the green herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit.'[16] On this account many people think that the earth was created in the spring, because everything is green then. Others are of the opinion that it was created in August under the sign of Leo, because the next phrase mentions 'the tree yielding fruit'. But the Church teaches that it was made in March.[15] The idea that it was in the spring was perhaps in Ovid's mind when he said:

The earth itself, without compulsion, untouched by the hoe
And unscarred by any ploughshare, gave all things of its own accord.
It was always spring.[17]

4. *The Ordering of the Air*

In the ordering of heaven and earth, nothing, you must believe, was overlooked, nothing left in disarray; [1]therefore, although we are not specifically told about the air, no person of understanding could possibly think it was omitted. It was set in order when it was freed from the waters and took on the form we know,[1] a fact that is well-established among philosophers. So when the poet had treated of the fiery heaven, that is, the heaven of the stars, he added:

Next to heaven in lightness and in place came the air;
The earth, heavier than these, drew with it the grosser elements
And sank under its own weight; the encircling water
Took the last place of all, and held the solid land confined in its
  embrace.[2]

[3]In this passage the four elements are distinguished; they are called elements because they consist of ligaments of *hyle*.[4] Now these

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[3–3] Notantur . . . uolantia, igni radiantia (p. 40)] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 3 (ed. Flint p. 50 = *PL* clxxii. 121); Isidore, *Etym.* xiii. 3.

[4] In abbreviating his source Gervase has produced a tautologous statement (lit.: 'they are ligaments of *hyle* of which they consist'). Honorius wrote: 'Elementa dicitur quasi yle ligamenta. Yle autem est materia. Sunt autem .iiii. elementa ex quibus constant omnia, scilicet ignis, aer, aqua, terra' ('The elements are so-called because they are ligaments of *hyle* (*ὕλη* means matter). Now these are four elements, namely fire, air, water, and earth, of which all things are made.')

dum ignis in aerem, aer in aquam, aqua in terram conuertitur; rursum[d] terra in aquam, aqua in aerem, aer in ignem commutatur, ut ait Ouidius.[5] Hec uelut innodatis brachiis sibi connectuntur, dum frigida frigidis, calida calidis sociantur, aqua frigida et humida aeri f. 5^v humido, | aer humidus et calidus igni calido, ignis calidus et siccus terre sicce. Deputantur autem terre gradientia, aque natantia, aeri uolantia, igni radiantia.[3]

v. *De sole et luna et*[a] *stellis et*[b] *signis*

Quarto die ornatum fecit,[1] [2]in firmamento stellas minores, in ethere planetas, ut ait Fulgentius. Stellam uero Magorum[c] in aere creatam dicit, mobilem et[d] terre magis uicinam; primo tamen in motu non erat. Dicunt plerique stellam Magorum tunc creatam cum Magis apparuit, completoque suo ministerio in nichilum uenisse,[2] sicut de columba dogmatizant, quam ex corpore aereo sumptam in idem dicunt rediisse,[3] sicut et angelica corpora in usu habere proponunt. Vnde Origenes in sermone *De purificatione*:[e] [4]Par turturum et duo pulli colunbarum non fuerunt[f] tales quales occulis carnis aspicimus, sed qualis[g] Spiritus Sanctus est, qui in specie columbe descendit. Non erant iste uolucres ut ille que per aerem uolitant,[h] sed diuinum quiddam et humana contemplatione augustius sub specie columbe ac turcuris apparebat, ut non talibus uictimis qualibus alii homines ille Dei Filius honoraretur, qui pro toto mundo nascebatur, sed ut dispensatio[i] eius noua ita nouas quoque haberet et ostias, secundum[j] uoluntatem Dei omnipotentis in Christo Iesu.[4] [5]Sunt tamen qui

[d] rursus *ACβ and Honorius*

[a] et *supplied by author N* [b] et *supplied by author N* [c] maiorum *N*
[d] et *supplied by author N* [e] purificatone *N* [f] fuerunt *supplied by author N*
[g] quales *NC and some MSS of Origen* [h] uolitant *supplied by author N*
[i] dispansatio *N* [j] secundum *supplied by author N*

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[5] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* xv. 244–51; Gervase added this reference to Ovid to the material from Honorius.

[1] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 6 (*PL* cxcviii. 1060); for *ornatus* see Gen. 2: 1, and *Otia*, i. 1, n. 1.

[2–2] in firmamento . . . in nichilum uenisse] Cf. Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 7; cf. *Gen.*, c. 6 (*PL* cxcviii. 1542 and 1060). The Comestor seems to be in error here, for a Boolean search of key terms in the *Patrologia Latina* and CETEDOC databases found no such statement in the extant works of Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe.

[3] i.e. the dove in whose form the Spirit descended at Jesus' baptism (Matt. 3: 16; Mark

elements turn into each other in a circular process for, as Ovid says,[5] fire is converted into air, air into water, and water into earth; and contrariwise earth changes into water, water into air, and air into fire. They are connected one to another as if by linked arms, cold linking up with cold and warm with warm, cold moist water with moist air, moist warm air with warm fire, warm dry fire with dry earth. Everything that walks is assigned to the earth, everything that swims to the water, everything that flies to the air, and everything that shines to the fire.[3]

5. *The Sun, the Moon, the Stars, and the Signs of the Zodiac*

On the fourth day God adorned his creation,[1] [2]placing the lesser stars in the firmament and the planets in the ether, as Fulgentius says. Fulgentius also tells us that the star of the Magi was created closer to the earth, in the air, and that it was mobile, though it was not in motion at first. Many people affirm that the star of the Magi was only created at the time when it appeared to the Magi, and that once its work was done it ceased to exist.[2] They propound a similar doctrine about the dove, maintaining that it assumed an airy body which later returned to air;[3] likewise they postulate that the bodies of angels only exist as long as they are needed. And so Origen explains in his sermon *On the Purification*: [4]The pair of turtle-doves and the two young pigeons were not such as we see with our eyes of flesh, but such as is the Holy Spirit, which descended in the form of a dove. Those birds were not like the ones which fly through the air, but there appeared in the form of a pigeon and of a turtle-dove something divine and too sacred for human eyes to behold. For it was necessary that the Son of God, who was born for the whole world, should not be honoured by the same kind of sacrifices as other people, but that his new dispensation should also have new offerings in this way, according to the will of almighty God in Christ Jesus.[4] [5]There are however some people who say that when the star of the Magi had performed its

1: 10; Luke 3: 22; John 1: 32): cf. Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 34 and *Gen.*, c. 6 (*PL* cxcviii. 1555 and 1060).

[4–4] Par . . . in Christo Iesu] Cf. Origen, *In Lucam homilia*, xiv. 10 (*PG* xiii. 1837–8), referring to Luke 2: 24. These homilies of Origen were transmitted in the Latin version produced by Jerome.

[5–5] Cf. Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 7 (*PL* cxcviii. 1542); see also Gregory of Tours, *Libri miraculorum*, i. 1 (*MGH SRM* i. 488 = *PL* lxxi. 707); Liebrecht, p. 53.

dicunt stellam Magorum, completo suo ministerio, in puteum cecidisse Bethleemiticum,[k] et illic eam intro uideri auctumant.[5]

Vt autem cepta prosequar, [6]fecit Deus solem, quasi solum lucentem, quia nullum cum eo lucet, uel antonomasice, quia lucidior est ceteris;[7] et lunam, quasi luminum unam, primam scilicet et nobis proximiorem.[l] Vnde uocantur hec duo luminaria magna,[8] non solum pro quantitate luminis sed etiam corporis. Sol enim dicitur occies maior quam terra, et luna maior terra perample,[6] quamuis Marcianus dicat lunam sexies[m] minorem terra proportione circuli.[9]

[10]Sidera quoque Deus infixit firmamento ut lucerent cum luna per noctem, ad operandum, ad gradiendum,[n] ad nauigandum, maximeque in desertis Ethiopie ubi[o] propter nimium solis ardorem terra admodum puluerizatur et modico uentorum impulsu inuenta uiatorum[p] uestigia complanantur. Sed et quedam bestie nocte uenantur, nocte pascuntur, et nocte magis in uisu acuuntur, et luce diei caligine obducuntur.

Sunt autem sol et luna et sidera posita non tantum ad decorem sed etiam ad 'signa et tempora, et dies et annos'.[11] Signa quippe sunt serinitatis et tempestatis,[10] secundum illud:

> Mane rubens[q] celum notat imbres, sero serenum.[12]

Signa quoque[r] sunt corporalium incrementorum aut detrimentorum. Vnde in mari fiunt per certas lunationes estuationes, fluxus et refluxus, inundationes, ut in[s] mari Britannico apertius apparet. Fiunt quoque tam in animamtibus quam in arboribus medularum

[k] Bethleemiticu *N* [l] proximorem *N* [m] sexies *C and Martianus*, sexties *Aβ*; septies *N* [n] gradiandum *N* [o] ubi *I*, *transposed after* ardorem *XQ*; *om.* *NAC* [p] uiaticorum *with* ti *expunged N* [q] rubans *N* [r] quoque *supplied by author N* [s] in *supplied by author*(?) *N*

[6–6] fecit . . . maior terra perample] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 6 (*PL* cxcviii. 1060).

[7] Gervase inserted this alternative explanation into the material he drew from the Comestor; cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 77 (72) (ed. Flint p. 77 = *PL* clxxii. 139): 'Sol, inde dictus quod solus luceat, ceteris stellis obscuratis, vel quod sit super omnia lucens.' The word *antonomasia* acquired the meaning 'excellence' in medieval usage (see Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, s.v.).

[8] Gen. 1: 16.

[9] Cf. Martianus Capella, viii. 858–60. The statement that the sun was eight times the size of the earth is common in medieval astronomical texts, the authority for it being Macrobius. The calculations and errors involved are treated by Stahl, *Commentary*, pp. 173–4. In correspondence with J. R. Caldwell, Professor Stahl suggested the translation 'by proportion of circumference' for Gervase's *proportione circuli*, but pointed out that Martianus was comparing the moon's diameter with the earth's circumference.

function it fell into a well in Bethlehem, and they claim that it can still be seen in there.[5]

But to return to the subject, [6]God made the sun, called *sol* because it shines alone (*solus*), for nothing else shines with it, or else to express its pre-eminence, for it is brighter than anything else;[7] and the moon (*luna*), that is, one of the lights (*luminum una*), the first in fact, and the closest to us. Accordingly these two are called the great lights,[8] from the magnitude not only of the light they give but also of their bodies. For it is said that the sun is eight times larger than the earth, and that the moon is also much larger than the earth,[6] although Martianus says that by proportion of circumference the moon is six times smaller than the earth.[9]

[10]God also set the stars in the firmament to give light through the night, along with the moon, for purposes of work, of land travel, and of navigation. They are especially necessary in the deserts of Ethiopia where, on account of the excessive heat of the sun, the earth is completely turned to dust, and any travellers' footprints that may have been found are obliterated by a slight gust of wind. Besides, some animals do their hunting and grazing at night, and are more sharp-sighted in the dark, while their eyes are dimmed in the light of day.

Moreover, the sun and moon and stars were set in place not only to adorn the heavens but also for 'signs and for seasons, and for days and years'.[11] They are in fact signs of fair weather or of storms,[10] just as the verse says:

> A red sky in the morning is a sign of rain,
> A red sky at night brings a clear sky again.[12]

They are also signs of physical growth or diminishment. Thus in the case of the sea it happens that at certain phases of the moon there are strong swells, ebbings and flowings, and high tides, as can be seen quite clearly in the British Sea. It also happens that in both plants and animals a recurrent abundance or depletion of energy can be

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[10] Sidera . . . serinitatis et tempestatis] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 6 and Additio 2 (*PL* cxcviii. 1060–1).

[11] Gen. 1: 14

[12] This hexameter conveys weather lore still current ('Red sky at morning, shepherds' warning: red sky at night, shepherds' delight'). For similar versions of the same proverb, see Eugenius of Toledo, *Carmina*, 55, lines 1–2 (*MGH*, *Auctores Antiquissimi*, xiv. 260); Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 89 (84) (ed. Flint p. 81 = *PL* clxxii. 141); *Proverbia rusticorum mirabiliter versificata*, published by J. Zacher in 'Altfranzösische Sprichworter', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, xi (1859), 114–44, no. 105 (p. 126).

repletiones aut exinanitiones. Sed et distinctione[t] facta plenilunii, animalia si occidantur, cocta crescunt frusta aut decrescunt, lignaque aut citius aut tardius putrescunt, siluaque cedua cito recrescit aut deficit. Vnde egregius ille uersificator et philosophus:

> Luna, quibus uicina meat, terrena marina
> Legibus exagitat imperiosa suis.[13]

Porro quod ad motum siderum euentus[u] uel facta[v][14] disponantur fides Catholica non admittit, cum hoc[w] magis antiquatum redolere uideatur[x] errorem, quo[y] suadetur omnia esse in Deo et *marmone*,[z] ut
f. 6^{r} ait Iosefus | de triplici secta Iudeorum.[15]

[16]Sunt quoque a sole et luna signa duodecim,[17] que maiora dicuntur ad distantiam minorum, que ad discernenda tempora in sideribus minoribus signauit antiquitas. Sane tempora cum mundo ceperunt, sed a sole et[a] luna quatuor temporum[b] ceperunt distinctiones.[c] Sol enim descendens ad Capricornum solstitium facit yemale, ascendens ad Cancrum estiuale;[d] inter utrumque pari[e] ab utroque distantia facit equinoctia.

Sed et dies naturalis uiginti quatuor oris concluditur; dies uero[f] usualis[16] uel artificialis duodecim horis terminatur et ex ascensu uel descensu solis nunc pluribus, nunc paucioribus compaginatur.[18] Humores quoque horis certis dominari magisque incendi fisica docet, ascensum solis et descensum complesionibus corporum contribuentes.[g] Vnde asserunt a tercia[h] hora diei usque ad horam nonam coleram dominari, ab hora nona diei[i] usque ad terciam horam noctis melancoliam, ab hora tercia noctis usque ad horam nonam noctis[j]

[t] distictiones *N* [u] euentus *supplied by author N* [v] fata *Aβ* [w] hec *CXQ* [x] uideantur *CXQ* [y] quod *N* [z] marmone *N*, *with* id est fortuna *written under the line by author;* in armone *β* [a] et *supplied by author N* [b] temporum *supplied by author N* [c] distinctones *N* [d] ascendens . . . estiuale] *supplied by author N* [e] pari *supplied by author N* [f] dies uero *supplied by author N* [g] contribuentes *NI;* contribuens *CXQ* [h] terra *N* [i] die|ei *N* [j] noctis *supplied by author N*

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[13] Bernard Sylvester, *De mundi universitate*, i. 3. 141–2.

[14] The reading *fata* is attractive, but *facta* is supported by a similar statement in the Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 6 (*PL* cxcviii. 1060): 'Nec dicendum est . . . quod posita sint in signa eventuum et operum nostrorum' ('Nor should it be said . . . that [the stars] were set in place as signs of our happenings and works').

[15] Cf. Josephus, *Bell.* ii. 162. In the course of explaining the differences between the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, Josephus says of the Pharisees: *εἱμαρμένῃ τε καὶ θεῷ προσάπτουσι πάντα* ('they ascribe everything to fate and to God'). The Greek *εἱμαρμένη* was usually rendered into Latin as *fatum;* in *N*, the author wrote *id est fortuna* under the corrupt form *marmone.* Gervase seems to have been familiar with the Latin

discerned. In this phenomenon the variation in the fullness of the moon makes a difference. For instance, if animals are butchered, it influences whether the pieces swell or shrink when they are cooked; it affects whether timber rots quickly or slowly; and whether coppiced woodland grows back quickly or dies. So the famous poet and philosopher wrote:

> Whatever the moon draws near, on land or sea,
> Falls under her compelling sway.[13]

On the other hand, the idea that events or actions[14] are determined by the movement of the stars is not countenanced by the Catholic faith, since this seems rather to savour of the old error whereby it is argued that all things are controlled by God and εἱμαρμένῃ (fate), as Josephus says when discussing the three schools of thought among the Jews.[15]

[16]Apart from the sun and moon there are also twelve signs,[17] called the greater signs to distinguish them from the lesser ones. Antiquity recognized their value among the smaller stars for marking the seasons. Time actually began at the same time as the world, but the distinguishing of the four seasons only began with the sun and moon. The sun's descent to Capricorn marks the winter solstice, while its ascent to Cancer marks the summer one; at an equal distance between the two it marks the equinoxes.

A natural day ends after twenty-four hours. A common or working day,[16] however, is limited to twelve hours, and these hours of which it is composed are sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, according to the seasonal position of the sun as it moves up or down the sky.[18] Natural science teaches as well that at certain hours the various humours are more active and dominant, harmonizing the ascent and descent of the sun with the constitution of the body. So they assert that from the third hour of the day until the ninth, choler is the dominant humour; from the ninth hour of the day until the third hour of the night, melancholy; from the third hour of the night until

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version of Josephus. The Comestor also gives this information (*Evan.*, c. 31, *PL* cxcviii. 1553), but without mentioning Josephus; he likewise denies the influence of the stars in *Gen.*, c. 6 (*PL* cxcviii. 1060). See also *Otia*, iii. 12, n. 9.

[16–16] Sunt . . . dies uero usualis] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 6 (*PL* cxcviii. 1060).

[17] i.e. the signs of the zodiac; see e.g. Rabanus Maurus, *Liber de computo*, c. 39 (*PL* cvii. 690); Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 97–109 (91–103) (ed. Flint pp. 83–5 = *PL* cxxii. 142–3).

[18] The Romans divided the period of daylight into twelve equal hours, the length of an hour thus varying slightly from day to day.

flegma, ab hora illa usque ad horam terciam diei sanguinem: grauiusque a quolibet humorum affligitur paciens quando humor illius ore dominatur.[19]

vi. *Quot modis annus distingitur*[a]

Discreuit Deus tempora per dies, ut diximus, et annos, uoluitque ad omnia sidera annum pertinere, dum diuersis spaciis annos distinxit, nunc breues, nunc prolixos sideribus contribuens. [1]Dicitur autem annus ab *am*,[b] quod est circum, quia in se reuoluitur. Hinc est quod antiquiores, ante usum litterarum, annum sub specie serpentis figurabant cuius cauda ad os reuoluebatur,[1] sicut et Ianum bifrontem pingimus quia capud incipientis[c] anni et finem defficientis respicit.[2] Est ergo annus circumuolutio siderum, et hic nunc [3]lunaris, constans ex .cccliv. diebus, nunc solaris,[d] constans ex .ccclxv. et quadrante (scilicet sex horis), nunc bissextilis, constans ex .ccclxvi. diebus, nunc embolismalis, id est superexcrescens, qui .ccclxxx. dies excedit, habens tredecim lunationes,[3] nunc annus magnus, qui planetis omnibus ad sua loca creationis[e] reuersis completur, quod fit demum post quingentos triginta annos,[4] nunc annus[f] mundanus,[g] qui

[a] Quot modis distinguitur annus *also written by author at bottom of page and keyed to proper place, where title has (subsequently?) been squeezed in by rubricator N* [b] an *CI*; ana *Comestor* [c] figurabant cuius cauda . . . incipientis] *supplied by author N* [d] diebus nunc solaris *supplied by author N* [e] creatonis *N* [f] annus] camus *N* [g] mundamus *N*

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[19] On the humours, see e.g. Isidore, *Etym.* iv. 5; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, ii. 59 (ed. Flint p. 106 = *PL* clxxii. 154).

[1–1] Dicitur . . . ad os reuoluebatur] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 6 (*PL* cxcviii. 1061). The etymology goes back to Macrobius (*Saturnalia*, i. 14. 5), who explains: 'veteres an pro circum ponere solebant, ut Cato dicit in Originibus: *arator an terminum*, id est circum terminum, et ambire dicitur pro circumire;' cf. Bede, *De temporum ratione*, c. 36 (*CCSL* cxxiii (B). 395 = *PL* xc. 462). The image of the snake is also found in Isidore, *Etym.* v. 36. 2.

[2] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* v. 33. 3; see further Macrobius, (*Saturnalia*, i. 9. 1–18), who reports (12) that Janus was portrayed as a snake swallowing its own tail by the Phoenicians.

[3–3] lunaris . . . habens tredecim lunationes] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 6 (*PL* cxcviii. 1061). Of the last the Comestor says: 'est embolismalis, qui constat ex trecentis octoginta diebus, et excedit, habens tredecim lunationes' ('there is an intercalary year, which consists of 380 days or more, having thirteen lunar cycles'). The *annus embolismalis* was normally said to contain 384 days; see e.g. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, ii. 63 (61) (ed. Flint p. 107 = *PL* clxxii. 155); Isidore, *Etym.* vi. 17. 22–4, and *De natura rerum liber*, vi. 4 (*PL* lxxxiii. 973);

the ninth hour of the night, phlegm; from that hour until the third hour of the day, blood: and whatever the humour, the patient is more severely afflicted with it in the hours when it dominates.[19]

6. *The Various Ways of Reckoning a Year*

God divided time into days, as we have said, and years. It was his intention that a year should be related to all the stars, for he distinguished years of different lengths, making some short, some long, according to their relationship to the stars. [1]Now the word for a year, *annus*, comes from *am*, which means 'around', because the year returns on itself. This is the reason why in the past, before the introduction of writing, people used to represent the year in the form of a snake whose tail was looped back to its mouth.[1] For the same reason we depict Janus as having two faces, because he looks forward to the beginning of the new year and back at the end of the old one.[2] A year, then, is a revolution of the stars. It may be [3]a lunar year, consisting of 354 days, or a solar year, consisting of 365 days and a quarter (that is, six hours), or a leap year, consisting of 366 days, or an intercalary year, that is, a year containing an extra month, which with thirteen lunar cycles has more than 380 days.[3] There is also the great year, which is completed when all the planets have returned to the places they occupied at their creation, an event which occurs only after 530 years.[4] And there is the world year, which is completed

Bede, *De temporibus liber*, c. 9 (*PL* xc. 284), and *De temporum ratione*, c. 36 (*CCSL* cxxiii (B). 396 = *PL* xc. 463); Rabanus Maurus, *De computo*, c. 36 (*PL* cvii. 688).

[4] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 36, Additio 2 (*PL* cxcviii. 1087). The Comestor (c. 36), however, following Josephus (*Ant.* i. 105–6), gives the number of years in a great year as 600; cf. Isidore, *De natura rerum liber*, vi. 3 (*PL* lxxxiii. 973); Bede, *De temporibus liber*, c. 9 (*CCSL* cxxiii(C). 591–2 = *PL* xc. 284), and *De temporum ratione*, c. 36 (*CCSL* cxxiii (B). 397 = *PL* xc. 463–4). However, in his *De ratione computi*, c. 11 (*PL* xc. 590), Bede gives the figure as 532 years; the Great Paschal cycle of 532 years, deriving from Victorius of Aquitaine, was applied to the Easter tables of Dionysius Exiguus (see K. Harrison, *The Framework of Anglo-Saxon History* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 33 and 39. Cf. also Rabanus Maurus, *De computo*, c. 36 (*PL* cvii. 689), John Scotus Erigena, *De divisione naturae*, v. 3 (*PL* cxxii. 866); Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, ii. 71 and 74 (69 and 71) (ed. Flint pp. 108–9 = *PL* clxxii. 155 and 156)). On this subject, see N. Campion, *The Great Year: Astrology, Millenarianism and History in the Western Tradition* (London, 1994), and G. de Callataÿ, *Annus Platonicus: A Study of World Cycles in Greek, Latin and Arabic Sources*, Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain (Louvain, 1996), esp. pp. 59–80.

completur omnibus stellis ad sua loca primitiua[h] reuersis, quod fit, ut[i] ait Iosefus, demum post quinque milia annorum.[5]

Constant autem anni lunares et solares ex mensibus lunaribus et solaribus. Lunares infra tricennarium plerumque reperiuntur, ultra uero non; solares plures[j] hunc numerum excedunt.[6] Solares semper constant ex .ccclxv. diebus, nisi sit annus bisextilis. Lunaris annus nunc est duodecim lunationum, qui dicitur communis quia frequentior[k] est, et tunc habet .cccliiii. dies; nunc tredecim, et tunc habet dies .ccclxxxiiii. Si uero fuerit bixestus, augetur uno die. [7]Sunt ergo lunares solaribus breuiores undecim diebus. Vnde in uisione Danielis[8] septuaginta ebdomade annorum solarium faciunt annos .cccclxxv., lunarium uero .ccccxc., qui fluxerunt ab inpetratione Neemie,[l] ut narrat Esdras,[m] [9] usque ad septimum decimum annum Tyberii.[n] [7]

Sed et [10]annus solaris a Ianuario incipit secundum Romanos ex traditione[o] Nume Pompilii, quia tunc incipit sol ascendere post solsticium[p] yemale. Arabes incipiunt a solstitio estiuo, Ebrei a[q] Marcio, quia tunc mundus conditus legitur. In Aprili cerimoniali differunt a nobis, in temporali conueniunt nobiscum.[10] Enimuero preter annum naturalem qui incipit a quolibet instanti, Iudei tres annos distingunt: [11]usualem, qui a Ianuario incipit, et hunc nobiscum communem habent in contractibus et negociis suis agendis; habent et annum legitimum, quo utuntur in legitimis que agunt, et distingitur per lunationes, cuius est Aprilis lunatio prima; habent et annum emergentem, quem in memoriam liberationis sue computant ab exitu
f. 6v de[r] Egipto,[11] sicut Greci a prima olimpiade, Romani | ab urbe condita,

[h] primatiua *N* [i] quod fit ut] quod sicut *altered by scribe to* qui sit (*or* fit); ut *restored by author* *N* [j] pluries *C* (*presumably a scribal correction*) [k] frequantior *N* [l] Neemie *supplied by author* *N* [m] Edras *N* [n] Tybebirii *N* [o] tradicone *N* [p] solstionum *N* [q] a *om.* *N* [r] de *supplied by author* *N*

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[5] On the world year, see Macrobius, *Commentarii*, ii. 11. 8–12; it was completed, according to Macrobius, only after 15,000 years; another tradition, based on a passage in Plato's *Republic* (viii. 546), put the figure at 36,000 years. The world year tended to be identified with the great year (see Stahl, *Commentary*, p. 221, n. 3); the passage of Josephus in question is therefore probably his allusion to the great year (*Ant.* i. 106; cf. n. 4 above), although the figure given there is 600 years, not 5,000.

[6] Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *De computo*, c. 28 (*PL* cvii. 683); Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, ii. 32–4 (34) (ed. Flint, pp. 100–101 = *PL* clxxii. 151).

[7–7] Sunt . . . decimum annum Tyberii] Cf. Comestor, *Dan.*, c. 10, 'Visio octava' (*PL* cxcviii. 1459–60); Bede, *De temporum ratione*, c. 9 (*CCSL* cxxiii (B). 304–10 = *PL* xc. 334–6). According to the Comestor Christ's passion occurred in the eighteenth year of Tiberius' rule; in placing it in his seventeenth year Gervase is in agreement with Bede. The fact of the lunar year being shorter than the solar year is here used to show that Christ

when all the stars have returned to their original places. This occurs, according to Josephus, only after 5,000 years.[5]

The lunar and solar years are composed respectively of lunar and solar months. Lunar months generally contain less than thirty days, and never more; solar months often exceed this number.[6] Solar years always consist of 365 days, unless it is a leap year. The lunar year sometimes contains twelve lunar cycles, in which case it is called a common year because that occurs more frequently, and then it has 354 days; or sometimes it contains thirteen lunar cycles, and then it has 384 days. If it should be a leap year, one extra day is added. [7]Lunar years are therefore 11 days shorter than solar years. And so in the vision of Daniel[8] seventy weeks of years make 475 reckoning in solar years, but 490 reckoning in lunar years. This is the time which elapsed from the year when Nehemiah obtained his request, as described by Ezra,[9] to the seventeenth year of Tiberius.[7]

[10]The solar year begins in January for the Romans, following a tradition established by Numa Pompilius, because that is when the sun begins to climb upwards after the winter solstice. The Arabs begin the year at the summer solstice, the Hebrews in March, because of their belief that that is when the world was created. They differ from us in the April of their religious calendar, but for the secular April their usage is the same as ours.[10] Indeed, besides the natural year which begins at any given moment, the Jews distinguish three kinds of year: [11]the usual year, which begins in January, and this they observe in common with us in handling their contracts and business affairs; they also have a legal year, which they adopt for any legal business in which they engage, and this is reckoned in lunar cycles, beginning with the month of April; and besides these, they have a year of the exodus which, in memory of their liberation, they compute from their coming up out of Egypt,[11] just as the Greeks count from

died exactly 'seventy weeks of years' after Nehemiah received the commission to rebuild Jerusalem. This commission has generally been dated to 445 BC; anxiety concerning the fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy lay behind much of the preoccupation with the end-time prevalent among the Jews at the time of Christ.

[8] Dan. 9: 24–7.

[9] 2 Esd. (Neh.) 2: 6.

[10–10] annus . . . temporali conueniunt nobiscum] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 25 (*PL* cxcviii. 1153); Rabanus Maurus, *De computo*, c. 32 (*PL* cvii. 684–5); Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, ii. 36–7 (ed. Flint pp. 101–2 = *PL* clxxii. 152). The Roman year began on 1 March; see below, *Otia* ii. 16, at n. 8.

[11–11] usualem . . . exitu de Egipto] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 33 and *Exod.*, c. 58, Additio 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1084 and 1179); Josephus, *Ant.* i. 81. Josephus simply distinguishes the year of the exodus from the civil year.

christiani ab incarnatione Domini. Capta siquidem Troia, Greci ad gloriam uictorie sue ceperunt computare annos olimpiadis, hoc est quadriennii, a capta Troia; sic etiam Romani ab urbe condita annos computant. Greci quoque olimpiades, Romani indictiones, Iudei ebdomadas annorum computant.

Sane ab anno dicitur annuum[s] Pasca et annotinum; annuum quod celebratur singulis annis die dominica. Non tamen semper concurrit lunatio paschalis cum die dominica. Annotinum Pascha dicimus ubicumque quarta decima luna concurrit.[t] Vnde in quibusdam ecclesiis, quamuis non concurrat cum die dominica, cantatur 'Resurrexi' cum toto pascali officio.[12]

[13]Porro[u] lunam factam tradunt in plenilunio ex eo quod in alia translatione dicitur: 'luminare minus in incoatione noctis';[14] in principio enim noctis non oritur nisi *pansilenos*, hoc est rotunda uel tota, a *pan*, quod est totum, et *siline*, quod est luna.[13] (Luna enim secundum sui augmentum nomina uariat: in *neomenia*, hoc est nouilunio, dicitur *neo uides*,[v] in maiori incremento *diaconios*, in circulo perfectiore *anphiteatros*, in plenilunio *pansilenos*.)[15] [16]Ex his perpenditur quod mane factus est sol in oriente, et uespere similiter in oriente luna; uel ut alii putant in mane simul facta sunt, sol in oriente et luna in occidente, sicque occidente[w] sole, luna sub terra rediit ad orientem.[16]

[s] annum *NAX* [t] Non tamen semper . . . concurrit] *supplied by author N*
[u] Porro *supplied by author N* [v] neonides *Cβ* [w] sicque occidente *supplied by author N*

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[12] The 'Resurrexi' was the Introit for Easter Sunday; see e.g. *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, i, ed. W. G. Henderson, Surtees Society, lix (1872), 125; *The Ordines of Haymo of Faversham*, HBS lxxxv (London, 1953), 213; *The Bec Missal*, ed. A. Hughes, HBS xciv (London, 1961), 72; Honorius, *Gemma animae*, iv. 11 and 15 (*PL* clxxii. 692 and 694). Of course the Easter full-moon is most often *not* on a Sunday.

[13-13] Porro . . . quod est luna] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 6 (*PL* cxcviii. 1061).

[14] This version of Gen. 1: 16, found in certain recensions of the Vetus Latina (cf. Vulgate: 'luminare minus, ut praeesset nocti'), arose from the fact that ἀρχή means both 'beginning' and 'dominion', though the translation of εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς νυκτός as *in inchoatione noctis* overlooks the fact that ἀρχάς is accusative.

[15] Except for the full moon, Gervase does not have his phases of the moon quite right: the new moon should be μηνοειδής (crescent-shaped), διχότομος (cut in half) is the half moon (though διάτομος seems to have been a common variant), ἀμφίκυρτος (convex on

their first olympiad, the Romans from the foundation of their city, and Christians from the incarnation of the Lord. It was in fact after the capture of Troy that the Greeks, in honour of their victory, began to count in olympiads, that is, periods of four years from the fall of Troy; so too the Romans compute the years from the foundation of the city. The Greeks, then, count olympiads (four-year cycles), the Romans indictions (fifteen-year cycles), and the Jews weeks (seven-year cycles) of years.

The expressions *Pascha annuum* (Easter Sunday) and *Pascha annotinum* (Easter full-moon) derive from *annus* (a year). Easter Sunday is called *Pascha annuum* because Easter is celebrated every year on the Lord's day. However, the Easter full-moon does not always coincide with a Sunday. We use the expression *Pascha annotinum* for the day on which the full-moon (the fourteenth day of the lunar month) falls. So in some churches, even though it may not fall on a Sunday, the 'Resurrexi' is sung that day along with the whole Easter office.[12]

[13]There is a tradition that the moon was full when it was created, based on an alternative translation which reads: 'the lesser light at the beginning of the night';[14] for the moon does not rise at the beginning of the night except when it is πανσέληνος, that is, round or whole, from πᾶν, which means 'whole', and σελήνη, which means 'moon'.[13] (The moon takes various names according to its waxing and waning: at the time of the νεομηνία, that is, the new moon, it is called νεοειδής (youthful); when it grows larger, διάτομος (cut in half); as it approaches circular form, ἀμφιθέατρος (amphitheatre-shaped); and in its fulness, πανσέληνος (full-moon).)[15] [16]From these considerations it is inferred that the sun was created in the east in the morning, and the moon in the evening, likewise in the east; or else, as others think, they were both created at once in the morning, the sun in the east and the moon in the west, and so, by the time the sun is setting, the moon has returned under the earth to the east.[16]

each side) is the gibbous moon. Gervase's apparently-intended νεοειδής and ἀμφιθέατρος have been kept in the translation since they exist as known two-form Greek adjectives and fit the required meaning well enough. Martianus Capella (vii. 738) has four phases of the moon; Macrobius (*Commentarii*, i. 6. 55) counts seven, since he specifies the stages of the waning as well as the waxing moon; for other references, see Stahl, *Commentary*, p. 111, n. 59.

[16-16] Ex his . . . rediit ad orientem] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 6 (*PL* cxcviii. 1061).

vii. *De ornatu aeris et uentis*

[1]Ornauit[a] Deus aerem quinta die et aquam, uolatilia dans aeri, natatilia dans aquis; utraque tamen ex aquis orta sunt.[2] Facilis enim transitus est aque in aerem per attenuationem, ut apparet in aqua, que per ebulitionem resoluitur in fumum; et aer facile spissatur[b] in aquam, ut in uligine terre perpendimus, que uentis in altum agitata densescit in pluuiam.[1] Aeri ergo uentos contribuimus ex opposita sibi regione spirantes, de quibus poeta:

> Imminet his aer, qui quanto[c] pondere terre
> Pondere aque leuior, tanto est honerosior igne.
> Illic et nebulas, illic consistere nubes
> Iussit et humanas motura tonitrua mentes
> Et cum fulminibus facientes fulgura[d] uentos.[3]

Ventus autem nihil aliud est quam aer commotus et agitatus, unde aeris fluctus dici potest.[4]

Porro uentorum quatuor sunt principales, qui octo habent collaterales.[5] Cardinalis est et principalis subsolanus in oriente, zephirus uel fauonius in occidente, boreas ad septemtrionem, auster ad meridiem. Ouidius tamen eurum posuit pro subsolano cum ait:

> Cum[e] lanient mundum, tanta est discordia fratrum.
> Eurus ad auroram Nabatheaque regna recessit
> Persidaque et radiis[f] iuga subdita matutinis;
> Vesper et occiduo que lictora sole tepescunt
> Proxima sunt Zephiro; Scitiam[g] septemque triones
> Horrifer inuasit Boreas; contraria tellus
> Nubibus assiduis pluuiaque madescit ab austro.[6]

[a] ornouit *N* [b] spissaretur(?) *N* [c] quanto] quanto est *C and Ovid* [d] frigora *CI and most MSS of Ovid* (*see n. 3*) [e] quin *CI and Ovid* [f] radiis *CI and Ovid;* Indis *NQ*, in dis *AX* [g] Scitiam *CI*, Scythiam *Ovid;* Siticam *NAX*, Sciticam *Q*

[1-1] Ornauit . . . densescit in pluuiam] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 7 (*PL* cxcviii. 1061); the examples were added by Gervase.

[2] Gen. 1: 20.

[3] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* i. 52–6. In line 56 *frigora*, rather than *fulgura*, is the reading of most Ovid MSS, and was the usual reading of Ovid texts until the second decade of this century; now *fulgora* (the reading of the oldest extant Ovid MS) is generally accepted. Here, as elsewhere (e.g. *Otia*, i. 3), the readings of *C* and *I* appear to reflect a collation of Gervase's original text with a MS of Ovid; cf. n. 6 below.

[4] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 59 (54) (ed. Flint p. 73 = *PL* clxxii. 136); Isidore, *Etym.* xiii. 11. 1.

7. *The Adornment of the Air, and the Winds*

[1]On the fifth day God adorned the air and the water, assigning everything that flies to the air, and everything that swims to the water; both kinds of creature, however, emerged from the water.[2] For water readily changes into air by the process of evaporation: this is evident in the way that water turns to steam when it boils. Similarly air readily thickens into water: we infer this from the way the earth's vapour condenses into rain when it is driven up into the sky by the winds.[1] To the air, then, we allocate the winds, which blow from the different points of the compass. The poet said of them:

> Over all these hangs the air, as much heavier than fire
> As it is lighter than earth or water.
> There he ordered the mists and clouds to take their place,
> And thunder, destined to shake human hearts,
> And, along with the thunderbolts, the lightning-producing winds.[3]

Wind is in fact nothing but air which is disturbed and agitated; so it is possible to speak of a wave of air.[4]

There are four principal winds, and these have eight collaterals.[5] The principal, or cardinal, winds are *subsolanus* in the east, *zephyrus* or *favonius* in the west, *boreas* to the north, and *auster* to the south. Ovid, however, substituted *eurus* for *subsolanus* when he said:

> They all but tear the world apart, so fierce is the brothers' strife.
> But Eurus withdrew to the dawn, to the realms of Nabataea
> And Persia, where the hills catch the morning light;
> The west and the shores which are warmed by the setting sun
> Are home for Zephyrus; shivering Boreas fell upon
> Scythia and the north; while the land opposite his is soaked
> With constant mist and rain by Auster.[6]

[5] The wind rose starts in Latin with Seneca (*Quaest. nat.* v. 17); it appears in Isidore (*Etym.* xiii. 11. 2–3), and then commonly in the Middle Ages, with much confusion regarding the details of the names of the winds (see Wright, *Geographical Lore*, p. 174). Gervase differs from Isidore and Honorius (*De imagine mundi*, i. 60 (55), ed. Flint p. 73 = *PL* clxxii. 136), for example, in the name of the north wind (which they both call *septentrio*); Honorius also gives alternative names for nearly all the winds.

[6] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* i. 60–66. Gervase probably substituted his (somewhat awkward) *cum* deliberately for *quin* in line 60, because Ovid's *quin* follows *uix nunc obsistitur illis* in line 58, which is not quoted by Gervase; in *C* and *I*, however, Gervase's text has been brought into line with the text of Ovid. The readings *Indis* (line 62) and *Siticam* (line 64), on the other hand, seem to represent mistakes, either by Gervase or in his copy of Ovid; here again, they have been corrected in *C* and *I*.

His inquam collaterales iunguntur, eurus subsolano, cui euroauster quasi austro proximus, item austro ex altero latere austroaffricus, cui affricus zephiro proximus, zephiro chorus, cui circius boree proximus, unde illud:

Non Chorus in illum
Ius habet aut Zephirus, solus sua littora turbat
Circius.[7]

Boree aquilo, cui proximus uulturnus, de quo illud:

Flat, uolat, et pugnat Vulturnus, stillat et undat.[8]

viii. *De iumentis, reptilibus, et bestiis*

[1]Sexto[a] die, cum creasset Deus iumenta, reptilia, et bestias,[2] iumenta in iuuamen, reptilia et bestias in exercitium,[b] ad ultimum formauit hominem. Sane reptilium quedam sunt trahentia, ut uermes, ore se trahentes; quedam serpencia, ut colubri, ui costarum se rapientes; quedam repentia pedibus, ut lacerte.

Que uero ex humoribus uel coruptionibus lignorum (ut teredones), uel herbarum (ut tinee ex oleribus), uel fructuum (ut curculiones ex fabis); uel ex corruptione humorum (ut uermes puteorum); uel ex cadaueribus (ut apes ex iumentis, scarabei ex equis, et scarabones, qui f. 7^{r} sunt musce | grandes sonantes cum uolant): hec inquam omnia post peccatum ex rebus corruptis orta sunt. Que uero ex exalationibus (ut bibiones ex uino, papiliones[c] ex aqua) sexto die facta sunt.

Porro nociua animancia tribus de causis facta sunt: propter hominis punitionem, ut cum his leditur aut ad timendum ducitur; propter correctionem, cum scit ista sibi accidisse[d] propter peccatum; propter instructionem, ut per ista humilietur et opera Dei magis admiretur.

[a] Sexto *supplied by author N* [b] iumenta in iuuamen . . . exercitium] *supplied by author N* [c] papilones *N* [d] accedisse *N*

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[7] Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 406–8.

[8] This line is found, with slight variations, in some florilegia and educational anthologies of the twelfth century; the words *uersus magistralis* are written beside it in *I*. See A. Ebel, *Clm 17142. Eine Schäftlarner Miscellaneen-Handschrift des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, vi (Munich, 1970), 66, line 27 and note.

[1-1] Sexto . . . quam onera camelorum (p. 56)] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 8 (*PL* cxcviii. 1062–3); Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, iii. 14 (*CSEL* xxviii (1). 79–80 = *PL* xxxiv. 288–9).

To these, as I say, are linked the collateral winds: next to *subsolanus* is *eurus*, then comes *euroauster*, so called because it is next to *auster;* similarly on the other side of *auster* there is *austroaffricus*, after which comes *affricus*, next to *zephyrus; corus* is on the other side of *zephyrus*, and *circius* is between *corus* and *boreas*. Hence the lines:

Over it Corus
Has no power, nor does Zephyrus: Circius alone
Ruffles this shore, his own possession.[7]

Aquilo is on the other side of *boreas*, and next to *aquilo* is *vulturnus*, referred to in the line:

Vulturnus blows, rushes and buffets, drizzles and drenches.[8]

8. *The Cattle, the Creeping Things, and the Beasts*

[1]On the sixth day, after God had created the cattle, the creeping things, and the beasts[2]—the cattle to help us, the creeping things and the beasts to challenge us—in the last place he fashioned man. Now among the creeping things there are some which have a dragging movement, such as worms, which drag themselves along by their mouths; others have a wriggling movement, such as snakes, which pull themselves forward by the strength of their ribs; others again crawl on feet, such as lizards.

Some creatures emerge from dank and decaying matter, like rotten wood (such as wood-lice), or plants (such as caterpillars from vegetables), or fruit (such as weevils from beans); others come out of foul water (such as worms from wells); others again emerge from carcasses (such as bees from cattle, beetles from horses, and scarabos, which are large flies which make a noise when they fly): all these creatures, originating from corrupt matter, only appeared after the Fall. But those which come from vapours (such as wine-flies from wine, or dragonflies from water) were created on the sixth day.

Now pests were made for three reasons: for the punishment of man, which occurs when he is hurt by them or is reduced to a state of fear; for his amendment, when he realizes that these things have come to him on account of his sin; and for his instruction, in order that he may be humbled by them and marvel the more at the works of God.

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[2] Gen. 1: 24.

Admiratur enim magis onera[e] formicarum quam onera camelorum,[1] et telam aranee quam opera manuum hominum.

Creatis animantibus, ad ultimum creatur homo, ita quod in una sui parte plasmatur, in altera creatur.[f] [3]Plasmauit enim Deus hominem 'de limo terre'[4] in regione Damascena,[5] et animam creauit. Vnde sequitur: 'Et inspirauit in eum spiraculum uite', id est spiritum fecit. Alia translatio habet 'insuflauit', quia flatum, hoc est animam, fecit, sicut legitur in Esaia: 'Omnem flatum ego feci.'[6] Hunc sane locum recte non intellexit Plato, dicens Deum animam creasse, angelos uero corpus formasse, ubi ait: 'Dii deorum quorum opifex idem[g] paterque ego,[3] [h]uos opera siquidem mea, dissolubilia natura, me fieri ita uolente[i] indissolubilia, quia uoluntas mea maior est nexus, et omne quod ratione iustum est et modulatum, firmum et stabile perseuerat.'[h] [7]

[8]Enimuero in tribus notatur hominis dignitas: primo[j] quia ymago Dei est per rationem et uirtutes; secundo quia cum deliberatione factus est (in aliis siquidem 'dixit et facta sunt';[9] in hoc tanquam deliberantes tres persone dixerunt: 'Faciamus hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem nostram'[10]); tertio quia dominus factus est omnium animalium, ut essent ei in alimentum et indumentum et laboris

[e] onera *MSS;* opera *Comestor* [f] in altera creatur *supplied by author N*
[g] idem *supplied by author*(?) *N;* id est *A; om. Cβ and Comestor* [h–h] uos . . . et stabile perseuerat] *om. Cβ and Comestor* [i] uolente *A;* uoluntate *N* [j] primo *supplied by author N*

[3–3] Plasmauit . . . idem paterque ego] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 12 (*PL* cxcviii. 1066).

[4] Gen. 2: 7.

[5] The phrase 'in regione Damascena' is not found in the Comestor here (but cf. *Gen.*, c. 13, *PL* cxcviii. 1067); on the widespread belief that Adam was formed from the red earth of Damascus, see Liebrecht, pp. 53–4, and cf. *Otia*, i. 16, n. 4; i. 19, n. 7; i. 23, n. 7; iii. 117, n. 1.

[6] Cf. Isa. 57: 16.

[7] Plato was believed to have read the books of Moses in Egypt: cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 7 (*PL* cxcviii. 1061). In the version of *N* and *A*, Gervase has supplemented the Comestor's text, paraphrasing the following passage in Chalcidius' translation of Plato: 'Dii deorum quorum opifex idem paterque ego, opera siquidem uos mea, dissolubilia natura, me tamen ita uolente indissolubilia, omne siquidem quod iunctum est natura dissolubile, at uero quod bona ratione iunctum atque modulatum est dissolui uelle non est dei. Quapropter, quia facti generatique estis, immortales quidem nequaquam nec omnino indissolubiles, nec tamen umquam dissoluemini nec mortis necessitatem subibitis, quia uoluntas mea maior est nexus et uegetatior ad aeternitatis custodiam quam illi nexus uitales ex quibus aeternitas uestra coagmentata atque composita est' ('You gods of gods, I am at once your maker and your father, and you are my creation, dissoluble by nature, but indissoluble since I will it to be so; of course, anything which is composite is dissoluble by nature, but no god would want what is well-composed and regulated to be dissolved. Therefore, because you have been made and born, you are by no means immortal, nor are

For he marvels more at the burdens carried by ants than at those carried by camels,[1] and more at a spider's web than at the works of human hands.

After the creation of the other living things, man was created last of all. The manner of his making was such that he was moulded in one part of his being, but created in the other. [3]For God moulded man 'from the clay of the ground'[4] in the region of Damascus,[5] but he created his soul. So the text goes on to say: 'And he breathed (*inspirauit*) into him the breath of life,' that is, he made his spirit (*spiritus*). Another translation has 'he blew' (*insufflauit*), because he made the breath (*flatus*), that is, the soul, as one reads in Isaiah: 'I have made all breath (*flatus*).'[6] Plato, to be sure, did not understand this passage correctly. For he claims that while God created the soul, the angels fashioned the body, when he says: 'You gods of gods, I am at once your maker and your father,[3] and you are my creation, dissoluble by nature, but in fact indissoluble, since it is my will that it should be so. For my will is the greatest binding force, and anything which is well-composed and harmonious remains firm and stable.'[7]

[8]The dignity of man is signified in three ways: first, in that he is the image of God in his reason and virtues; second, in that his creation was a matter for consultation (for while in regard to God's other works 'he spoke and they were made,'[9] in man's case the three persons, taking counsel together, as it were, said: 'Let us make man in our image and likeness'[10]); third, in that he was made lord over all the animals, that they might provide him with food and clothing and help him in his work. However, through the Fall man lost his dominion

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you entirely indissoluble; however, you will never be dissolved or have to undergo death, because my will is a stronger bond, with more power to preserve life for eternity, than those life-giving bonds by means of which your everlasting being was connected and bound together') (Chalcidius' translation of Plato's *Timaeus*, 41A–B, ed. J. H. Waszink, Corpus Platonicum Medii Aevi (London and Leiden, 1962), p. 35). Chalcidius' 'Dii deorum quorum' is a literal translation of the Greek idiom *θεοὶ θεῶν ὧν* (lit. 'You gods, of which gods', i.e. 'You gods, whose'). Gervase equates these gods with the angels. He could appositely have quoted the following sentence which comes a little later: 'Ea porro officia quae sementem sequuntur factis a se diis iniunxit, ut dixeram, maximeque formandorum corporum curam mortalium' ('Those tasks which remained after the sowing he enjoined upon the gods whom he had made, as I have said, and in particular the work of fashioning mortal bodies') (*Timaeus*, 43D, p. 38 in Waszink's ed. of Chalcidius).

[8–8] Enimuero . . . ut in muscis (p. 58)] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 9 (*PL* cxcviii. 1063–4).

[9] Ps. 32 (33): 9; cf. Gen. 1: 3–24.

[10] Gen. 1: 26.

adiutorium. Verum[k] per peccatum perdidit homo in dentatis[l][11] bestiis dominium[m] et in minimis, ut in muscis;[8] sed et cum summo labore iumenta et boues mansuescunt ad subsidium.

ix. *De creatione anime et spiritus*

De anima quoque hominis, ubi fuerit creata si queritur, respondeo me hoc scire, quod omnes alie anime simul infundendo creantur et creando infunduntur; sunt qui dicunt quod in empireo creata fuit anima Ade cum angelis.[1] Vnde in salmo 'Domine, probasti me', super illum locum 'et substantia mea in inferioribus[a] terre',[2] dicitur quod ille primus homo creatus fuit[b] inter angelos secundum animam. Huic sententie consentiunt philosophi, sicut ait Ouidius:

> Sanctius[c] his animal mentisque capacius alte
> Deerat adhuc et quod dominari in cetera posset:
> Natus homo est, siue hunc diuino semine fecit
> Ille opifex rerum, mundi melioris origo,
> Siue recens tellus seducta[d] nuper ab alto[e]
> Ethere cognati retinebat semina celi.
> Pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram,
> Hos homini sublime dedit celumque uidere
> Iussit et[f] erectos ad[g] sidera tollere uultus.[3]

+Sane cum in homine solo sit anima, in animantibus est quidam spiritus uitalis siue corpus uegetans, qui anima motabilis[5] in

[k] unde *QI* [l] dentatis *supplied by author N;* maximis *Comestor* [m] dominium *supplied by author N*

[a] in inferioribus] in ferioribus *N* [b] fuit *ACβ;* fuerit *N* [c] sanctius *supplied by author N* [d] seducta *MSS;* seductaque *Ovid* [e] altero *N* [f] et *supplied by author(?) N* [g] ad *supplied by author(?) N*

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[11] The expression *bestiae dentatae* was used of the wild beasts employed in public combats (e.g. Ammianus Marcellinus, xxxi. 10. 19; xix. 6. 4); this may therefore be a deliberate substitution for the Comestor's *maximis:* 'Et nota quia in maximis, ut in leonibus, perdidit homo dominium, ut sciat se amisisse, et in minimis, ut in muscis etiam perdidit, ut sciat vilitatem suam; in mediis habet dominium, ad solatium, et ut sciat se etiam in aliis habuisse' ('And note that man has lost his dominion over the very large beasts, such as lions, in order that he may know that he has lost it, and over the very small creatures too, such as flies, in order that he may know his own worthlessness; but he still has dominion over the animals in between, for his comfort, and so that he may know that he did once have it over the others as well').

[1] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 12 (*PL* cxcviii. 1066). A Boolean search of the CETEDOC and *Patrologia Latina* databases did not succeed in identifying the source of Gervase's statement about the soul of Adam.

over the beasts with dangerous teeth,[11] and over the very small creatures, such as flies;[8] but with a great deal of work he can tame cattle and oxen to be a help to him.

9. *The Creation of the Soul and the Spirit*

Now if I am asked when the human soul was created, I reply that I know this, that all other souls are created at the moment when they are infused, and are infused at the moment when they are created; but there are some who say that Adam's soul was created in the empyrean together with the angels[1]. And so in the psalm 'Lord, you have proved me', with reference to the verse 'and my substance in the lower parts of the earth',[2] it is said that that first man was created among the angels as regards his soul. The philosophers concur with this opinion. Ovid, for instance, says:

> A living creature more divine than these, with higher powers of
>   thought,
> One which could have dominion over all the rest, as yet was lacking.
> Then man was born: whether the maker of all things,
> In bringing this better world into being, made him of his own divine
>   substance,
> Or whether the new earth, but recently separated from the ether
>   above,
> Still retained some elements from its kinship with heaven.
> And though all other animals face downwards and look at the earth,
> He let man hold up his head and told him to turn his eyes
> To heaven and lift up his countenance to the stars.[3]

+Although only human beings have a soul, there is in all living things a certain vital spirit or quickening substance, which in animals is called the moving principle.[5] It is this spirit which is responsible for

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[2] Ps. 138 (139): 15.

[3] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* i. 76–81, 84–6. In line 80 Gervase's *seducta* (for Ovid's *seductaque*) creates a metrically imperfect line. The subject of the verbs *dedit* and *iussit* in lines 85–6 is named in line 82 (omitted by Gervase) as Prometheus (*satus Iapeto*).

+–+ Sane . . . semel creata perpetuetur (p. 60)] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, cc. 7 and 12 (*PL* cxcviii. 1062 and 1066).

[5] The word *motabilis* appears in Gen. 1: 21, in the phrase 'omnem animam viventem atque motabilem' ('every living and moving creature'); the Comestor explains the movement as being 'de esse ad non esse' ('from being to non-being') or 'de vita ad mortem' ('from life to death') (1062).

pecudibus dicitur, ex quo spiritu quinque sensus corporis nunc[h] intenduntur, nunc remittuntur. Hic quoque spiritus suffocatur, unde fit spasmus[i] secundum fisicos; nunc intercciditur, ut in truncatis; nunc in mortuis amittitur[j] et esse desinit, ut in brutis; cum anima semel creata perpetuetur,[4] siue ad bonum siue ad malum, quod notat Lucanus cum ait:

> Dii tibi non mortem que cunctis pena paratur,
> Sed sensus post fata tue dent, Crastine, morti,
> Cuius torta[k] manu commisit lancea bellum,[6]

quasi dicat ut non moriatur uelut animal, cuius spiritus non sentit penam post mortem, set ita ut post mortem corporis penam senciat perpetuam spiritus.

[l]Gregorius quoque in *Dialogo*[7] tres dicit spiritus uitales a Deo
f. 7v creatos: unum qui carne non tegitur[m] | neque moritur, ut angelicus; alterum qui tegitur et non moritur, ut hominis; tercium qui tegitur et moritur, ut in iumencis. Homo ergo medius utroque participat in uno.[l]

Ratione huius spiritus uitalis dixit Plato sedem anime esse in sanguine.[8] Ex hoc sane spiritu prouenit quod quedam animalia sunt sagacia et fida, ut canes, [9]quibus solis natura insitum est uoluntarie ad id ad quod preparantur urgeri, et per ingenitam quandam obedientie formulam, sola disciplinati timoris expectatione, suspendi donec ad peragendi licenciam nutu signoue mittantur. Habentque proprios appetitus, quantum brutis excellentiores[n] tantum rationabilibus appropinquantes, hoc est discernere, amare, seruire. Nam discernentes inter dominos atque extraneos, non eos quos insectantur oderunt, sed hos quos amant zelant, et amantes dominum ac domum, non quasi ex natura apti corporis uigilant, sed ex conscientia solliciti amoris inuigilant.[9]

[h] nunc *supplied by author N* [i] spamus *N* [j] admittitur *N* [k] torta *β and Lucan;* tanta *NAC* [l-l] Gregorius . . . in uno] *om. β* [m] tegitur *supplied by author N* [n] excellantiores *N*

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[6] Cf. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, vii. 470–2.

[7] Gregory the Great, *Dial.* iv. 3 (ed. Moricca, pp. 231–2 = *PL* lxxvii. 321).

[8] Plato in fact located the (tripartite) soul in the head (reason), the region of the heart (emotion), and the region of the belly (appetite): see e.g. *Timaeus*, 69–72. Empedocles located it in the blood: see Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes*, i. 9 and 17; cf. Aristotle, *De anima*, 405b, 5–7 (i. 2).

the five senses of the body, either calling them into action or leaving them in abeyance. It is also a property of this spirit that it can be stifled: according to the physicians, this is the cause of convulsions; or severed, as when limbs are amputated; or in dead bodies it can be lost and cease to exist: this is what happens when dumb animals die. The soul, on the other hand, lasts for ever once it has been created,[4] whether for good or ill, as Lucan notes when he says:

> May the gods punish you, Crastinus, not just with the death which is
> in store for all,
> But with the power to go on feeling after you have met your end,
> Since it was a lance flung from your hand that opened hostilities,[6]

meaning that he should not die like an animal, whose spirit does not feel pain after death, but in such a way that after the death of the body his spirit would suffer perpetual punishment.

Gregory says in his *Dialogue*[7] that there are three kinds of vital spirit created by God: one which is not clothed in flesh and does not die, as is found in the angels; one which is so clothed and still does not die, as is found in human beings; and a third which is clothed in flesh and does die, as in the case of the beasts. Man, therefore, comes between the other two and has one quality in common with each.

It was by reason of this vital spirit that Plato said that the seat of the soul was in the blood.[8] And it is due to this spirit that certain animals are intelligent and loyal, such as dogs, [9]the only beasts which by a natural instinct respond willingly when they are urged to perform a task for which they have been trained; disciplined by the mere expectation of a punishment they fear, through a certain innate principle of obedience, they can be held in check until by a nod or a sign they are given leave to act. They have, too, special capacities which bring them as close to rational creatures as they set them above the other beasts, namely, their ability to distinguish, to love, and to serve. For they distinguish between their masters and strangers, and while they do not hate those whom they attack, those whom they love they serve zealously; and loving their master and their home, they do not guard them merely out of a natural physical aptitude, but they watch over them out of the solicitous love they feel for them.[9]

[9-9] quibus . . . solliciti amoris inuigilant] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. *Prologus*, 3–5.

[10]Augustinus etiam uidetur uelle quod pisces habeant animas. Ait enim fontem esse in Bullensi regione plenum piscibus qui cum hominibus supergradientibus gregatim[o] natando eunt et redeunt; stant cum stantibus, expectantes ut aliquid[p] eis iaciant,[q] quia sic consueuerunt.[10] Sed et in Ybernia, adueniente sollempnitate sancti Brandani,[11] sub altari pisces a fluminibus et mari, ut dicitur, ascendunt, factaque corea uelut ordinata processione redeunt[r] post exhibitam[s] sancto reuerenciam. Vidimus quoque porcos, oues, et arietes et uerueces, ad alcare sanctisimi confessoris Antonii[12] oblatos, proprio motu uelut hoc[t] a magistro acceperint, passim genua coram altari incuruare, quasi uirtute diuina ad id edoctos.[u]

x. *De quatuor monarchiis et quinque zonis et paradiso*[a]

Exposuimus[b] de origine mundi et dispositione et ornatu, prout a maioribus traditum accepimus, ut imperialis magestas creatorem suum agnoscat ex creatione, reuereatur ex operum dispositione,[c] ueneretur ex ornatu, utque[d] ex uilitate lutee materie de qua sumus, et celsitudine rationis qua intelligimus, memoret imperator quod puluis est, et cinis in cinerem reuertetur.[1] 'Fallax' enim 'equs ad salutem, et gigas in multitudine[e] uirtutis sue non saluabitur.'[2] Cum morietur princeps, 'non descendet cum eo gloria eius.'[3] Hinc est quod imperator pomum aureum[4] fert in sinistra, plenum fauilla et cinere,

[o] gradatim *β* [p] aliquid *supplied by author N* [q] iacient *N* [r] redeunt *supplied by author N* [s] exhitam *N* [t] hoc *supplied by author N* [u] edoctos *supplied by author N*

[a] De quatuor monarchiis et quinque zonis et paradiso *also written by author at bottom of page and keyed to proper place, where title has been squeezed in by rubricator* (*cf. i.* 6) *N* [b] exposuimius *N* [c] dispositionem *N* [d] usque *N* [e] mltitudine *N*

[10–10] Augustinus . . . quia sic consueuerunt] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 7, Additio 2 (*PL* cxcviii. 1062); Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, iii. 8 (*CSEL* xxviii (1). 70–71 = *PL* xxxiv. 283–4). Bulla is a hamlet in Numidia. The point here is that the fish demonstrate the faculty of memory.

[11] St Brendan the Voyager (*c.*486–*c.*575 or 583); feast day 16 May. A popular figure in art, he is often shown standing aboard ship saying mass while the fish crowd round to listen. See further *Otia*, ii. 10, n. 70; ii. 11, n. 34. St Brendan founded many monasteries (including Clonfert), but is best known for his wide travelling. The *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* (ed. C. Selmer, Publications in Mediaeval Studies, xvi (Notre Dame, 1959)), a tenth- or eleventh-century visionary romance which describes his seven-year voyage to a 'Land of Promise' in the west, enjoyed great popularity and influence in the later Middle Ages. The land has been variously identified as the Hebrides and the Northern Isles, Iceland, the Canary Islands, or North America. On the visionary aspect of his voyages, see Liebrecht, pp. 89–92. His popularity in Ireland is attested by the number of places which

[10]Augustine even seems to suggest that fish have souls. For he says that there is a pool in the region of Bulla teeming with fish, which go swimming back and forth in shoals alongside people walking on the edge; when the people stop, they stop, waiting for them to throw them something, because such has been their habit.[10] In Ireland, too, when the feast of St Brendan comes round,[11] the fish come up to the altar from the rivers and the sea, so it is said, and having performed a dance, they go back in what appears to be an orderly procession after showing reverence to the saint. We have also seen pigs, ewes, rams, and wethers, when presented at the altar of the holy confessor Antony,[12] spontaneously bend their knees all around the altar as if someone had trained them to do so; but apparently they are taught this by divine power.

10. *The Four Monarchies, the Five Zones, and Paradise*

We have treated of the origin of the world and its arrangement and adornment, in accordance with the tradition which we have received from our ancestors, in order that His Imperial Majesty may discern his Creator in creation, revere him for the arrangement of his works, and venerate him for their adornment; and in order, too, that bearing in mind the baseness of the clay from which we are made and the loftiness of the reason by which we understand, the emperor may remember that he is dust, and that ashes will return to ashes.[1] For 'vain is the horse for safety, nor shall the giant be saved by his own great strength.'[2] When the prince dies, 'his glory shall not descend with him.'[3] It is for this reason that the emperor carries in his left hand a golden apple[4] filled with dust and ashes, that the glory of the

are named after him, including Mount Brandon on the Dingle Peninsula, and this island south-west of Galway.

[12] St Antony of Egypt (*c.*251–356), greatly revered in the Middle Ages not only as the founder of monasticism but also as a healer of both human beings and animals; one of his emblems is a pig.

[1] Cf. Gen. 3: 19; 18: 27; Job 10: 9; 34: 15; Ps. 21 (22): 16; 103 (104): 29.

[2] This sentence telescopes part of Ps. 32 (33): 17 and 16.

[3] Cf. Ps. 48 (49): 18 (17).

[4] Liebrecht (p. 54) cites a belief that Jesus was presented with a golden apple by Melchior, one of the three kings. This apple was once the property of Alexander the Great and was made of the small particles of gold which Alexander had collected in tribute from every part of the world. As Melchior offered the golden apple it broke into dust. Cf. John of Hildesheim, *The Three Kings of Cologne*, ed. C. Horstmann, EETS (OS), lxxxv (1886).

ut per auri fulgorem gloria notetur imperii, et per fauillam leuis glorie temporalis transsitus designetur.

Iam nunc ad orbis descriptionem transseundum nobis est, sed prius monarchia primi parentis est repetenda.[f] Hunc orbis dominum nouimus atque monarcham, cui terra data est in possessionem et animamcia in subiectionem,[g] ut de illo dici possit: 'Omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius, oues et[h] boues uniuersas,[i] insuper et pecora campi, uolucres celi, et pisces maris.'[5] Cuius dominationem[j] notat nominis eius interpretatiua conpactio; ut enim ait Augustinus,[6] Adam in quatuor literis Grecis ex quibus constat quatuor habet principia uerborum Grecorum: *anathole* quod est oriens, *disis* quod est occidens, *arctos* quod est septemtrio, *mesinbria* quod est meridies, quasi subiciantur ei quatuor orbis climata.

Porro post Adam memini tres monarchiam tenuisse, non in dominatione animantium sed in possessione terrarum. Primus fuit Noe, secundus Alexander Macedo, tercius Augustus Cesar. Dixit enim Deus ad Noe: 'Crescite et multiplicamini, et sit tremor uester super animancia terre.'[7] Hic terram excoluit et orbem inter filios
f. 8r diuisit, | ut ex sequentibus[k] apparebit.[8]

De Alexandro legimus quod in occidente timebatur, et cum totum occupasset orientem, etiam aerem[l] inuasit, marisque temptauit profundum,[9] et usque ad permissos a Deo terminos terram etiam a monstruosis animantibus habitatam intrauit. Ab oriente redeuntem [10]exterritarum tocius orbis prouinciarum[m] legati operiebantur, hoc est Cartaginensium, totius Affrice[n] ciuitatum, sed et Hyspanorum, Gallorum, Sicilie Sardinieque, plurime preterea partis Italie. Tantus timor in summo oriente constituti duces[o] populosque[p][11]

[f] repetanda *N*
[g] subiectone *N*
[h] et *supplied by author N*
[i] uniuersas *supplied by author N*
[j] dominatonem *N*
[k] ex sequentibus] exequentibus *N*
[l] aream *N*
[m] prouinciarum *supplied by author N*
[n] Affrice *supplied by author N*
[o] ducis *XI and Orosius*
[p] populosque *MSS*; populos *Orosius*

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[5] Ps. 8: 8–9 (6–8).

[6] Augustine, *In Iohan. evang. tract.* ix. 14 and x. 12 (*CCSL* xxxvi. 97–8 and 108 = *PL* xxxv. 1464–5 and 1473).

[7] Cf. Gen. 9: 1–2.

[8] See below, ii. 1.

[9] For the Alexander-legend in the Middle Ages, see e.g. Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*; Ross, *Alexander Historiatus*; H. J. Bergmeister, *Die Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1975). Gervase's reference here to Alexander's ascent into the air and descent into the sea points to an acquaintance with a version of the *Historia de preliis* or one of its relatives; see A. Hilka, *Der Altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman . . . nebst dem lateinischen Original der Historia de Preliis (Rezension J2)* (Halle, 1920), pp. 228–32; *Die*

empire may be signified by the lustre of the gold, and that the fleeting transitoriness of temporal glory may be symbolized by the dust.

It is now time for us to pass on to a description of the world. First, however, we must go back to the rule of our first parent. We know that he was lord and monarch of the world, and that to him was given the earth to possess and living creatures to govern; it can therefore be said of him: 'You subjected all things under his feet, all sheep and oxen, and the beasts of the field besides, the birds of the air, and the fish of the sea.'[5] An analysis of the letters that make up his name demonstrates this dominion of his; for as Augustine says,[6] in the four Greek letters of which it is composed, *Adam* contains the beginnings of four Greek words: ἀνατολή, which means 'the east', δύσις, 'the west', ἄρκτος, 'the north', and μεσημβρία, 'the south', signifying that the four regions of the world were subject to him.

Now I call to mind three others since Adam who have held sole sway over the earth; these did not enjoy his dominion over living creatures, but only his possession of the land. The first was Noah, the second Alexander of Macedon, and the third Augustus Caesar. For God said to Noah: 'Increase and multiply, and may the dread of you be upon all the creatures of the earth.'[7] Noah cared for the earth and divided the world among his sons, as will appear from what follows.[8]

Of Alexander we read that he was feared in the west, and that when he had taken possession of the whole of the east, he invaded the sky as well, and made an assault on the depths of the sea;[9] he even penetrated the region of the earth which is inhabited by monstrous creatures, going as far as God allows anyone to go. On his return from the east [10]legates from terrified provinces all the world over awaited him, that is to say, from the Carthaginians and the cities of the whole of Africa, from the Spaniards too, and the Gauls, from Sicily and Sardinia, and the greater part of Italy besides. So great a fear of the rule he had established in the farthest east had gripped the leaders and peoples[11] of the remotest west that you might see a foreign

Vita Alexandri Magni des Archipresbyters Leo (Historia de preliis), ed. Gustav Landgraf (Erlangen, 1885), pp. 131–2. We know from i. 14 and from the addenda that Gervase also had access to the *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis* of Julius Valerius and the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem* (see i. 14, n. 4; Appendix i. 8 and 17–25).

[10–10] exterritarum . . . crederes peruenisse rumorem (p. 66)] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, iii. 20. 2–3.

[11] The text of Orosius reads: 'tantus timor in summo oriente constituti ducis populos ultimi occidentis inuaserat . . .' ('So great a fear of the leader established in the farthest east had gripped the peoples of the remotest west . . .'). In *X* and *I ducis* was restored for *duces*, but without removing the *-que* from *populos*.

ultimi occidentis inuaserat ut inde[q] peregrinam cerneres legationem quo uix crederes peruenisse rumorem.[10]

Augusti nomen occidens suscepit Scitaque perhorruit. Hic [12]anno ab urbe condita septingentesimo quinquagesimo secundo Cesar Augustus, ab oriente in occidentem, a septentrione in meridiem, ac per totum occeani circulum, cuntis gentibus una pace compositis, Iani portas tercio tunc ipse clausit;[13] quas ex eo per duodecim ferme annos quietissimo semper obseratas[r] sono[s] ipsa etiam rubigo signauit, nec prius unquam nisi sub extrema senectute Augusti, pulsante[t] Atheniensium seditione et Dacorum commotione, patuerunt.[12] Augusti quoque dominationem testatur Lucas, cum ait: 'Exiit edictum a[u] Cesare Augusto ut describeretur uniuersus orbis.'[14] Si totum descripsit, utique toti imperauit.

Porro monarchia Ade caput habuit in paradisso ubi, dum uixit sine peccato, regnauit, et ut rex [15]animantibus sibi subiectis inposuit nomina, linga quidem Ebrea, que usque ad diuisionem lingarum sola in usu erat.[15] [16]Est autem Adam creatus in agro Damasceno, et statim ut creatus in paradisum translatus, qui locus est a principio plantatus, hoc est ab oriente.[v] A principio in Eden plantatus est, id est in deliciis, quia idem sonat Eden quod delicie. Est ergo locus amenissimus, longo terre et maris tractu a nostra habitabili regione segregatus, sic excelsus ut usque ad lunarem globum attingat, unde et aque diluuii ad locum hunc non peruenerunt.[16] Vtrum autem sit ultra torridam zonam non assero, sed id defendi potest quod locus propter solis interpositum calorem nobis inaccessibilis perhibetur.

Sane de quinque zonarum distinctione id[w] arbitror quod ait Ouidius:

[q] ut inde *supplied by author N* [r] obseratas *XI and Orosius;* obserata *N*
[s] sono (sane *X*) *MSS;* otio *Orosius* [t] pulsante *β;* pulsalte *N;* pulsatae *Orosius*
[u] a *supplied by author N* [v] ad orientem *XQ* [w] id *supplied by author N*

[12–12] anno . . . Dacorum commotione, patuerunt] Cf. Orosius vi. 22. 1–2.

[13] The arched gateway of Janus Quirinus near the Palatine was closed only when Rome was not at war; Augustus states that it was closed three times during his reign (*Res gestae Divi Augusti*, ed. with an introduction and commentary by P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore (Oxford, 1967), c. 13, pp. 24 and 54–5). The first two occasions were in 29 and 25 BC; Orosius here claims that the third was in the year 2 BC, so as to show that peace reigned for the birth of Christ. However, Rome was at war with Parthia at that time, and the date of the third closure is actually unknown.

[14] Luke 2: 1.

[15–15] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 16 (*PL* cxcviii. 1070).

[16–16] Est . . . hunc non peruenerunt] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 13 (*PL* cxcviii. 1067). Gervase here gives a highly condensed and not very clear version of the Comestor's

legation from a place where you would scarcely suppose they had even heard of him.[10]

As for the name of Augustus, the west acclaimed it, while the Scythians shuddered at it. This [12]Caesar Augustus, in the seven hundred and fifty-second year after the founding of the city, closed the gates of Janus for a third time,[13] when all the peoples, from the east to the west, from the north to the south, and round the whole circle of the ocean, were united in a single peace. For almost twelve years after that the gates remained closed all the time in absolute quiet; in fact rust even set its seal on them. It was not until Augustus was very old that they were opened again, when the revolt of the Athenians and the unrest of the Dacians hammered against them.[12] Luke testifies to the universal rule of Augustus when he says: 'There went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed.'[14] If he taxed the whole world, he must also have ruled the whole world.

Now the monarchy of Adam was based in paradise, where he reigned as long as he lived without sin. As king [15]he gave names to the creatures subject to him, in the Hebrew language of course, which was the only one in use up to the division of the languages.[15] [16]Adam was created in the territory of Damascus, and as soon as he was created he was taken to paradise, a place which was planted in the beginning, that is, in the east. In the beginning it was planted in Eden, that is, amid delight (*deliciae*), for Eden means the same as *deliciae*. And truly it is a most delightful place, separated from the region where we live by a long stretch of land and sea, and so high up that it touches the lunar sphere; consequently not even the waters of the flood reached this place.[16] Whether it is beyond the torrid zone I am not going to specify, but that is a view that can be defended, since the place is said to be inaccessible to us because we are cut off from it by the heat of the sun.

I think Ovid is right in what he says about the characteristics of the five zones:

commentary on Gen. 2: 8: 'Plantaverat autem Dominus Deus paradisum voluptatis a principio' ('And the Lord God had planted a paradise of pleasure from the beginning'). The Comestor interprets 'a principio' as meaning either 'a principio creationis' ('from the beginning of creation', i.e. as soon as the dry land had appeared), or 'a prima orbis parte' ('in the first part of the world', i.e. in the east). He adds that another translation has 'paradisum in Eden ad orientem' ('a paradise in Eden to the east'), explaining that Eden is the Hebrew equivalent of the Latin 'deliciae', so that 'paradisum voluptatis' means the same as 'paradisum in Eden', while 'a principio' is the equivalent of 'ad orientem'. Cf. A.V.: 'eastward in Eden'.

Vtque due dextra celum totidemque sinistra
Parte secant[x] zone, quinta est ardentior illis,
Sic onus inclusum numero distinxit eodem
Cura Dei, totidemque plage tellure premuntur.
Quarum que media est, non est habitabilis estu;
Nix tegit alta duas; totidem inter utramque locauit
Temperiemque dedit[y] mixta cum frigore flamma.[z][17]

[18]Sunt ergo zone circuli terram distinguentes, quorum duo sunt extremi, inhabitabiles a frigore, ad quos nonquam sol accedit; medius inhabitabilis calore, a quo nonquam sol recedit; medii duo habitabiles, hic[a] ardore, ille[b] frigore temperati, ut notari potest in igne[c] sub diuo accenso in yeme, qui quinque lineas facit, unam in medio feruidam, duas circum gelidas,[d] duas inter has temperatas; quas si circuiret, nimirum circulos faceret. Ex his sane zonis uel circulis primus[e] septemmtrionalis, secundus solsticialis, tercius equinoccialis, quartus yemalis, quintus australis nominatur; sed solus solsticialis est habitabilis.[f][18]

f. 8v Porro maiores nostri ciuitatem sanctam Ierusalem | in medio nostre habitabilis sitam scripserunt, secundum illud: 'Operatus est salutem in medio terre.'[19] Vnde ita exponitur illud euangelicum: [20]'Exiit edictum a Cesare Augusto ut describeretur uniuersus orbis. Hec descriptio prima facta est[g] a preside Sirie Cirino.'[21] 'Prima' dicta est quod[h] ad Cirinum, presidem Sirie: quia enim Iudea in umbilico nostre[i] habitabilis est, prouisum est ut in ea inchoaret, deinde per circunstantes prouincias alii presides prosequerentur.[20] Vnde tradunt tantam terram a Ierusalem protendi ad orientem quantam ad occidentem, quod probant ex eo[j] quod legitur: 'Deus ab austro ueniet, et Sanctus de monte Faran.'[k][22] Auster enim et aquilo (qui pro borrea scribitur, ut ibi: 'Ab aquilone pandetur omne malum';[23] et

[x] secant *supplied by author N* [y] dedit *supplied by author N* [z] flamma *CI and Ovid;* flamme *NAXQ* [a] hinc *I and Honorius* [b] illinc *I;* inde *Honorius* [c] in igne *supplied by author N* [d] circungelidas *N* [e] primus *supplied by author N* [f] habitabilis *supplied by author N* [g] est *supplied by author N* [h] quia uenit *XQ;* quantum *I and Comestor* [i] nostre] terre *X;* Zonae *Comestor* [j] ex eo *supplied by author N* [k] faran *supplied by author N*

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[17] Ovid, *Met.* i. 45–51.

[18–18] Sunt . . . solsticialis est habitabilis] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 6 (ed. Flint p. 51 = *PL* clxxii. 122). Gervase's 'solus solsticialis est habitabilis' appears to contradict 'medii duo habitabiles' above; Honorius is more precise with: 'solus solstitialis a nobis inhabitari dinoscitur' ('only the tropic of Cancer is known to be inhabited by us').

[19] Ps. 73 (74): 12.

[20–20] Exiit . . . alii presides prosequerentur] Cf. Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 4 (*PL* cxcviii. 1539).

As two zones on the right and two more on the left
Divide the heavens, and a fifth between them blazes with greater heat,
So did the providence of God mark off the solid mass he had moulded
With the same number of zones, and equivalent tracts were stamped
on the earth.
Of these the central one is uninhabitable because of the heat;
Deep snow covers two; but he placed two more in between
And gave them a temperate climate, blending heat with cold.[17]

[18]The zones then are circles marking off the earth, of which the outermost two are uninhabitable because of the cold, the sun never visiting them; the middle one is uninhabitable because of the heat, the sun never leaving it; the two in between are habitable, the one tempered by heat, the other by cold. The same thing can be observed when a fire is kindled in the open air in winter. It makes five bands: a hot one in the middle, two cold ones on the outside, and between them two that are temperate; and if the fire went round in a circle, it would of course make circular zones. Of these zones or circles the first is called the arctic circle, the second the tropic of Cancer, the third the equator, the fourth the tropic of Capricorn, and the fifth the antarctic circle; but only the tropic of Cancer is habitable.[18]

Our predecessors have written that the holy city of Jerusalem is located in the middle of our habitable zone, following the text: 'He has wrought salvation in the middle of the earth.'[19] There accords with this view the meaning attributed to the gospel-text: 'There went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. And this taxing was first made by Cyrenius, the governor of Syria.'[20] The word 'first' is used with reference to Cyrenius, the governor of Syria: because Judaea is in the centre of our habitable world, it was arranged that he should begin the taxing there, and that the other governors in the surrounding provinces should subsequently continue it.[21] And so they say that there is as much land extending to the east of Jerusalem as to the west, supporting this claim with the text: 'God will come from the south, and the Holy One from Mount Paran.'[22] For the south (*auster*) and the north (*aquilo*, which is used as an alternative word for *boreas* in, for example: 'Every evil will break forth out of the north (*ab aquilone*),'[23] and again: 'I shall

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[21] Luke 2: 1–2; cf. Acts 5: 37. Cyrinus or Cyrenius was P. Sulpicius Quirinius, consul 12 BC, d. 21 AD; as legate of Syria, he was commissioned to make a tax census of Judaea.

[22] Hab. 3: 3 (Vulgate text; cf. A.V.: 'God came from Teman, and the Holy One from mount Paran').

[23] Cf. Jer. 1: 14.

alibi: 'Ponam sedem meam ab aquilone,[l] et ero similis Altissimo'[24]), per contrapositionem[m] oppositi, per effectuum et locorum distanciam obiecti, equaliter distant a centro,[n] quod est inter orientem et occidentem.[25] Hoc autem circumferentie centrum arbitrantur quidam in illo loco esse ubi Dominus locutus est ad Samaritanam ad puteum; [26]illic enim in solstitio estiuo meridiana hora sol recto tramite descendit in aquam[o] putei, umbram nullam aliqua parte monstrans. Quod apud Sienem fieri tradunt philosophi,[26] sicut plenius, Deo duce, dicetur infra, in discriptione meridiane partis maioris Asie et Egipti inferioris.[27]

xi. *De fonte et quatuor fluuiis*[a] *paradisi*

[1]Fons siue 'fluuius egrediebatur ad irrigandum paradissum,'[2] hoc est ligna paradisi. Fons iste matrix fuit omnium aquarum quasi abissus, et irrigabat, hoc est ministrabat humorem. Dicitur enim terra circumiacens[b] humectari a fluminibus per tracones,[c] quasi per uias subterraneas uel per meatus, quatuordecim uel sedecim stadiis.

Fons hic diuiditur in quatuor flumina, quorum unus[d] dicitur Fison. Hic a Gangaro, rege Indie, dictus est[e] Ganges, et sonat secundum Ysidorum[3] Fison 'caterua', quia decem flumina recipit in se; uel 'mutatio oris',[f] quia faciem mutat exiens a paradiso, tum in colore, quia hic clarus, ibi obscurus, alibi turbidus, tum in quantitate, quia alibi paruus, alibi difusus, tum in sensu, quia alibi frigidus, alibi calidus. Hic circuit terram Euilach[4] (sic dictam ab Euila, nepote Noe),[5] id est Indiam.[g] Alius fluuius Gion, qui et Nilus, et sonat 'yatus

[l] ad aquilonem *CXQ* [m] contrapositonem *N* [n] centro *supplied by author N* [o] aqua *CXQ*

[a] fluminis N [b] circumiacens *supplied by author N* [c] dracones (d *altered by author from* t) *N* [d] unum *I* (*presumably a scribal correction*) [e] est *supplied by author N* [f] uris *N* [g] id est Indiam *transposed after* terram Euilach *Cβ*

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[24] Cf. Isa. 14: 13–14.

[25] For the belief that Jerusalem was the centre of the world, see Origen, *Exegetica in Psalmos*, lxxii (*PG* xii. 1532); Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis*, xiii. 28 (*PG* xxxiii. 805–6); Jerome, *In Ezechielem*, ii (on Ezek. 5: 5) (*CCSL* lxxv. 55–6 = *PL* xxv. 52); Tertullian, *Carmen adv. Marcionem*, ii. 196–8 (*CCSL* ii. p. 1431); Adamnan, *De locis sanctis*, c. 11 (ed. D. Meehan, Scriptores latini Hiberniae, iii (Dublin, 1958), p. 56); Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1047 (= ed. Boeren, c. 50, p. 31); cf. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, pp. 28 and 99, n. 27; S. Terrien, 'The omphalos myth and Hebrew religion', *Vetus Testamentum*, xx (1970), 315–38. Liebrecht (p. 54) gives other examples of holy places which were regarded by their peoples as the centre of the earth, such as Delphi; cf. Wright, *Geographical Lore*, pp. 260 ff., and p. 299 with its notes, especially n. 16 on p. 460.

set up my throne in the north (*ab aquilone*), and I shall be like the Most High'[24]), which face each other from opposite sides, and are also opposed to each other in the diversity of their conditions and terrain, are equidistant from the centre, which lies half-way between the east and the west.[25] Some think that this centre of the circle lies in the place where the Lord spoke to the Samaritan woman at the well; [26]for there, at midday at the summer solstice, the sun shines down into the water of the well in a straight line, casting no shadow on any side. But the philosophers say that this phenomenon occurs at Syene,[26] as we shall relate in greater detail below, with God's guidance, in the description of the southern part of greater Asia and Lower Egypt.[27]

11. *The Spring and the Four Rivers of Paradise*

[1]A spring or 'river went out to water paradise,'[2] that is to say, the trees of paradise. This spring was the source of all waters, a bottomless deep so to speak, and it irrigated the land, or in other words, supplied it with moisture. For it is said that the land near rivers receives moisture from them through tunnels, that is, underground passages or channels, over a distance of fourteen or sixteen stades.

This spring divides into four rivers. One of these is called the Pison; it is also known as the Ganges, after Gangarus, king of India. According to Isidore[3] Pison means 'crowd', referring to the fact that it receives ten other rivers into itself; or else it means 'change of countenance', because when it flows out from paradise it changes its appearance as regards its colour, for it is sparkling in one place, dark in another, and murky in another; also as regards its quantity, being a small stream in one place, but a broad one in another; and it changes in feel too, for it is cold in one place, warm in another. This river flows round the land of Havilah[4] (so named after Noah's descendant Havilah),[5] which is to say, round India. The second

[26–26] Cf. Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 18 (*PL* cxcviii. 1567). Syene and its lack of shadows was famous in antiquity (cf. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, ii. 587, and see Stahl, *Commentary*, p. 211).

[27] *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 104.

[1–1] Fons . . . et iterato emergunt (p. 72)] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 11 (*PL* cxcviii. 1068).

[2] Cf. Gen. 2: 10.

[3] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiii. 21. 8; Comestor, loc. cit. [4] Cf. Gen. 2: 11.

[5] Havilah was in the sixth generation descended from Noah through Shem (cf. Gen. 10: 21–9). The words in parentheses were added by Gervase to the material from the Comestor; hence his uncertainty as to where best to place 'id est Indiam' (see apparatus).

terre' uel 'terreus', quia turbidus est. Hic circuit Ethiopiam,[6] et postea transit iuxta Ierusalem per Egiptum. Tercius Tigris, propter sui uelocitatem, ut tigridis. Hic fluit contra Assirios. Quartus Eufrates,[7] quasi 'frugifer' uel 'fructuosus'. Hic est in Caldea, unde uenit Abraham, et irrigat terram Mesopotamie.

Hec itaque quatuor flumina ab eodem fonte manantia separantur, et iterum quedam eorum inter se commiscentur, iterumque diuiduntur. Nonnumquam a terra absorbentur et iterato emergunt,[1] sicut scimus fluuium Gardonem, in Narbonensi prouincia, in confinio ciuitatis Nemausensis, in estate frequenter absorberi sub loco qui uocatur Campigniacum, deindeque sub castro sancti Priuati in latum et ampliorem amnem[h] renasci.

[8]Porro ubi nobis quatuor dicta flumina oriantur, diuersi diuersa senciunt. Dicitur Ganges prorumpere in locis Caucasi[i] montis, Nilus non procul ab Athlante, Tigris et Eufrates in Armenia.[8]

Sane quod diximus paradisum locum esse diluuio inaccessum[9] nemo miretur, cum idem de Olimpo plurimi tradiderint.[j] Asserunt enim [10]Olimpum, montem Tracie, tante celsitudinis esse quod usque ad liquidum aera uadat,[k] quod probatur quia nullus ibi uel leuis aure motus sentitur, cui est pro argumento[l] quod litere, si pulueri cacuminis imprimantur, reuoluto anno in sua figura integre perseuerant. Sed et pro nimia aeris raritate aues illic uiuere nequeunt. Nonnumquam filosophi illuc ascendentes diu ibi manere non poterant, si non spongias[m] aqua[n] plenas in manibus tenerent, quas naribus apponentes crassiorem inde aerem attrahebant.[10]

xii. *De rore celi, pluuia, et nebulis*

Plantauerat Deus in paradiso ligna pomifera et facientia fructum,[1] [2]fecitque illa tunc perfecta materialiter et essencialiter, ut orirentur et

[h] anniem *with* i *expunged* *N* [i] Caugasi (g *altered by author from* c) *N* [j] tradiderint *Aβ*; tradiderunt *NC* [k] uadit *Cβ* [l] argumento *supplied by author N* [m] pongias *N* [n] aqua] a quas *N*

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[6] Cf. Gen. 2: 13. The etymology is explained more fully by Isidore, who gives the river's name as *Geon*, deriving it from γῆ, the Greek for 'earth' (*Etym.* xiii. 21. 7).

[7] For the Tigris (called Hiddekel in the A.V.) and the Euphrates, cf. Gen. 2: 14.

[8–8] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 14 (*PL* cxcviii. 1068); Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 9 (10) (ed. Flint p. 72 = *PL* clxxii. 123).

[9] *Otia*, i. 10 (pp. 66–7).

[10–10] Olimpum . . . inde aerem attrahebant] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 34 (*PL* cxcviii. 1084). This phenomenon is already described by Solinus (*Collect.* viii. 6); Gervase speaks of it again at *Otia*, ii. 7, n. 65, and iii. 33, n. 1.

river is the Gihon, also called the Nile. It is called Gihon, which means 'chasm in the earth' or 'earthy', because it is muddy. It flows round Ethiopia,[6] and afterwards passes through Egypt and close by Jerusalem. The third river is called the Tigris on account of its speed, which resembles that of a tiger. It flows towards Assyria. The fourth is the Euphrates,[7] that is to say, the 'fruit-bearing' or 'fruitful' one. It is in Chaldaea, the land from which Abraham came, and it waters the land of Mesopotamia.

So these four rivers, flowing from the same source, are separated, and later some of them are intermingled again, and divided again. Sometimes they are absorbed by the earth and emerge anew,[1] just as we know happens with the river Gardon in the province of Narbonne. At a place called Champigny near the city of Nîmes, the Gardon frequently disappears into the ground in the summer, and then it springs up again to produce a broader and fuller stream below the castle of Saint Privat.

[8]Now different people have different opinions as to where the four rivers of which we have been speaking rise to our view. It is said that the Ganges gushes forth in the area of Mount Caucasus, the Nile not far from Atlas, the Tigris and the Euphrates in Armenia.[8]

No one should be surprised at what we said about paradise being a place which the flood did not reach,[9] since many people have made the same claim about Olympus. For they assert that [10]Olympus, a mountain in Thrace, is so high that it reaches up to the pure air. This is proved by the fact that not even the slightest movement of a breeze is felt there; in evidence of this, if letters are traced in the dust on the summit, they remain there a year later, with their outline quite unsmudged. Birds cannot live there because of the extreme thinness of the air. On occasion philsophers have climbed up there, but they could not stay there for any length of time unless they carried sponges full of water in their hands; holding these to their noses, they could draw in denser air from them.[10]

12. *The Dew of Heaven, Rain, and Clouds*

God had planted fruit trees bearing fruit[1] in paradise, [2]and in the first place he made them perfect in substance and essence, so that they

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[1] Cf. Gen. 1: 11.

[2–2] fecitque . . . et labore manuum (p. 74)] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, Epilogus following c. 11 (*PL* cxcviii. 1065–6).

f. 9r germinarent, non sicut modo quando paula|tim pullulando germinant et cum tempore longo maturantur in fructum, beneficio roris infusi et labore manuum.[2] Rorem autem istum autumant descendere a nebula quadam uaporabili,[a][3] quam dicunt uocari 'aquas que super celos sunt',[4] ut apparet[b] in estate. Sunt et qui dicant[c] rorem estiuum[d] ab inferiore uaporatione[e] terre surgere, quod probant ex panno herbe superstrato,[f] qui inferius inuenitur humidus,[g] superius uero sine omni humectatione siccus. Vnde et[h] asserunt testulam oui, si impleatur rore Madiali, precluso modico foramine quacumque leui materia, per hastam in sterquilinio fixam, uel alias in arena calida, ad cacumen haste[i] sua uirtute secreta ascendere.[j]

Non tamen negamus rorem alium de celo descendere, iusta illud: 'De pinguedine terre et rore celi det tibi Deus.'[5] Vnde apud antiquos maioris Britannie inoleuit quod in nocte natalis Domini ponunt manipulum auene sub diuo, aut uasculum aliquod plenum auene uel ordei, ut si fortassis, ut assolet[k] euenire, pestis mortifera ceperit animalia tangere, ex illo[l] uel ordeo uel auena cibentur, super quem[m] asserunt rorem celestem[n] nutu diuino quotannis hora natiuitatis Domini descendere. Sed et[o] de pane nocte illa sub diuo posito compertum habeo quod febricitantibus prodest, si tamen assit fides que operatur.[6] Plurimos quoque uidimus potentes qui sancto die Pentecostes cibum non sumerent donec rorem de celis hausissent, uel super se descendentem sensissent, quod quandoque[p] cicius, quandoque ardius eueniebat, sicut in sepulcro Domini solet nunc occius, nunc serius ignis cellestis in uigilia Pasce Ierosolimis quotannis uenire.[7]

Vt autem ad materiam redeamus, in paradiso non ligna non herbe

[a] uaporali *CXQ* [b] apparet *supplied by author N* [c] dicant (a *altered by scribe from* u) *N;* dicunt *ACβ* [d] estiu|uum *N* [e] uaporatione *β;* aporiatione *N* [f] supstrato *N* [g] humdus *N* [h] et *ACβ; expunged N* [i] haste *supplied by author N* [j] ascendere *CXQ;* ascendet *NAI* [k] assolet *supplied by author N* [l] illa *N* [m] quam *β* [n] celestem *supplied by author N* [o] et *om. β* [p] quandoque *supplied by author N*

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[3] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 4 (*PL* cxcviii. 1058).

[4] Cf. Ps. 148: 4.

[5] Cf. Gen. 27: 28.

[6] Liebrecht remarks that these customs are clearly remnants of the old yule festival (p. 54; cf. pp. 57–62). He cites comparable customs involving grain offerings (pp. 55–6), and also gives other examples of the belief in the protective or therapeutic properties of dew (pp. 56–7). Cf. *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (Berlin, 1936), viii. 689–90, s.v. Tau.

[7] The first descriptive account of the Holy Fire of Jerusalem was written in the ninth

would spring up and be fruitful. But now it is different: they mature by a slow process of growth and take a long time to produce fruit, needing the help of the dew that falls on them and the labour of our hands.[2] This dew, they tell us, drops from a kind of vaporous cloud;[3] it is this cloud, they say, which is called 'the waters that are above the heavens.'[4] Dew is observed in summertime. There are also some who say that the dew of summer rises from below, evaporating from the earth. They demonstrate this by the fact that a cloth left lying on the grass is found to get damp underneath, while its upper surface remains dry and completely unmoistened. On the same principle they also claim that if an eggshell is filled with May dew and the little aperture is blocked with some light material, and the shell is then inserted in manure or else in hot sand with a spear, by its own mysterious power it will climb up to the top of the spear.

We do not, however, deny that there is other dew which falls from heaven, such as is referred to in the text: 'May God give you of the fatness of the earth and the dew of heaven.'[5] In relation to this dew the following custom arose among the ancient inhabitants of Great Britain. On Christmas night they place under the open sky a handful of oats, or a small container full of oats or barley. Then if it comes about, as often happens, that a deadly disease begins to afflict their livestock, the animals can be fed some of that barley or oats, upon which, they claim, some heavenly dew falls by divine will every year at the hour of the Lord's nativity. Moreover, I know for certain that bread which is put out in the open air that night is beneficial for people sufferering from fever, only providing that an effective faith is present.[6] We have also seen a great many people of high standing who would not take any food on the holy day of Pentecost until they had drunk dew from heaven or felt it falling on them. Sometimes this would happen earlier, sometimes later, just as the celestial fire which is accustomed to appear every year at the Lord's sepulchre during the Easter vigil in Jerusalem comes sometimes sooner, sometimes later.[7]

But to return to our subject, in paradise neither the trees nor the grass were refreshed by dew from heaven or by rain because, as we are

century by Bernard the Monk; speaking of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, he says: 'It is worth saying what happens on Holy Saturday, the Vigil of Easter. In the morning the office begins in this church. Then, when it is over they go on singing *Kyrie eleison* till an angel comes and kindles light in the lamps which hang above the sepulchre. The patriarch passes some of this light to the bishops and the rest of the people, and thus each one has light where he is standing' (Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, pp. 142–4).

rore celi uel imbribus reficiebantur[q] quia, ut in[r] Moyse subiungitur,[8] non pluerat Dominus super terram, sed [9]fons irrigabat faciem terre, paradissi per partes diuersas; sicut creditur Iordanis irrigasse Pentapolim ante submersionem,[s] [10] et Nilus Egiptum, sicut et Augustinus[11] narrat quosdam fontes uicissim quasdam terras irrigare.[9]

Sane pluuiam dicunt nullam fuisse secundum ordinem pluendi quem nunc ex nubibus et nebulis uidemus usque ad tempus Noe. [12]Cum enim egressus esset ab archa post diluuium et edificasset altare Domino, facto sacrificio, [13]'odoratus est Dominus odorem suauitatis', dixitque ad Noe: 'Non maledicam ultra terram[t] propter homines. Tempus sementis et messis, frigus et estas,[u] nox et dies non requiescent.'[v] [13] Forte nondum ita plene distincta erant tempora quatuor, quia nec usque ad diluuium aque collecte fuerant in nubes.[12] Vnde Dominus, loquens de diluuio, ait [14]ingresso Noe in archam: 'Rupti sunt fontes abyssi, et cataracte celi', quasi fenestre, 'aperte sunt'[15] prope[w] [16] meatus Nili, ubi[x] in septem hostia separatur, uel eiusdem precipicia, que Cataduppa uocantur.[14] In quibus hoc est mirabile, quod homines in eorum nati confinio propter nimium sonitum obsurduerunt, ut legitur in *Somnio Cipionis*.[17] Sic ex nimio solis fulgore uisus intuentis obtunditur, et ex nimio firmamenti fragore aures hominum, ut illas non audiant que sursum[y] sunt armonie, obstupescunt.

Collectis igitur aquis in nubes pluuia generatur, uel ex humore terre exalantis uliginem,[18] unde ex attractione solis uapor terre et

[q] reficebantur *N* [r] in *supplied by author N* [s] submersionem *MSS;* subversionem *Comestor* [t] terram *MSS;* terrae *Vulgate* [u] frigus et estas *MSS;* frigus, et aestus *Comestor;* frigus et aestus, aestas et hiems *Vulgate* [v] requiescunt *CXQ* [w] prope *NACQI;* propter *X;* proprie *Comestor* [x] ubi *supplied by author N* [y] non *add. after* sursum *NA*

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[8] Cf. Gen. 2: 5–6.

[9–9] fons . . . quasdam terras irrigare] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, Epilogus following c. 11 (*PL* cxcviii. 1066). The Comestor is explaining how it was that, before the advent of rain, a single spring was able to water the whole earth; following Augustine (see below, n. 11), he suggests that it alternately spread over the land and withdrew within its banks again.

[10] The name of the Pentapolis is applied in Wisd. 10: 6 to the five 'cities of the plain', whose names are given in Gen. 14: 2 and 8 as Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Zoar, and whose destruction is described in Gen. 19. Gervase regularly speaks of the 'submersion' of the Pentapolis (rather than its 'destruction' as in the text of the Comestor here; cf. Gen. 19: 25), following the tradition that the cities were submerged under the Dead Sea; cf. *Otia*, ii. 4 (pp. 206–7) and iii. 107; Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 53 (*PL* cxcviii. 1100–1).

[11] Cf. Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, v. 9–10 (*CSEL* xxviii (1). 152–4 = *PL* xxxiv. 329–30).

further told in the book of Moses,[8] the Lord had not rained upon the earth, but [9]a spring watered the face of the earth, supplying water to all the different parts of paradise. In the same way the Jordan is believed to have watered the Pentapolis before its submersion,[10] and the Nile, Egypt; similarly, Augustine[11] tells how some springs water certain areas at one time and not at another.[9]

Indeed they say that up to the time of Noah there was no rain like the rain we see now, which falls from mist and clouds. [12]For when Noah had left the ark after the flood and had built an altar to the Lord, he offered a sacrifice; then [13]'the Lord smelled a sweet savour', and said to Noah: 'I will no more curse the earth for the sake of humankind. Seed-time and harvest, cold weather and summer, night and day shall not cease.'[13] Perhaps the four seasons were not so fully distinguished then, for before the flood the waters had never been gathered into clouds.[12] This explains why, [14]when Noah had gone into the ark, the Lord said, speaking of the flood: 'The fountains of the great deep have been broken up, and the flood gates', that is, the windows, 'of heaven have been opened.'[15] This happened near[16] the channels of the Nile, where it divides into seven mouths, or near the falls, called Catadupa, on the same river.[14] It is a remarkable feature of these falls that people born in their vicinity are deaf as a result of the overpowering noise, as is described in the *Dream of Scipio*.[17] In the same way the eyes of anyone who looks at the sun are blinded by its overwhelming brightness, and people's hearing is dulled by the mighty thunder of the firmament so that they do not hear the harmonies on high.

Now when water gathers to form clouds, rain is produced. According to one theory, the water comes from the earth's moisture, for the earth breathes out vapour.[18] As a result of the attraction of the

[12–12] Cum . . . fuerant in nubes] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 35 (*PL* cxcviii. 1086).

[13–13] Cf. Gen. 8: 21–2.

[14–14] ingresso . . . que Cataduppa uocantur] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 34 (*PL* cxcviii. 1084).

[15] Cf. Gen. 7: 11.

[16] The text of the Comestor reads: 'Cataractae proprie sunt meatus Nili fluvii' ('the word *cataracts* is properly used of the channels of the river Nile'). When Gervase repeats this information below (i. 24, pp. 158–9), he also has *proprie*.

[17] See Cicero, *De re publica*, vi. 18. 19; cf. Macrobius, *Commentarii*, ii. 4. 14; Stahl, *Commentary*, pp. 74 and 199–200.

[18] This was the standard view in the Middle Ages, put forward e.g. by Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, 'Liber imperfectus', xiv (*CSEL* xxviii (1). 492–3 = *PL* xxxiv. 239); Isidore, *Etym.* xiii. 10: 2; Bede, *De natura rerum*, c. 32 (*CCSL* cxxiii (A). 221 = *PL* xc. 252–3); Rupert of Deutz, *De Trinitate et operibus eius*, In Deut. ii c. 7 (*CCCM* xxii. 1070 = *PL* clxvii. 963).

fluminum ascendens[z] ad caloris nutrimentum et remedium densatur in nebulam que, uentis agitata, nunc contrarietate eleuantium deprimentiumque flatuum suspenditur in aere, nunc atenuatur in nubes, nunc conflatur in grandinem, nunc rarescit in niuem, nunc[a] spissatur in imbrem;[b] uel, ut aiunt, in confinio nostri aeris aque uirtute dispositionis diuine statim post diluuium nebuleque suspense fuerunt.[19] Vnde et nubes dicuntur, quasi terram obnubentes, id est operientes.[20] Sane nubes ascendisse, quin immo excessisse, montes credimus, quorum cacumina, ut premisimus,[21] nec uenti nec nebule | f. 9v unquam contingunt.[c] Vnde poeta:

> Illic et nebulas, illic consistere nubes
> Iusit.[22]

xiii. *De mari*

Sunt qui dicant[a] terram, ut centrum in medio circumferentie omni parte equaliter ab extremitatibus distantem, mari circumcingi atque concludi, secundum illud tercie diei: 'Cumgregauit aquas sub firmamento in unum, et apparuit arida.'[1] Subsidit enim terra ut centrum, et aque in circuitu sunt includentes terram, secundum illud: 'Qui firmauit terram super aquas.'[2] Quod ergo aer[b] sit inter terram et aquas[3] arbitrantur plerique, et quod aque superferantur aeri quadam creatoris uirtute. Sic enim constat omnia in Dei uirtute firmata[c] quod nullum illorum sit fundamentum alterius, etsi unum sit altero inferius et aliud superius. Celum quippe empireum sidereo non sustentatur, neque sidereum aeri uel aquis que super celos sunt innititur,[d] nec aer infigitur terre, sed superfertur, nec terra aquas coniunctas aut suppositas[e] deprimit.

Quod autem fontes a mari procedant arbitrantur,[4] quasi per occultos terre poros resudantes; et quod ex mari salsuginoso fontes

[z] ascendens *supplied by author N* [a] nunc *om. XQ* [b] imbrem *supplied by author N* [c] contigerunt *AQI*

[a] dicunt *Cβ* [b] aer *supplied by author N* [c] firmata *NC*, (*corrected from* for-) *A*; formata *β* [d] innitititur *N* [e] superpositas *QI*

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[19] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 35 (*PL* cxcviii. 1086).

[20] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiii. 7. 2.

[21] *Otia*, i. 11.

[22] Ovid, *Met.* i. 54–5; Gervase has already quoted these lines in *Otia*, i. 7.

[1] Cf. Gen. 1: 9.

[2] Ps. 135 (136): 6.

sun, the vapour rises up from the earth and its rivers to sustain and relieve the heat, and condenses into mist which, driven about by the winds, is sometimes held suspended in the air by the interplay of upward and downward currents, sometimes thinned into clouds, sometimes blasted into hail, sometimes lightened into snow, or sometimes thickened into rain. An alternative account says that the water and clouds were suspended in the confines of our air by the power of divine ordinance immediately after the flood.[19] So the clouds (*nebule*) are also called *nubes* because they veil (*obnubentes*) or cover the earth.[20] We believe, in fact, that the mountains have risen as high as, or rather higher than, the clouds; for, as we said above,[21] no winds or mists ever touch the mountain-tops. And so the poet says:

> There he ordered the mists and clouds to take their place.[22]

13. *The Sea*

Some people say that the earth is surrounded and enclosed by sea, so that it forms the centre in the middle of a circle, being equidistant from the edge all around. This fits in with the account of the third day: 'He gathered together into one the waters under the firmament, and the dry land appeared.'[1] The earth, then, takes its place as the centre, and the waters form a circle enclosing the earth, in accordance with the words: 'Who established the earth above the waters.'[2] Many people think that there is air between the earth and the waters,[3] and that the waters are held above the air by an exercise of the Creator's power. For it is well known that all things are established in the power of God in such a way that no one of them supports any other, even though one thing may be underneath something else, and another may be above it. The heaven of the empyrean, for instance, is not held up by the starry heaven; the starry heaven does not rest upon the air, or upon the waters which are above the heavens; the air is not planted on the earth, but is suspended above it; and the earth does not press down on the waters alongside or beneath it.

It is thought that springs have their origin in the sea,[4] and trickle as it were through hidden passages in the earth. It is also thought that it

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[3] i.e. both above and below the earth.

[4] This was a common belief; see e.g. Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, 'Liber imperfectus', xiv (*CSEL* xxviii (1). 492–3 = *PL* xxxiv. 239).

liquantur dulcissimi, ex mari calido funtes frigidissimi, ex beneficio terre est, que aquam plurimum colatam facit dulcescere, et ex sua frigiditate calorem maris exuere. Sic uinum rubeum colando per pannos albescit, et in littore maris fontes et in ipso maris fundo aque dulcissime reperiuntur. Sed et in urna grandi si capillos Veneris, epaticam, ceterach, et polictricum, herbasque in funtibus nascentes harene funtium superstraueris, per duo uel tria disponens solaria, aquam maris ita in modum lixiuii[f] colatam dulcissimam inuenies, quod nauigantibus licet paucis expertum est.

Accedit[g] ad probandam maris superioris supereminentiam temporibus nostris nouum diuulgatum, tamen mirabile. Cum enim[h] die festo in maiore Britannia populus,[i] post audita missarum solempnia, ecclesiam plebanam passim[j] egrederentur,[k] tempore quidem plurimum nubilo ac propter nebularum[l] densitatem subobscuro, apparuit[m] ancora nauis lapideo tumulo infra septa cimiterii infixa, fune in aere protenso ac pendulo. Obstupuit populus, dumque super hec[n] uaria inter se conferrent, tandem uiderunt funem moueri quasi laboraretur ad euultionem ancore. Dum ergo plurimum profligata non cederet, auditur uox in aere spisso uelut nautarum ad reuocandam proiectam ancoram contendentium. Nec mora, frustrata laboris spe, naute unum de suis demittunt qui secundum peritiam nostrorum funi ancorali impensus uicaria manuum permutatione descendit. Cumque iam ancoram euulsisset, a circumstantibus capitur et inter manus contrectantium, quasi in mari naufragium faceret, crassi aeris nostri humectatione prefocatus exalauit. Sed et superiores naute, arbitrati socium naufragatum, post unius hore spatium funem ancoralem preciderunt, relicta ancora nauigantes. In huius itaque rei memoriam[o] de ancora illa ferramenta ostii basilice illius prudenti[p] consilio fabricata sunt, que et publico patent conspectui.[5]

[f] lixiui *N* [g] Mirum *as subheading before* Accedit *XQ;* R. Mirum *in margin of N*
[h] enim *supplied by author N* [i] populus *supplied by author N* [j] passiim *N*
[k] egrederetur *Q* (*presumably a scribal correction*) [l] nubilarum *N*
[m] apparauit *N* [n] hoc *β* [o] memoria *N* [p] prudentis *N*

is due to the beneficent action of the earth that spring-water, though the sea from which it comes is salty, flows out perfectly sweet, and though the sea is warm, it flows out icy cold. The earth strains the water so thoroughly that it makes it sweet, and by its own coldness it causes it to rid itself of the warmth of the sea. In the same way red wine that is strained through cloths becomes white, and springs of perfectly sweet water are found on the sea-shore and even on the sea-bed. Furthermore, if you take a large urn and strew some Venus' hair, liverwort, scale-fern, golden-hair, and other herbs which grow in springs over some sand taken from springs, arranging your materials in two or three layers, you will find that sea-water becomes completely sweet if it is filtered through this, by a process like that of making lye. This is seafarers' lore, though only a few know it.

A strange event in our own time, which is widely known but none the less a cause of wonder, provides proof of the existence of an upper sea overhead. It occurred on a feast day in Great Britain, while the people were straggling out of their parish church after hearing high mass. The day was very overcast and quite dark on account of the thick clouds. To the people's amazement, a ship's anchor was seen caught on a tombstone within the churchyard wall, with its rope stretching up and hanging in the air. They were advancing various opinions on the matter to each other, when after a time they saw the rope move as if it were being worked to pull up the anchor. Since, being caught fast, it would not give way, a sound was heard in the humid air as of sailors struggling to recover the anchor they had cast down. Soon, when their efforts proved vain, the sailors sent one of their number down; using the same technique as our sailors here below, he gripped the anchor-rope and climbed down it, swinging one hand over the other. He had already pulled the anchor free, when he was seized by the bystanders. He then expired in the hands of his captors, suffocated by the humidity of our dense air as if he were drowning in the sea. The sailors up above waited an hour, but then, concluding that their companion had drowned, they cut the rope and sailed away, leaving the anchor behind. And so in memory of this event it was fittingly decided that that anchor should be used to make ironwork for the church door, and it is still there for all to see.[5]

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[5] Air ships are found in Celtic legend as early as 748: the *Annals of Ulster* record for this year that 'Ships, with their crews, were seen in the air, over Clonmacnoise' (ed. W. M. Hennessy (Dublin, 1887), i. 213). An Irish story dating from the fourteenth or fifteenth century describes how a man swam down to retrieve an anchor while the monks of Clonmacnoise were in church: see *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*, ed. O. J. Bergin, R. I. Best, Kuno Meyer, J. G. O'Keefe, iii (Dublin, 1910), 8–9; and for an English translation, K. H. Jackson, *A Celtic Miscellany* (London, 1951), pp. 178–9. We are indebted for these references to Seamus Heaney, whose poem 'Lightenings' contains a beautiful re-telling of this story (*Seeing Things* (London, 1991), p. 62). Gervase's narrative is included in M. Meurger, 'Zur Diskussion des Begriffs "Modern Legend" am Beispiel der "Airships" von 1896–97', *Fabula*, xxvi (1985), 254–73, at pp. 266–8, and in M. Ross, 'Anchors in a Three-Decker World', *Folklore*, cix (1998), 63–75, at p. 64.

Accedit[q] ad hec aliud in eadem regione mirabilius. Est castrum in comitatu Claudiicastrie, Bristoldum nomine, opulentum et ciuibus ditissimis complantatum. Hic portus est, quo transitur a maiore Britannia in Hyberniam. Vno tempore cum illius loci indigena nauigasset, domi relictis uxore ac[r] filiis, post emensa diutine nauigationis curricula, cum in remotis occeani partibus nauis decurreret, ciuis memoratus cum nautis ad epulandum consedit circiter horam terciam. Cumque finita mensa ciuis cutellum ad spondam nauis ablueret, subito de manu lapsus, eadem hora per fenestram domus ipsius ciuis[s] in culmine patentem,[t] quam lucernariam Angli nominant, ad mensam coram uxore ciuis positam cultellus defigitur. Cuius rei nouitate tacta mulier obstupuit, et notum sibi pridem cultellum reponens, longo post tempore a uiro redeunte didicit casum et diem nauigationis cum die receptionis concordare. Quis ergo, ex publicato facti huius testimonio, mare super nostram habitationem in aere uel super aerem positum dubitabit?

xiv. *De ligno uite et[a] ligno scientie boni et mali*

Inter alia paradisi ligna duo precipua legimus: lignum scientie boni et mali, et lignum uite.[1] [2]Lignum scientie boni et mali dicitur ex effectu et per consequentiam. Si enim[b] non contempsissent mandatum, f. 10r scientiam tantum boni | dedisset, qui est fructus bonus obedientie meritorius;[2] quia uero contempserunt, scientiam mali habuerunt: et ita fuit in eis scientia boni[c] quo caruerunt, et mali quod meruerunt.

Lignum autem uite talis erat nature quod si de illo gustassent diutius uixissent, etiam post peccatum.[3] Nec mirandum de ligno uite, cum in *Gestis Alexandri* legatur ad Aristotilem epistola eius,[4] in qua

[q] Mirum *as subheading before* Accedit *X;* Aliud mirum *Q;* R. Mirum *in margin of N*
[r] et *β* [s] cuuis *N* [t] portentem *N*

[a] et *om. N* [b] enim *supplied by author N* [c] bona *NA*

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[1] Cf. Gen. 2: 9.

[2–2] Lignum . . . bonus obedientie meritorius] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 13 (*PL* cxcviii. 1067); the Comestor, however, says that the tree of life was so-called 'ab effectu, quem habuit naturaliter' ('from the effect which it had by nature'; cf. below), while the tree of the knowledge of good and evil was so-called 'ex eo quod secutum est ejus comestionem' ('from the consequences of eating of it'): Gervase has telescoped the two statements into one.

[3] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 24 (*PL* cxcviii. 1075); the rest of the chapter follows the outline of the text of the Comestor here, but is supplemented from Gervase's acquaintance with the Alexander-literature (see following note).

In addition to this, another yet more remarkable event occurred in the same region. There is a town in Gloucestershire called Bristol, a prosperous place, full of wealthy citizens. It is a port, from where one can cross from Great Britain to Ireland. A native of that place once went on a voyage, leaving his wife and children at home. After covering a great distance in the course of a long voyage, when the ship was sailing in a remote part of the ocean, the citizen in question sat down to eat with the sailors at about nine o'clock one morning. After the meal he was washing his knife at the ship's rail when it suddenly slipped from his hand. That very hour it fell through an open window in the roof of the citizen's own home—the kind of window which the English call a skylight—and stuck fast in a table which stood beneath it, before the eyes of his wife. The woman stared at it in amazement, struck by the strangeness of this occurrence. She kept the knife, which she recognized from former days, and when, a long time afterwards, her husband returned, she learned from him that the day on which the accident occurred during his voyage coincided with the day on which she acquired the knife. Who then will doubt, given the manifest proof of this event, that there is a sea situated above the world we live in, in the air or above the air?

14. *The Tree of Life and the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil*

We read of two trees of special significance among the trees of paradise: the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and the tree of life.[1] [2]The tree of the knowledge of good and evil is so-called from its effects and consequences. For if they had not defied God's command, it would have bestowed only the knowledge of good, that is, the good fruit consisting of merit won through obedience;[2] but because they did defy it, they acquired the knowledge of evil. And so there was in them a knowledge of the good which they had lost, and of the evil which they had earned.

The nature of the tree of life, on the other hand, was such that if they had tasted of it they would have lived longer, even after the Fall.[3] No one should marvel at the tree of life, since in Alexander's letter to Aristotle,[4] which is found in the *Deeds of Alexander*, there is said to be

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[4] On the Alexander-legend, see above, i. 10, n. 9. The *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*, containing a fictional account of Alexander's travels in the east, is a translation of a lost Greek original; it was available in Latin by the seventh century, and came to enjoy a wide

proponitur terra esse quam mors nulla[d] temptauit, quin immo decrepiti efferri se faciunt ut moriantur, ut infra, decisione secunda, Deo duce, in descriptione Indie dicetur. Sic etiam[e] lanugo fit in foliis arborum apud Seres cuius esu uita protelatur.[5]

[6]Sed et Alexander scripsit Aristotili de sacerdotibus arborum solis et lune quod cum sol oritur et splendor tangit arborum summitatem, arbores usque ad radices concutiuntur, et tunc responsum dant interrogantibus. Illic Alexander de uxore et familia sua, de morte quoque sua cum Babiloniam intraret, responsum accepit. Hee arbores poma faciunt quorum esu sacerdotes illarum quadringentis annis uiuunt.[6]

xv. *De oculis apertis post peccatum*

Peccauit Adam mandatum transgrediendo, et statim peccatum pena sequitur. [1]Aperti enim sunt oculi eorum[2] ut uiderent et sentirent: ut uiderent pudenda que in simplicitate bona transegerant more infantium; ut sentirent, quia naturales motus concupiscentie, ante peccatum repressi et clausi, post peccatum aperti sunt[a] tamquam riuuli ceperuntque moueri ac diffundi.[b] [1] Exhinc anima, que diuine est nature, carne uelut iumento uehitur, et nonnumquam ultra quam oporteret euehitur:

[d] nullam *N*   [e] et *XQ*

[a] sunti *N*   [b] diffundi *ACβ and Comestor;* distendi *N*

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popularity. Letters purporting to have been written between famous people were composed as rhetorical exercises in the ancient world, and a geographical description was frequently taken as the subject-matter: cf. the *Letter of Pharasmanes to Hadrian* on which Gervase also drew (iii. 72–81), and the letters from Alexander to his mother Olympias, and from Craterus to his mother. Gervase apparently knew the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem* as part of a collection of Alexander-literature, bearing the title *Gesta Alexandri;* this presumably included Julius Valerius' translation of the romantic history of Pseudo-Callisthenes, known as the *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis.* Gervase drew on the *Epistola Alexandri* for the last paragraph of this chapter (see below, n. 6); however, it contains no mention of a country where no one dies, nor does Gervase fulfil his promise to speak of it again in his description of India (ii. 3), though he does say something similar of the Hyperboreans (ii. 5). Perhaps it was described in one of the other works included in the *Gesta Alexandri* (though it is not found in Pseudo-Callisthenes). It is mentioned by the Comestor (loc. cit.), who says: 'Nec est mirum, si etiam post peccatum per esum ligni illius diutius vixissent, cum adhuc sint quaedam insulae viventium, in quibus nullus moritur' ('Nor would it have been remarkable if they had lived longer as a result of eating of that tree even after the Fall, since there are still some islands on which no one dies, though people do live on them'). There was in fact a widespread belief in such a land; Liebrecht (pp. 62–3) compares the Scandinavian *Odâinsakr* and the Jewish *Lus*, and cites a description in the thirteenth-century *Image du Monde* of a distant island whose inhabitants had themselves taken away to die; cf. *Caxton's Mirrour of the World*, ed. O. H. Prior, EETS (Extra Series), cx (1913), 98.

a country which death has never assailed: those whose health is failing have themselves taken away to die, as will be related below, with God's guidance, in the description of India in Book II. Similarly, a down grows on the leaves of some trees in China which prolongs life if it is eaten.[5]

[6]Alexander also wrote to Aristotle about the priests of the trees of the sun and moon. He described how, when the sun rises and its radiance touches the tops of these trees, they quiver right down to their roots, and at that moment they supply answers to any who question them. Alexander received oracles there concerning his wife and family, and also concerning his own death which was to occur when he went back to Babylon. These trees produce fruit, by eating which their priests live for four hundred years.[6]

15. *The Opening of the Eyes after Sin*

Adam sinned by transgressing God's command, and punishment followed immediately upon the sin. [1]Their eyes were opened[2] that they might see and feel: that they might see their private parts, which in their innocent simplicity they had overlooked, like children; and that they might feel, in that the natural impulses of concupiscence, which had been controlled and held back before the Fall, were unleashed like rivers after it and began to be active and rampant.[1] Ever since then the soul, whose nature is divine, has ridden the flesh as if it were a beast of burden; but sometimes it is carried further than it ought to go:

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[5] Cf. Comestor, loc. cit.; this down is mentioned in the *Epistola Alexandri* (ed. Boer, p. 7), but only for its use in silk-production, not as a life-prolonging food.

[6–6] Sed et . . . quadringentis annis uiuunt] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 24 and *Esther*, c. 4, Additio 2 (*PL* cxcviii. 1075 and 1497–8); *Epistola Alexandri*, ed. Boer, pp. 42–3, 48–50. Item 8 of the Addenda, which was meant to be inserted in Book III after chapter 78, is drawn from this section of the *Epistola Alexandri* (see Appendix i. 8); there, and in the *Epistola* itself, it is said to be a diet of balsam and frankincense which produces a life-expectancy of three hundred years.

[1–1] Aperti . . . moueri ac diffundi] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 22 (*PL* cxcviii. 1072–3).

[2] Cf. Gen. 3: 7.

Sic fremit in paruis[c] fera nobilis abdita claustris
Et frangit rapidos[d] premorso carcere dentes,
Obsessusque gerit, tanta est constantia mentis,
Expugnantis opus.[3]

Considera, felix Auguste, quod peccato anime concupiscentis[e] sit opposita uerecundia confessionis, peccato carnis esurientis opponitur pena afflictionis. Et satis mirandum quod si quis multos habuerit[f] turpitudinis sue socios, illorum non uerebitur presentiam presentiumque noticiam; unici uero sacerdotis audientiam ducit in uerecundiam. Quin immo in articulo mortis positus, si secretario tuo nota pridem crimina confiteris,[g] uerecundiam contrahes de confessione quam non contraxisti ex eius scientia in[h] ipsius criminis perpetratione. Duo quippe sunt que te mouent: aspectus seueri iudicis et rubor confessionis.[i] Ecce quod oculi sic aperiuntur peccatoris cum de sua uerecundatur preuaricatione;[j] affectatio[k] tamen redeundi ad cor si fuerit, preuaricatoris uerecundia commendanda erit.

Sequitur quod Adam, ut aiunt, post septem horas[4] eicitur a paradiso,[5] ideoque septem psalmos penitentiales[6] instituit ecclesia, quibus felicis illius status iacturam lamentando deploremus.

Nec erit omittendum quod ait Beda, loquens de serpente qui Euam seduxit. [7]Elegit enim diabolus quoddam genus serpentis femineum uultum habentis, quia similia similibus applaudunt, et mouit ad loquendum linguam eius.[7] De serpentibus tradunt uulgares quod sunt quedam femine que mutantur in serpentes, que ita dinoscuntur: habent enim ligaturam albam quasi uittam[l] in capite.

Sane quod in serpentes mutari dicunt feminas mirandum quidem est, sed non detestandum. Vidimus enim frequenter in Anglia per lunationes homines in lupos mutari, quod hominum genus 'gerulfos' Galli nominant, Angli uero *were wolf* dicunt; *were* enim Anglice uirum

[c] paruis *supplied by author N* [d] rabidos *I and Lucan* [e] concupiscantis *N* [f] habuerit *ACI;* habuit *NQ;* habet *X* [g] confiteris *supplied by author N* [h] in *supplied by author N* [i] et rubor confessionis *XQ;* rubor confusionis et metus punitionis *NA;* et metus punitionis *CI* [j] cum . . . preuaricatione] *supplied by author N* [k] affectio *AXI* [l] uittam *supplied by author;* id est peplam *added by author N*

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[3] Cf. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, x. 445–6, 490–1.

[4] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 24, Additio 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1075); Honorius of Autun, *Elucidarium*, i. 15 (*PL* clxxii. 1119).

[5] Cf. Gen. 3: 24.

[6] i.e. Pss. 6, 31 (32), 37 (38), 50 (51), 101 (102), 129 (130), 142 (143). This is a very ancient grouping, mentioned in the oldest Roman *Ordines*; see B. Gavantus, *Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum* (Venice, 1740), ii. 9. 4.

So rages a spirited beast trapped in a narrow cage,
Biting the bars and breaking its savage teeth.
Beset as it is, such is its stubbornness of heart,
It launches into the attack.[3]

Bear in mind, fortunate Augustus, that against the sin of concupiscence in the soul is set the shame of confession, and against the sin of the craving of the flesh is set the penalty of suffering. It is surely a cause for wonder that if someone has had a number of partners in his vice, he will not wish to avoid them or feel shame at what they know when he is with them; but he does feel shame when a single priest hears his confession. It even happens that if you are at the point of death and confess to a close associate of yours crimes which he has known about all along, confessing them will make you feel a shame which his knowledge did not make you feel when you actually did the wrong. There are two things, you see, which affect you: being subjected to the gaze of a severe judge, and the humiliation of confession. Notice that a sinner's eyes are opened as I have described when he feels shame at his transgression; but the transgressor's shame will only be praiseworthy if it is accompanied by a yearning to return to his true self.

The text goes on to say that Adam was cast out of paradise.[5] This happened, they say, after seven hours,[4] and so the Church has instituted the seven penitential psalms[6] to allow us to lament and deplore the loss of that happy state.

We must not fail to mention what Bede says in treating of the serpent which seduced Eve. [7]He claims that the devil chose a particular kind of serpent with a woman's face, because like approves of like, and then gave its tongue the power of speech.[7] On the subject of serpents, popular tradition has it that there are some women who change into them; they can be recognized by a white band or fillet which they have on the head.

This allegation that women change into serpents is certainly remarkable, but not to be repudiated. For in England we have often seen men change into wolves according to the phases of the moon. The Gauls call men of this kind *gerulfi*, while the English name for them is *werewolves*, *were* being the English equivalent of *uir*

[7–7] Here Gervase is following the Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 21 (*PL* cxcviii. 1072); a CD-ROM search of Migne and CETEDOC has not found any such statement in the works of Bede.

sonat, *wolf* lupum.[8] Creberrimum quoque apud mulieres Grecas et Ierosolimitanas extitit, ut aiunt, quod contemptores sue libidinis in asinos transformant miro incantationis genere, ita quod facie[m] asini laborem et onus sustinent, quousque ipsarum auctricum miseratio penam releuet.[9] Quod tamen nescio [10]delusioni oculorum spectantium assignem, aut quia demones discurrunt per mundum et subito semina rerum de quibus hic agitur referunt, ut ait Augustinus[11] de uirgis quas magi uerterunt in dracones.[10]

Scio equidem mihi pridem relatum ueridica naratione quod in Aquensi prouincia, paucis ab Aquis miliaribus, est castrum Russectum, quod uallem Trezensem sub se missam respicit. Huius castri f. 10v dominus, Raimundus nomine, cum uno aliquo | die solus in equo uectitaretur iuxta decursum interluentis Laris fluuii, ex improuiso occurrit domina, nulli decore secunda, in palefrido falerato, uestibus et apparatu preciosis; cumque salutata a milite ipsum ex nomine[n] resalutasset, ille ab ignota se nominatum audiens miratur, et[o] nihilominus, ut moris est, illam cepit uerbis lasciuis interpellare ut ei consentiat. Cui illa opponit hoc preter coniugalem copulam nulli licere, uerum si in eius nuptias consentiat, ipsius poterit optatis frui complexibus.

Quid ultra? Adquiescit conditionibus miles in nuptiis.[p] At illa replicat illum summa temporalium felicitate ex eius commansione fruiturum dum ipsam nudam non uiderit; uerum ut ipsam nudam conspexerit, omni felicitate spoliandum asserit, et uix ei uitam miseram seruandam esse proponit.

Pendet dubiusne timeret
Optaretue mori.[12]

Tandem in nuptias consentit et conditionem admittit. Imflammatus et estuans omnem conditionem facilem arbitratur qua cupitum

[m] faciem *β* [n] nomine *supplied by author N* [o] et *supplied by author N*
[p] in nuptiis] innuptus *N*

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[8] On werewolves, see *Otia*, iii. 120, n. 2; for transformations in general, see Liebrecht, pp. 63–6, 113–16, and 157, nn. 1 and 2; MacCulloch, *Medieval Faith and Fable*, pp. 75–86; *Métamorphose et bestiaire fantastique au Moyen Age*, ed. L. Harf-Lancner (Paris, 1985); *MI* D100–199 and A1710; cf. *Otia*, iii. 63, nn. 2 and 4, and iii. 93, n. 6. Gervase's etymology is correct here. See *OED*, s.v. werewolf, and *Dict. of Med. Latin from British Sources*, s.v. *gerulfus*, which both cite this passage of Gervase. The Latin term is rare, and not found in the CETEDOC and *Patrologia Latina* databases.

[9] Augustine knew of Italian landladies whose guests were liable to suffer the same fate (*Civ.* xviii. 18, *CSEL* xl (2). 289–90 = *PL* xli. 574).

(man).[8] It has also, so they say, been a regular practice of the women of Greece and Jerusalem to turn men who spurn their desire into asses. They put a strange sort of spell on them so that they have to bear toil and burdens in the form of an ass until the enchantresses themselves take pity on them and remit their punishment.[9] I do not know whether [10]to attribute all this to an optical trick by which witnesses are deceived, or whether it is a result of there being demons at large in the world which suddenly reconstitute the elements of the things we are talking about (which is what Augustine[11] says happened in the case of the rods which the magicians turned into serpents).[10]

For my part, I know of a happening of which I was once given a reliable account. In the province of Aix, a few miles from the town of Aix, is the castle of Rousset overlooking the valley of Trets. One day the lord of this castle, whose name was Raymond, was riding on horseback by himself, following the rippling stream of the river Lar, when a lady suddenly appeared before him; second to none in beauty, she was mounted on a richly-caparisoned palfrey, and wore sumptuous clothes and ornaments. The knight greeted her, whereupon she greeted him in return by name. He was surprised to hear himself named by a woman he did not know, but nevertheless began in the usual way to urge her in a gallant speech to give way to his desire. She objected that this was unlawful for anyone outside the bond of marriage, but said that if he agreed to marry her, he could enjoy with her the embraces for which he longed.

To be brief, the knight assented to the stipulation of marriage. But the lady then disclosed that he would enjoy the utmost earthly prosperity in his wedded life as long as he did not see her naked; but she warned him that the moment he did see her naked, he would lose all his prosperity, and she declared that he would hardly even manage to preserve his ruined life.

He was irresolute, uncertain whether to fear
Death or to seek it.[12]

In the end he agreed to the marriage and accepted the condition. Inflamed as he was with the heat of passion, he regarded any condition as easy which enabled him to gain the desired access to

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[10–10] delusioni . . . uerterunt in dracones] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 13 (*PL* cxcviii. 1149).

[11] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* x. 8 (*CSEL* xl (1). 457–9 = *PL* xli. 285), and *Sermones*, viii (*CCSL* xli. 81 = *PL* xxxviii. 67); Exod. 7: 12.

[12] Lucan, *Pharsalia*, x. 542–3.

thorum possit obtinere. Consentiunt in matrimonium et contrahunt, et crescente militis felicitate, in breui fauore et hominum gratia, temporalium copia et corporis strenuitate in tantum excreuit quod pares excessit et paucis proceribus et illustribus secundus inuenitur, hominibus amabilis, apud omnes graciosus, liberalitatem discreta largitate atque urbanitate condiebat, filiis et filiabus summe pulcritudinis procreatis.

Cum post longa tempora uno die domina, ut assolent, in thalamo balnearet, Raimundus miles, uenatu rediens et aucupatu, perdicibus aliisque carnibus ferinis dominam exeniat, et dum parantur cibaria, nescio quo motu uel spiritu militi uenit in mentem quod nudam uideat dominam balneantem, constituens in animo si quod ex inibita nuditatis conspectione potuit ex fatis esse periculum, temporis diuturnitate tamquam diuturne commantionis longinquitate euanuisse. Affectum maritus exposuit uxori, que diutinam felicitatem ex condicione seruata obicit, et infelicitatem minatur secuturam si contempnatur. Tamdem preceps in precipitium miles non temperatur interminatione pene neque precibus flectitur ut a stulto proposito desistens sue consulat utilitati.

Tangunt animum motusque[q] metusque,
Et timet euentus[r] indignaturque timere.[13]

Quid moror? Erepto linteo quo balneum operitur, miles ut uxorem nudam uideat accenditur, statimque domina in serpentem conuersa, misso sub aqua balnei capite, disparuit, numquam uisa in posterum nec audita, nisi quandoque de nocte cum ad infantulos suos[s] uisitandos[t] ueniebat, nutricibus audientibus sed ab eius conspectu semper artatis. Sane miles felicitate ac gratia pro maxima parte minoratus, filiam illius domine cuidam nostro affini ex nobilibus Prouincie oriundo postea dedit in uxorem, que inter coetaneas et confines suas plurimum extitit graciosa, et eius iam successio ad nos[u] usque peruenit.[14]

[q] animum motusque *MSS;* animos iraeque *Lucan* [r] euentus *MSS;* incursus *Lucan* [s] suos *ACβ; om. N* [t] uisitando *N* [u] uos *NA*

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[13] Cf. ibid. x. 443–4.

[14] The Provençal legend recorded here represents an early version of the story of Mélusine; Gervase's narrative served as a direct source for Jean d'Arras' *Mélusine*, written in 1392 (ed. L. Stouff (Dijon, 1932)). The town of Rousset still exists, a few miles east of Aix-en-Provence, but it is doubtful if Raymond is a genuine historical figure. A good recent study of the Mélusine-legend in the Middle Ages is L. Harf-Lancner, *Les Fées au moyen âge*, Nouvelle Bibliothèque du moyen âge, viii (Geneva, 1984); the central features

her bed. They settled the terms and contracted a marriage. Thereafter the knight's fortunes flourished: in a short time he rose so high in the favour and good opinion of others, in material wealth and bodily strength, that he surpassed his peers and was regarded as second only to a few illustrious nobles; loved by his friends, held in esteem by all, he embellished his kindness with a discreet generosity and courtesy, and he became the father of very good-looking sons and daughters.

One day a long time afterwards, the lady was taking a bath in her chamber, as ladies do, when the knight Raymond, who had been out hunting and fowling, came home bringing partridges and other game as a present for his wife. While a meal was being prepared, some impulse or inspiration put the idea into the knight's head that he might see his wife naked in her bath. He convinced himself that if any danger could have been fated to befall him from the forbidden sight of her nakedness, it must have lost its power with the passing of time, since they had now lived together for so long. The husband made his desire known to his wife. She tried to forestall him by reminding him of the happiness they had long enjoyed by observing the condition, and warned him that unhappiness would ensue if it were flouted. But the knight was bent on his own ruin, and in the end could neither be restrained by the threat of punishment, nor induced by her prayers to give up his foolhardy purpose and consult his own good.

Desires and fears assailed his mind:
He both feared the outcome and scorned to fear.[13]

Why prolong my tale? The knight, burning to see his wife naked, snatched away the curtain which screened the bath. The lady immediately turned into a serpent. Plunging her head under the bath-water, she disappeared and was never seen again, nor heard, except sometimes at night, when she came to see her little children; the nurses heard her, but were never able to see her. The knight was indeed in large measure deprived of his prosperity and favour. He subsequently gave a daughter of that lady in marriage to a certain kinsman of ours, a scion of the Provençal nobility: she was well-loved among her contemporaries and neighbours, and descendants of hers survive to our own day.[14]

of the legend as treated by Gervase are discussed on pp. 150–54 of this work. See also Claude Lecouteux, *Mélusine et le chevalier au cygne* (Paris, 1982); id., 'Zur Entstehung der Melusinensage', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, xcviii (1977), 73–84; J. Le Goff and E. Le Roy Ladurie, 'Mélusine maternelle et défricheuse', *Annales: Économies. Sociétés. Civilisations*, xxvi (1971), 587–622, especially the bibliography on pp. 617–20; *Mito e Leggende di*

[*See p. 92 for n. 14 cont.*]

xvi. *De gladio uersatili*

Eiectus homo per esum pomi uetiti de paradiso translatione diuina, uel in spiritu ut Elias,[1] uel ab angelo ut Abacuc,[2] uel raptus ut Philippus in Azotum,[3] [4]rediit in agrum Damascenum, 'et collocauit Dominus ante paradisum uoluptatis cherubin, et flammeum gladium atque uersatilem.'[5] Angelum premisit ad arcendum diabolum ab ingressu, ignem ut arceret hominem ignito gladio atque uersatili, hoc est utrimque[a] secante, quia pena fuit hominis in utraque parte sui, corpore scilicet et anima, puniri:[4] corpore per sudorem uultus,[6] anima per infernum.

Huius gladii exemplo, serenissime imperator, gladius tuus utraque parte secare debet eo misterio, ut qui per Deum castigator debes esse aliorum et alienorum[b] punitor uiciorum, primo tua seces uicia, et sic ab oculo tuo trabe criminationis eiecta, festucam de corde subditorum educas.[7]

Sane alia ratione ecclesiasticus domini pape gladius utrinque secat.[8] Nam cum traditur homo Sathane in interitum carnis, ut spiritus eius secundum Apostolum saluus sit in die iudicii,[9] corpus affligitur per satisfactionem exteriorem et anima secatur per contricionem. Porro cum quis excommunicatur, duabus aciebus gladius artat peccatorem, dum et ipsi interdicitur aliorum communio et aliis ipsius excommunicati precluditur participatio. Vnde in domino papa utrumque efficit sententia lata per plenitudinem potestatis, iuxta illud: 'Si inimicus est alicui[c] iste Clemens pro actibus suis, nolite expectare ut uobis dicat:[d]

[a] utrumque *NA* [b] aliorum *N* [c] inimicus est alicui] alicui est inimicus *N*
[d] dicatur *XQ*

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una donna serpente, The Coop Utopia (Rome, 1986); E. Hoffman-Krayer, 'Die "Tante Arie"', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, xxv (1915), 116–23, at p. 117; *MI* C31. 1. 2, and Brednich, *Enzyklopädie*, ix. 556–61. For other similar stories, see *Otia*, iii. 57; Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, ii. 11 and 12, iv. 9; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum naturale*, ii. 127; Marie de France, *Lai de Lanval* (*Lais*, pp. 58–74); *The Lay of Graelent*, in E. Mason, *French Mediaeval Romances* (London and New York, 1911).

In the margin alongside this story *Q* has a drawing of a snake with a woman's head, and the words: 'De domina de Rosseto que uersa est in serpentem et adhuc in dicto castro estat fons qui apud uulgares dicti castri dicitur la font de la fada' ('On the lady of Rousset who turned into a serpent. At the said castle a spring can still be seen which is known among the common folk of that place as 'la fontaine de la fée'). A spring played an important part in later versions of the legend, as the place where Raymond first saw the fée, and where, after her departure, it was said that she sometimes came to bathe (see Keightley, *Fairy Mythology*, pp. 481–4). This display of local knowledge suggests a Provençal provenance for the late fifteenth-century *Q*; cf. iii. 34, n. 2, iii. 55, n. 2, and iii. 86, n. 1.

16. *The Turning Sword*

When man was expelled from paradise for eating the forbidden fruit, [4]he returned to the territory of Damascus. He got there by divine translation, whether in the spirit like Elijah,[1] or carried by an angel like Habakkuk,[2] or snatched away as Philip was to Azotus.[3] 'The Lord then placed before the paradise of pleasure cherubims, and a flaming sword turning every way.'[5] He set an angel there to keep the devil from entering, and fire to keep man out. So man was warded off with a fiery, turning (which is to say, two-edged) sword, because it was his penalty to suffer in both aspects of his being, that is, in body and soul:[4] in the body by the sweat of his brow,[6] in the soul by hell-fire.

Taking this sword as a model, your own sword, most serene Emperor, must cut both ways. For you have been given a sacred charge which means that, as by God's will you have to chastise others and punish their faults, you should first cut away your own faults. And so, having removed the beam of wickedness from your own eye, you will be able to remove the mote from the heart of your subjects.[7]

In another sense the ecclesiastical sword of the lord pope cuts both ways.[8] For when a person is delivered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that his spirit, in the words of the Apostle, may be saved on the Day of Judgment,[9] the body is afflicted to make outward reparation, and the soul is pierced by contrition. Further, when someone is excommunicated, the sword circumscribes the sinner with both edges, in that on the one hand he is debarred from communion with others, while on the other hand others are not allowed to associate with the one who has been excommunicated. And so a sentence passed by the lord pope, exercising his plenitude of power, has a twofold effect. This is in accordance with the text: 'If Clement is at enmity with someone on account of his actions, do not wait for him

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[1] Cf. 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 2: 11. [2] Cf. Dan. 14: 35–8 (Bel & Dr. 36–9).
[3] Cf. Acts 8: 39–40.
[4-4] rediit . . . et anima, puniri] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 24 (*PL* cxcviii. 1075); *Otia*, i. 8, n. 5. [5] Cf. Gen. 3: 24.
[6] Cf. Gen. 3: 19. [7] Cf. Matt. 7: 3–4, Luke 6: 41–2.
[8] This discussion of the two-edged sword of paradise has affinities with the doctrine of the two swords symbolizing ecclesiastical and secular coercive power, derived from Luke 22: 28; see H. Hoffmann, 'Die beiden Schwerter im hohen Mittelalter', *Deutsches Archiv*, xx (1964), 78–114, and W. Goez, 'Zwei-Schwerter-Lehre', *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ix (1998), cols. 725–6. [9] Cf. 1 Cor. 5: 5.

f. 11r "abstinete ab illo;" | sed statim cauete et uitate illum,' ut in *Decretis*, D. .xciii., c. 'Si inimicus'.[10] Non enim de eius sanctitate uel sententia erit dubitandum 'quem apex tante dignitatis extollit', ut D. .xl., c. 'Non nos beatum'.[11] Sane in episcopis quos uocauit Petrus in partem sollicitudinis, una parte secat quandoque gladius, ut cum suo parrochiano interdicit aliorum communionem, et tamen aliis illius excommunicati participium non recte tollit, cum sui non sint.[e][12] Ideoque per litteras facienda erit excommunicatorum denuntiacio a suo episcopo ad uicinos, ut C. .xi., q. ultima, c. 'Debent'.[f][13] Hinc est quod altera acie gladii Iudeus punitur aut gentilis ab ecclesia, dum eius communio christianis interdicitur, sed ipsorum communio Iudeo non potest interdici, quia de his qui foris sunt non iudicat ecclesia.[14]

Enimuero gladius uersatilis nonnumquam ad tempus tollitur, ut in reconciliatis et correctis. 'Misericordia enim et ueritas obuiauerunt sibi; iustitia et pax osculate sunt.'[15] [16]Sed et gladius paradisi igneus ad tempus sublatus fuit, intrantibus Elia et Enoc; penitus uero non fuit ablatus donec in morte Christi fuit extinctus. Erat autem ignis gladii urens et non comburens, sicut in *Vita beati Nicholai* legitur, et non eget materia quam consumat: urit enim spiritum.[16]

xvii. *De duobus paradisis*[a] *et*[b] *infernis*

Non erit paruipendendum quod duo sunt paradisi: terrestris de quo diximus, et celestis, [1]celum silicet empireum, et dicitur 'spiritualis regio', quia regio est ibi spirituum.[1] Similiter duo sunt inferni: terrestris quem in concauitate dicunt terre positum, et in illo inferno[c] dicunt locum esse [2]longe semotum a locis penalibus qui ob quietem ac

[e] sint *XQ;* sunt *NACI* [f] debent *supplied by author N*

[a] paridisis *N* [b] duobus *add. after* et *XQ* [c] inferno *supplied by author N*

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[10] i.e. D. 93 c. 1. [11] i.e. D. 40 c. 1.

[12] Cf. E. Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1986), pp. 13–16.

[13] i.e. C. 11 q. 3 c. 106.

[14] For the canonists' discussion of this and related issues (which was somewhat less straightforward than the view Gervase here presents) see J. Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels* (Liverpool, 1979), pp. 3–4, 9–11, 22–27. [15] Cf. Ps. 84 (85): 11 (10).

[16–16] Sed et . . . urit enim spiritum] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 24 (*PL* cxcviii. 1075); *Otia*, i. 22, n. 4. The Nicholas in question is probably the fourth-century bishop of Myra, better known as Santa Claus; however, no statement concerning this fire has been found in the extant lives of the saint.

[1–1] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 13 (*PL* cxcviii. 1067).

[2–2] longe . . . tantum esse Deum (p. 96)] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 87 and Additio 2 (*PL* cxcviii. 1126). In Additio 2 the Comestor says that Abraham was called the *prima via credendi*, not because he was the first to believe, but because he first suffered persecution for his faith in the one God, having been driven out of Chaldaea for it. On the Bosom of Abraham, see also *Otia*, ii. 11, n. 37, and iii. 103, n. 14.

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to say to you: "Have nothing to do with him;" but at once be on your guard and shun him' (found in the *Decretum*, D. 93 c. 'Si inimicus').[10] For there should be no questioning of the holiness or judgment of the pope, 'whom a crown of such high honour adorns' (D. 40 c. 'Non nos beatum').[11] In the case of the bishops, however, whom Peter has called to share his pastoral care, the sword sometimes cuts only one way. For example, a bishop may forbid someone in his own diocese communion with others, but he has no right to prevent others from associating with the one who has been excommunicated, since they do not belong to his flock.[12] On this account a written denunciation of those under excommunication must be sent by their own bishop to the neighbouring ones, in accordance with C. 11, the final question, c. 'Debent'.[13] It is for this reason that a Jew or a heathen is punished by the Church with only one edge of the sword: Christians are forbidden to associate with him, but communion with his own people cannot be forbidden to a Jew, because the Church has no jurisdiction over those who are outside it.[14]

On occasions the turning sword is removed for a time, as in the case of those who have been reconciled and reformed. 'For mercy and truth have met together; righteousness and peace have kissed.'[15] [16]The fiery sword of paradise was also withdrawn for a time, to allow Elijah and Enoch to enter; but it was not altogether removed until it was extinguished at the death of Christ. The fire of this sword was a burning but not a consuming fire, as one reads in the *Life of Blessed Nicholas:* it has no need of fuel to consume, since what it burns is spirit.[16]

17. *The Two Paradises and Two Hells*

We must not disregard the fact that there are two paradises: the terrestrial one of which we have been speaking, and a celestial one, [1]the heaven, that is, of the empyrean, called 'the spiritual realm' because spirits dwell there.[1] Similarly there are two hells. First, there is a terrestrial one, which they say is located in the hollow depths of the earth. Within this hell they say that there is a place [2]far removed

separationem ab aliis sinus dicebatur, sicut sinum maris alias appellamus, et dicitur sinus Abrahe in parabola diuitis et Lazari,[3] quia etiam Abraham ibi erat usque ad mortem Christi, et quia ipse fuit prima credendi uia: ipse enim primus predicauit unum tantum esse Deum.[2] [4]Est et alius infernus aereus caliginosus, in quem detrusi sunt ad suam penam mali angeli, sicut in empireo sunt boni. Et in hoc errauit Plato, qui descendens in Egiptum legit ibi libros Moysi, et putauit Moysen sensisse uolatilia esse ornamentum aeris circa terram tantum, ornatum uero aeris superioris esse calodemones et cacodemones,[4] id est bonos et malos demones. [5]Apuleius autem, in libro *De Deo sacratis spiritibus*,[d] [6] dicit quod inter lunam et terram habitant inmundi spiritus quos incubos demones nominant,[5] a mentis incubatione, quia in sumpnis mentes hominum obprimunt ita quod uidentur homines ex alto precipitare uel suffocare; [7]habentque partim naturam hominum, partim angelorum, et cum uolunt, assumunt naturas humanas et cubant cum mulieribus.[7] De hiis generatus fertur Merlinus, qui fuit, ut ait *Hystoria Brutannorum*,[8] ex matre sine patre homine. Et ex tali generatione erit, ut dicunt, Antichristus, ideoque dicet se filium uirginis.[9] De his[e] multa scimus cotidie uideri. Nam uidimus quosdam demones tanto zelo mulieres amare quod ad inaudita prorumpunt ludibria, et cum ad concubitum earum accedunt, mira mole eas opprimunt, nec ab aliis uidentur. Sunt et quidam qui a uirginibus tantum uidentur; caro enim incorrupta magis spirituales habet intuitus.[f] Vnde asserunt nigromantici in experimentis gladii uel speculi uel unguis aut circini solos oculos uirgineos preualere.[10]

[d] sacratis spiritibus] Socratis *C*; Socratis de spiritibus *I* [e] his *ed.*; huius *NACX*; huiusmodi *QI* [f] habet intuitus *supplied by author N*

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[3] Luke 16: 19–31. Gervase has substituted this reference to the parable for the word *etiam* in the Comestor's text.

[4–4] Est et . . . calodemones et cacodemones] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 7 (*PL* cxcviii. 1061). For the belief that Plato read the books of Moses in Egypt, cf. *Otia*, i. 8, n. 7. Plato was mistaken on two counts, according to the Comestor: firstly, only the bad angels were to be found in the air, the good ones being in the empyrean; and secondly, they were there, not to adorn it, but for their punishment.

[5–5] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, c. 107 (= ed. Griscom, vi. 18); on incubi, cf. *Otia*, iii. 86, n. 23.

[6] The correct title of this work is *De deo Socratis*, as the scribes of *C* and *I* realized. For the notion that the region between the moon and the earth was inhabited by demons, see cc. 8–9 and 12–13.

[7–7] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, loc. cit.

[8] Loc. cit.

[9] For a different interpretation of the birth of Antichrist from a virgin, drawn from the Comestor, see *Otia*, iii. 108.

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from the places of punishment which, on account of its quietness and separateness, was called by some a *sinus* (sheltered place), just as in another context we speak of a *sinus* (bay) of the sea; in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus[3] it is called the *sinus* (Bosom) of Abraham, because even Abraham was there up until the death of Christ, and because he was the first to point the way of faith: for he first proclaimed that there was only one God.[2] [4]There is another hell also, a dark region in the air. The bad angels were thrust down into this hell for their punishment, while the good ones live in the empyrean. In this matter Plato was mistaken: when he went down into Egypt and read the books of Moses there, he thought Moses meant that the winged creatures adorned only the air around the earth, and that the upper air was adorned by *kalodaimones* and *kakodaimones*,[4] that is, good and bad demons. [5]Apuleius, however, in his book *On Spirits Consecrated to God*,[6] says that between the moon and the earth there dwell unclean spirits which are called incubi,[5] from their oppression (*incubatio*) of the mind; for they afflict people's minds in their sleep, making them believe they are falling from a height or suffocating. [7]They have partly the nature of human beings and partly that of angels, and when they wish they assume human form and sleep with women.[7] Merlin is said to have been fathered by one of these, for he was born, according to the *History of the Britons*,[8] of a woman but had no human father. And they say that the Antichrist will be begotten in this way, and will claim on this account to be the son of a virgin.[9] We know that many things are seen every day relating to these phenomena. We have actually observed that some demons love women with such passion that they break out into unheard-of acts of lewdness, and when they come to bed with them they bear down upon them with extraordinary pressure, and yet are seen by no one else. There are also some demons which are only seen by virgins; for untainted flesh possesses greater spiritual vision. For this reason necromancers claim that in the experiments of the sword, the mirror, the finger-nail, or the circle, only a virgin's eyes are effective.[10]

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[10] This is an allusion to 'Mirror magic or crystal gazing in its various species (employing variously a mirror, a beryl or other stone, a basin of water, a swordblade, or a polished finger-nail). . . . The scryer was regularly a young boy, for the doctrine was that certain demons or angels—their character was equivocal—could not or would not manifest themselves except to the pure alone.' (Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, p. 185; see also ibid. 503–4, nn. 1 and 4; William of Auvergne, *De legibus*, c. 24, in *Opera omnia* (Paris, 1674), p. 70; Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes*, pp. 317–18; Liebrecht, pp. 73–4; K. Haberland, 'Die Spiegel im Glauben und Brauch der Völker', *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, xiii (1882), 324–47.)

xviii. *De faunis*[a] *et satiris*

Sunt et alii quos folettos[1] uulgus nominat,[b] qui domos simplicium rusticorum inhabitant, et nec aqua nec exorcismis artantur, et quia non uidentur, ingredientes lapidibus, lignis, et domestica suppelectile affligunt, quorum uerba utique humano more audiuntur et effigies non comparent. De istis pleraque miracula memini me in *Vita abbreuiata et miraculis beatissimi Antonii* [2] dictitasse.[c]

Sunt et alii spiritus nescio dixerim an corporeas et siluestres bestias, qui fauni et satiri dicuntur, de quibus in *Vita beati Pauli primi heremite* ita narrat Ieronimus: [3]Cogitante[d] Antonio nullum ante[e] se monacorum in heremo consedisse, nocte quiescente,[f] reuelatum est esse alium interius multo meliorem, ad quem uisendum properare deberet. Illico erumpente luce uenerabilis senex, infirmos artus baculo regente sustentans, cepit ire uelle quo nesciebat. Et cum iam media dies excoquente desuper sole feruebat, conspicatur hominem equo mixtum, cui opinio poetarum ippocentauri uocabulum indidit. Quo uiso, salutaris impressione signi armat frontem: 'Heus tu,' inquid, 'quanam in parte seruus Dei hic habitat?' At ille, barbarum nescio quid frendens, et frangens potius uerba quam loquens inter horrentia setis ora, blandum quesiuit alloquium, et dextre manus protensione cupitum indicat iter; ac sic per patentes campos uolucri transmissus f. 11^{v} fuga, ex[g] | oculis mirantis euanuit.

Stupens itaque Antonius et de hoc quod uiderat secum uoluens, ulterius progrediebatur. Nec mora, inter saxosum conuallis intimum haud[h] grandem homunculum uidet, adunccis naribus, fronte cornibus exasperata, cui extrema pars corporis in caprarum pedes desinebat.[i] Ex hoc attonitus[j] spectaculo,[4] scutum et loricam fidei[5] bonus preliator

[a] faunis *supplied by author N* [b] nominant *N* [c] dictitasse *with* ta *written above line N*, dictitasse *AQI;* dictasse *CX* [d] cogitante (*altered from* -ti) *N, Aβ;* cogitanti *C* [e] ante *MSS;* ultra *Jerome* [f] quiescenti *ACβ* [g] ex [f. 11^{v}] ex *N* [h] aut *N* [i] deficiebat *β* [j] attonitus *CQI;* Antonius *NAX*

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[1] i.e. poltergeists: see Liebrecht, pp. 74–5; *MI* F473, and C. Lecouteux, 'Vom Schrat zum Schrättel: Dämonisierungs-, Mythologisisierungs- und Euphemisierungsprozess einer volkstümlichen Vorstellung', *Euphorion*, lxxix (1985), 95–108. The word *follet* is of French origin; see *Trésor de la langue française*, ed. P. Imbs (Paris, 1971–), s.v.: 'Esprit follet . . . Lutin familier et malicieux.'

[2] This work has not survived; see above, p. xcii.

[3–3] Cogitante . . . uideretur, allatum est (p. 100)] Cf. Jerome, *Vita S. Pauli primi eremitae*, cc. 7–8 (*PL* xxiii. 22–3).

[4] There are many variants in the text of Jerome at this point. The Migne text reads: 'Ad

18. *Fauns and Satyrs*

There are other demons also which the common folk call *follets*.[1] These inhabit the homes of simple peasants, and they are not deterred either by holy water or by exorcisms. Taking advantage of their invisibility, they pelt anyone who comes in with stones, sticks, and household utensils. Their words sound just like human speech, but their forms are never seen. I recall including many miracles involving them in my *Short Account of the Life and Miracles of the Blessed Antony*.[2]

There are still other spirits, or they may actually be corporeal wild beasts, called fauns and satyrs. With reference to these Jerome, in his *Life of the Blessed Paul, the First Hermit*, tells the following story: [3]Antony was under the impression that no other monk had settled in the desert before him. But one night when he was asleep, it was revealed to him that there was another far better than he, living further into the desert, whom he ought to make haste and visit. At first light the venerable old man, leaning on a staff as a support for his frail limbs, set off eagerly, though without knowing where he was going. The noonday heat was already shimmering under a parching sun when he caught sight of a creature, half man and half horse, which poetic fancy has called a hippocentaur. On seeing it he protected himself by making the sign of the cross on his forehead, and said: 'Ho there! whereabouts in these parts does the servant of God live?' The creature, gnashing out some kind of garbled speech, grinding rather than speaking its words between lips bristling with hairs, attempted a courteous reply, and indicated the required direction by stretching out its right hand. Thereupon it vanished from the sight of the wondering saint, winging its way in flight across the open spaces.

And so Antony, reflecting in amazement on what he had seen, went on his way. Not long afterwards, in the rocky recess of a valley, he saw a tiny little man with a hooked nose, his brow knobbly with horns, and his body terminating at the other end in goats' hooves. Astonished at this sight,[4] the good warrior seized the shield and breastplate of faith.[5] But the creature I have described offered him

hoc Antonius spectaculum' ('At this sight Antony'), but 'et hoc attonitus spectaculo' also occurs in a number of MSS.

[5] Cf. Jerome: 'scutum fidei et loricam spei, ut bonus praeliator' ('the shield of faith [Eph. 6: 16] and the breastplate of hope, as a good warrior').

arripuit. Nichilominus memoratum animal palmarum fructum[k] ad uiaticum quasi pacis ei[l] obsides offerebat; quo cognito, gressum pressit Antonius, et quisnam esset interrogans, hoc ab eo responsum accepit: 'Mortalis ego sum, et unus ex accolis heremi quos uario errore delusa gentilitas faunos satirosque et incubos[6] colit. Legatione fungor gregis mei: precamur ut communem Deum pro nobis depreceris. Salutem mundo olim aduenisse cognouimus, et in uniuersam terram sonus eius exiuit.'[7] Talia eo loquente, longeuus uiator ubertim faciem lacrimis rigabat, quas magnitudo cordis leticie indices effuderat. Gaudebat quippe de Christi gloria, de interitu Sathane, simulque admirans quod eius posset intelligere sermonem et baculo humum percutiens,[m] aiebat: 'Ve tibi, Alexandria, que pro Deo portenta ueneraris! Ciuitas meretrix, in qua[n] tocius orbis demonia confluxere! Quid nunc dictura es? Bestie Christum locuntur.' Necdum uerba compleuerat et quasi pennigero uolatu petulcum animal aufugit.

Hoc nunc ne cui ad incredulitatem scrupulum moueat, sub rege Constantino,[o][8] uniuerso mundo teste, defenditur. Nam Alexandriam istiusmodi homo uiuus perductus magnum populo spectaculum prebuit; et postea cadauer exanime, ne calore estatis dissiparetur, sale infusum Antiochiam, ut ab imperatore uideretur, allatum est.[3]

Si autem sale corpus infunditur, aereum non uidetur, quod emortuum putredinem facit: satius ergo corpora bestialia censentur quam spiritus aerei. Verum quod spiritus quos gentilitas coluit in aere sint innuit Ouidius, cum dixit:

> Astra tenent celeste[p] solum formeque deorum.[9]

Hec actenus: nunc ad ordinem cepte materie redeamus. Que enim ad hec uel[q] similia pertinere uidebuntur in tercia decisione,[10] Deo permittente, plenius explicabuntur, ubi cuilibet terre sua assignabimus mirabilia.

[k] fructum *MSS;* fructus *Jerome* [l] ex *NA* [m] percussiens *N* [n] qua *MSS;* quam *Jerome* [o] Constantino *MSS;* Constantio *Jerome* [p] celesta (-a *altered from* -e) *N* [q] hec uel *supplied by author N*

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[6] Cf. *Otia*, iii. 86, nn. 22–4; Augustine, *Civ.* xv. 23 (*CSEL* xl (2). 109–14 = *PL* xli. 468–9); Jerome, *In Isaiam*, v. 13 (*CCSL* lxxiii. 166 = *PL* xxiv. 159); Isidore, *Etym.* viii. 11. 81–3 and 103–4, xi. 3. 21–2.

[7] Cf. Ps. 18 (19): 5 (4); Rom. 10: 18. For other non-human creatures professing faith in Christ, see Liebrecht, pp. 75–6.

some dates as provision for his journey, as if giving him a pledge of peace. Perceiving this, Antony arrested his steps and asked him who he was. He received from him this reply: 'I am a mortal creature, one of the inhabitants of the desert whom the heathen, led astray by manifold errors, worship as fauns, satyrs, and incubi.[6] I bear a message from my flock: we beg you to pray for us to your God and our God. We know that salvation once came into the world, and its sound has gone out to all the earth.'[7] While the creature was speaking in this vein, the aged traveller was watering his cheeks with copious tears, which had gushed up in token of his heart's great joy. He rejoiced in truth at the glory of Christ and at the destruction of Satan, and while marvelling at the fact that he was able to understand the creature's speech, he struck the ground with his staff, and said: 'Woe to you, Alexandria, you who worship prodigies instead of God! Harlot city, in which the demons of the whole world have flocked together! What have you got to say for yourself now? The very beasts speak of Christ.' But before he had finished speaking the goatish creature fled away with the speed of a bird.

Now this, lest anyone should hesitate to believe it, is supported by something which happened in the reign of Constantine,[8] with the whole world to witness. A man of this kind was brought alive to Alexandria and provided a great spectacle for the people. Afterwards his lifeless corpse, embalmed in salt lest it should decompose in the summer-heat, was taken to Antioch to be viewed by the emperor.[3]

Now if a body is embalmed in salt, it is because it rots after death: that does not sound like an airy body. These creatures are therefore more properly considered animal bodies than airy spirits. Ovid, however, intimated that the spirits which the heathen worshipped were in the air, when he said:

> The stars and divine forms made the heavens their home.[9]

Enough of this: let us now resume our subject, following the order we planned. For anything that seems relevant to these or like phenomena will be treated more fully, God willing, in Book III,[10] where we shall assign to each country its own marvels.

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[8] The reading *Constantio*, in the Migne text of Jerome, is undoubtedly correct, since the emperor Constantius II (337–61) is known to have resided at Antioch for the early part of his reign.

[9] Ovid, *Met.* i. 73.

[10] See esp. iii. 86.

xix. *De filiis Ade et diuisione eorum et prima ciuitate*

Post eiectionem a paradiso [1]cognouit Adam uxorem, et anno quintodecimo uite eius natus est ei Caim et soror eius Calmana. Fortassis et ante multos genuerat qui a Moyse tacentur;[1] nam legimus Adam triginta filios habuisse et totidem filias, preter Abel et Caim.[2] Igitur tricesimo anno uite eius genuit Adam et[a] Abel et sororem eius Delboram.[3] Tradunt Iudei[4] Adam[b] dedisse Caim Delboram, turpem facie, et Calmanam Abel in uxorem, ne gemelli commiscerentur. Inuidens ergo Caim pulcritudini Calmane, accepta occasione quia 'respexit Dominus ad Abel et ad munera eius, ad Caim uero non respexit',[5] eo quod [6]recte offerebat quia Deo, sed non recte diuidebat[6] per fraternum odium, Deo se deuouens qui oblatione dignior erat, [7]occidit Caim Abel in agro Damasceno, de quo sumptus fuit Adam, iuxta quem in spelunca duplici sepulti sunt Adam et Eua.[7] [8]Cumque increpando diceret Dominus ad Caim: 'Vbi est Abel, frater tuus? Clamat enim sanguis eius ad me', comminationem maledictionis audiens, Caim ait:[c] 'Maior est iniquitas mea quam ut ueniam merear'.[8]

Hic, imperator auguste, duo tibi sunt notanda: unum quod iudicem instruit, alterum quod delinquentem confundit. Quamuis enim Diuus Traianus Aufidio Seuero rescripserit ex suspicionibus neminem debere dampnari,[9] cum satius sit impunitum relinquere facinus nocentis quam innocentem dampnare, [10]in publice[d] tamen notorio

[a] et *supplied by author N, A; erased C; om. β* [b] Adam *supplied by author N*
[c] ait *supplied by author(?) N* [d] impublice *N*

[1–1] cognouit . . . a Moyse tacentur] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 25 (*PL* cxcviii. 1076); Gen. 4: 1.

[2] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 29, Additio 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1080).

[3] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 25 (*PL* cxcviii. 1076).

[4] This tradition, for which no written source has been found, may have come to Gervase by word of mouth; like the Comestor, he clearly valued the Jewish contribution to the study of the Bible (cf. Appendix i. 1; E. Shereshevsky, 'Hebrew traditions in Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, NS, lix (1968/9), 268–89).

[5] Cf. Gen. 4: 4–5.

[6–6] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 26 (*PL* cxcviii. 1077). The Comestor is here commenting, not on the Vulgate text, but on the translation of Gen. 4: 6–7 in the *Vetus Latina* (based on the LXX): 'Quare concidit vultus tuus? Nonne si recte offeras, et recte non dividas peccasti?' ('Why has your countenance fallen? Surely, even if you make a proper offering, you have still sinned if you do not divide it properly?'; see the Beuron edition of *Genesis*, ed. B. Fischer (Freiburg, 1951–4)). The Comestor comments: 'Recte obtulerat, quia Deo, quia creaturam Creatori, sed non recte diviserat, quia se ipsum, qui melior erat, oblationem obtulerat diabolo. Vel non recte divisit, quia meliora sibi retinuit, spicas vero attritas, et

19. *The Sons of Adam, their Division, and the First City*

After his expulsion from paradise [1]Adam knew his wife, and in the fifteenth year of his life Cain and his sister Calmana were born to him. He had probably had many other children before this who are not mentioned by Moses,[1] for we read that Adam had thirty sons and as many daughters, not counting Cain and Abel.[2] Then in the thirtieth year of his life Adam became the father of Abel and his sister Delbora.[3] According to Jewish tradition[4] Adam gave Delbora, who was ugly in appearance, to Cain as his wife, while he gave Calmana to Abel, so that twins would not marry each other. Cain was therefore jealous on account of Calmana's beauty, and he killed Abel. His pretext was that 'the Lord looked with favour on Abel and his offering, but did not look with favour on Cain',[5] because [6]although he made a proper offering in that he made it to God, he did not share it properly[6] on account of his hatred of his brother, but dedicated himself entirely to God, seeing that God was more worthy to receive his offering. [7]He killed his brother in the field of Damascus, where Adam was taken from the earth; Adam and Eve are buried in the double cave nearby.[7] [8]When the Lord said accusingly to Cain: 'Where is Abel, your brother? His blood is crying out to me', Cain, hearing the threat of a curse, said: 'My iniquity is greater than that I may deserve pardon.'[8]

There are two points here, august Emperor, worthy of your attention: one of them provides instruction for the judge, the other confounds the transgressor. You know that the emperor Trajan issued a rescript to Aufidius Severus stating that no one should be condemned on suspicion alone,[9] since it is better to let a guilty person's crime go unpunished than to condemn the innocent. However, [10]in the case of an offence which is common knowledge,

corrosas secus viam, Domino obtulit' ('He had made a proper offering, in that he made it to God, offering a creature to his Creator, but he had not divided it properly, because he had made a better offering, namely his own person, to the devil. Alternatively he did not divide it properly because he kept the best part for himself, while offering the bruised ears of corn and those which had been damaged along the wayside to the Lord'). Gervase is using the version of the text quoted by the Comestor here, but his interpretation is different.

[7–7] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 24 (*PL* cxcviii. 1075); *Otia*, i. 8, n. 5; ii. 4, n. 37; ii. 23, nn. 33 and 104.

[8–8] Cumque . . . ut ueniam merear] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 27 (*PL* cxcviii. 1077); Gen. 4: 9–10, 13.

[9] Cf. *Digest*, xlviii. 19. 5.

[10–10] in publice . . . sanguis Abel clamat (p. 104)] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 27 (*PL* cxcviii. 1077); Gen. 4: 10.

quod publicat euidencia facti uel rei publicata confessio, ubi iam reus diffiteri non potest, suspecti trahuntur in causam quia sanguis Abel clamat,[10] et clamor Sodomorum ascendit;[11] et punitur noxius secundum quod inuincibilis presumptio accusauerit, ut C. .ii. q. .i. 'Scelus' et c. 'Multi',[12] et C. .xxxii. q. .i. 'Dixit';[13] et *Codice*, Ad legem Iuliam de Adulteriis, 'Si qui';[14] et in *Authentica Collectione* .ix., 'Vt liceat matri et auie', c. 'Hiis quoque'.[15]

Sequitur que delinquentem confundit desperatio, quo malo Caim dampnatur et Iudas cum latrone infernum meretur et celum demeretur. Vnde sequitur: 'Maior est iniquitas mea quam ut ueniam f. 12r merear,'[16] hoc est omni | merito,[17] uel quia tanta est quod maior est omni misericordia ueniam dantis, quod est contra illud Dauid: 'Misericordie tue non est numerus.'[18] O miserrime Caim! Quid modum ponis[e] miserendi in Deo, cuius finis infinitas, et modus est hominum non tenuisse modum?

Quisquis[f] te flere[g] coegit
Impetus, a uera longe pietate recessit,
Adquirisque[h] fidem simulati fronte doloris,
Non aliter manifesta putans[i] abscondere mentis
Gaudia, quam[19]

factum dampnando tuum ueniamque negari posse tibi credens. [20]Nequaquam ita fiet; sed omnis qui inuenerit te occidet te, et ita iusto iudicio occisorum occisus liberaberis a miseria temporali.[20]

Tunc egressus Caim a facie Domini, habitauit ad plagam orientalem,[21] et hanc arbitrantur fuisse primam mansionum diuisionem. [22]Cognouit autem Caim uxorem suam et genuit Enoc, et fecit Caim ciuitatem ex nomine filii, nominans eam Enoc. Vnde patet multos homines iam natos, quos conuocauit ad edificandam ciuitatem. Iosephus[23] ait quod Caim, rapinis et uiolentiis opes congregans, suos ad latrocinia inuitabat et simplicitatem hominum ad mensurarum et ponderum inuentionem permutauit. Terminos terre primus

[e] ponis *supplied by author N* [f] Quiquis *N* [g] ferre *XQ*
[h] adquiritque *Lucan* [i] potens *Lucan*

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[11] Cf. Gen. 18: 20.
[12] *Decretum*, C. 1 q. 1 c. 84.
[13] Probably *Decretum*, C. 32 q. 4 c. 3.
[14] *Code*, ix. 9. 33 para. 7.
[15] *Authentica*, cxii. 15 (= *Authentica collatio*, viii. 13. 15 = *Novellae*, cxvii. 15).
[16] Gen. 4: 13.
[17] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 27, Additio 2 (*PL* cxcviii. 1078).
[18] Cf. Ps. 39 (40): 12 and 13.
[19] Cf. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, ix. 1055–6, 1063, 1040–1.

made public by the evidence of the deed or by an open confession on the part of the defendant, when it is no longer possible for the accused to plead innocent, then those under suspicion are brought to trial because the blood of Abel cries out,[10] and the cry of the Sodomites rises;[11] and the guilty party is punished in line with the irrefutable presumption with which he has been charged: see C. 2 q. 1 'Scelus', c. 'Multi',[12] and C. 32 q. 1 'Dixit';[13] see also the *Code*, in the section relating to the Julian Law on adultery, 'Si qui';[14] and the *Authentica*, ix, 'Vt liceat matri et auiae', c. 'His quoque'.[15]

The next point is the despair which confounds the transgressor: it was for this evil that Cain was condemned, and that Judas merited hell along with the bad thief, proving himself unworthy of heaven. So Cain's response was: 'My iniquity is greater than that I may deserve pardon',[16] that is, it is greater than any merit,[17] or else, it is so great that it exceeds all the mercy of the one who grants pardon. But that is contrary to what David says: 'Of your mercy there is no end.'[18] O wretched Cain! Why do you set a limit to the mercy of God, whose end is infinity, and whose measure is to transcend every human measure?

Whatever the impulse that made you weep,
True feeling had no part in it.
You tried to make your show of grief convincing,
For you believed the delight that you obviously felt in your heart
Could be hidden by no other means, than[19]

by condemning your own deed and believing that pardon could be denied to you. [20]It shall by no means be so; but anyone who finds you will kill you, and so, killed in the enactment of a just judgment against killers, you will be set free from your temporal misery.[20]

Then Cain went out from the presence of the Lord and dwelt in the eastern region.[21] This, they think, was when people began to live apart. [22]Cain knew his wife, and became the father of Enoch. He built a city, naming it Enoch after his son. It is clear from this that many people had been born by this time, for he must have assembled them to build the city. Josephus[23] says that Cain amassed wealth by pillage and violence, and incited his people to robbery; he also invented weights and measures, and so put an end to human simplicity. He was

[20–20] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 27 (*PL* cxcviii. 1078); Gen. 4: 14–15.
[21] Cf. Gen. 4: 16.
[22–22] Cognouit . . . in urbibus collegit (p. 106)] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 28 (*PL* cxcviii. 1078); Gen. 4: 17.
[23] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 61–2.

posuit, ciuitates muniuit et, timens quos ledebat, ob securitatem suos in urbibus collegit.[22]

> Tunc data libertas odiis resolutaque legum
> Frenis[j] ira ruit. Non uni cuncta dabantur
> Sed fecit[k] sibi quisque nefas.[24]

Enoc quoque quasdam litteras inuenit et quosdam libros conscripsit, sub quo Adam intelligitur mortuus.[l] [25]

xx. *De inuentione musice et multorum artificiorum*

[1]Septimus ab Adam descendens per Enoc fuit Lamech, primus bigamus,[a] qui ex una uxore, Ada uel Olda, genuit Ioabel, qui inuenit tentoria pastorum ad mutanda pascua. Hic primus greges ordinauit et caracteribus distinxit, separans greges secundum genera sua (greges ouium a gregibus caprarum), et secundum qualitatem (scilicet unicolores a grege sparsi uelleris), et secundum etatem (ut anniculos a maturioribus). Hic quoque commissuras certis temporibus faciendas intellexit. Et nomen fratris eius Tubal,[b] qui fuit pater cantancium in cithara et organo, non quod instrumenta ista inuenerit, que longe post inuenta fuerunt, sed inuentor fuit musice, hoc est consonansiarum, ut labor pastoralis quasi in delicias uerteretur. Et quia audierat Adam profetasse de duobus iudiciis,[2] ne periret ars inuenta, scripsit eam in duabus columpnis, in qualibet totam, una marmorea,[c] altera latericia, ut una non[d] dilueretur diluuio, altera non periret incendio. Marmoream narrat Iosephus[3] adhuc esse in terra Serica.

Ad hec Sella genuit Tubalcaim, qui artem ferrariam inuenit, res bellicas decenter exercuit, sculpturas operum in metallis in libidinem occulorum primus fabricauit. Quo fabricante Tubal, de quo dictum

[j] legum frenis *supplied by author N* [k] fecit *supplied by author N* [l] sub quo . . . mortuus] *supplied by author N*

[a] hoc est simul habens duas (uxores *add. in margin X*) *add. after* bigamus *XQ* [b] Tubal *NC and Comestor;* Iubal *Aβ and Vulgate* [c] marmoorea *with* rmo *added above line N* [d] non *supplied by author N*

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[24] Cf. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, ii. 145–7.
[25] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 30, Additio 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1081).

[1–1] Septimus . . . quibus iacuerant referebant (p. 108)] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 28 (*PL* cxcviii. 1078–9); Gen. 4: 19–22.
[2] i.e. the destruction by water in the Flood, and by fire at the end of the world; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 70; 2 Pet. 3: 6–7.

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the first to set up boundaries on the land, to fortify towns and, out of fear of those to whom he did harm, to collect his people in cities for reasons of security.[22]

> Then licence was granted to hatred, and anger ran riot, set free
> From the bridle of law. All was not done for the benefit of one,
> But each for his own ends did wrong.[24]

Enoch invented certain letters and wrote some books, and in his time Adam is believed to have died.[25]

20. *The Invention of Music and Many Other Arts*

[1]Lamech, descended from Adam through Enoch's line in the seventh generation, was the first bigamist. By one of his wives, Adah or Olda, he became the father of Jabal, who invented tents for shepherds so that they could keep moving to fresh pastures. Jabal was the first to organize animals in flocks and distinguish them with marks, dividing them according to their kinds (separating flocks of sheep from flocks of goats), and according to their quality (that is, separating animals which were all of one colour from those whose fleece was spotted), and according to their age (for example, separating the yearlings from the older animals). It was also he who realized that animals have to be mated at particular seasons. His brother, whose name was Tubal, was the father of all who make music on the harp and the organ, not that he invented those instruments—they were only invented long afterwards—but he was the inventor of music, that is, of harmonious sounds, his purpose being to make a shepherd's work enjoyable. And because he had heard Adam's prophecy concerning the two judgments,[2] he took steps to ensure that the art he had invented should not be lost: he wrote it down on two columns, recording the whole of it on each; one of these columns was made of marble, and the other of brick, so that the one would not be washed away in the flood and the other would not be destroyed in the fire. Josephus[3] tells us that the marble one is still in existence in China.

Lamech's other wife, Zillah, bore Tubalcain, who invented the art of ironwork, expertly fashioned the tools of war, and first produced metalwork sculptures to delight the eyes. While he was at work on

[3] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 71.

est, sono malleorum[e] delectatus, ex ponderibus eorum[f] proportiones, et consonancias que ex his nascuntur, excogitauit; quam inuentionem Greci Pictagore fabulose attribuunt. Sic et ex opere fruticum excogitauit operari in metallis; cum enim frutices incendissent in pascuis, uene metallorum fluxerunt in riuulos et sublate lamine figuras locorum in quibus iacuerant referebant.[1]

Quia uero primas rerum causas et eorum quibus utimur inuentiones scire delectabile uidemus esse nature hominum, libenter[g] cuncta rimanti, breuiter inuentiones diuersorum operum imperiali uestre celsitudini rememorabimus, ut non uaniloquis fabulis aures uestre exponantur, sed rerum ueritate licentius delectentur.

[4]Methodius igitur, agens de quodam filio Noe de quo Moyses non egit, sic ait: Centesimo anno tercie ciliadis[4] (hoc est tercii millenarii, a *cilian* Greco, quod sonat 'mille';[h] unde militem *cylion* dicunt a millenario, quia millenario numero primo fuerunt milites designati, ut *Pandectis*, 'De testamento militis',[i] l. .i., c. 'Miles';[5] et *ciliarcon* ducem milicie).[6] Hoc inquam anno, [7]natus est Noe filius in similitudinem eius, et dixit eum Yonicum.[j] Hic accepit a Deo donum sapientie, et inuenit astronomiam, ad quem ueniens Nembrot gigas eruditus est ab eo. Fuit autem Nembrot filius Chus, qui fuit filius Cam, filii Noe, qui cepit primus potens esse in terra et robustus uenator hominum coram Domino,[8] id est extinctor et oppressor amore dominandi; et cogebat homines ignem adorare.[7] Vnde super locum illum ubi loquens Dominus ad Abraham ait: 'Ego sum qui eduxi te de Vr Caldeorum',[9] legitur quod [10]Ebrei *ur* ignem dicunt. f. 12v Inde fabulantur quod Caldei | in ignem, per quem[k] traisiebant paruulos suos, proiecerant Abraham et Aram, qui fuit primogenitus filius[l] Thare et frater[m] Abrahe et Nacor; proiecerunt autem eos quia nolebant ignem adorare, et Aram ibi expirauit, Abraham uero[n] auxilio diuino liberatus est.[10] Iosephus[11] tamen[o] Vr nomen ciuitatis esse dicit[p]

[e] malleorum *MSS;* metallorum *Comestor* [f] eor *N* [g] libenter *supplied by author N; om. C* [h] mille *supplied by author N* [i] militis *XQ;* militum *AI;* militari *NC* [j] Jonithum *Comestor;* Ionitum *Pseudo-Methodius* [k] quem *supplied by author N* [l] filius *supplied by author N* [m] frater] filius *XQ* [n] uero] autem *QI* [o] tamen] autem *XI* [p] dixit *XI*

[4–4] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 37 (*PL* cxcviii. 1088); the Comestor is drawing on Pseudo-Methodius, *Revelationes,* c. 3 (ed. Sackur, pp. 63–4). The works of Pseudo-Methodius were written in Greek at an early date (?6th cent. AD); they survive complete only in the Latin version, which was produced soon afterwards. See M. B. Ogle, 'Petrus Comestor, Methodius and the Saracens', *Speculum,* xxi (1946), 318–24.

[5] Cf. *Digest*, xxix. 1. 1.

[6] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 3. 30.

[7–7] natus . . . homines ignem adorare] Cf. Comestor, loc. cit.

[8] Cf. Gen. 10: 8–9.

[9] Cf. Gen. 15: 7.

them Tubal, of whom we have just spoken, was filled with delight at the sound of the hammers, and from their weights he worked out their proportions, and the harmonies produced by them; the Greeks falsely attribute this discovery to Pythagoras. Tubalcain thought out how to work in metals from the job of scrub-clearing; for when they burnt the scrub on the grazing-land, the veins of metal in the rocks melted and ran out. The metal cooled into sheets which, when picked up, preserved the shape of the place where they had lain.[1]

At this point, since we observe that it belongs to our human nature, eager as it is to investigate all things, to take pleasure in knowing the first causes of things and how the things we use came to be invented, we shall give Your Imperial Highness a brief account of the invention of various skills, so that your ears may not be subjected to idle tales, but may take an entirely legitimate delight in the truth of things.

[4]Methodius, then, treating of a certain son of Noah whom Moses did not mention, has this to say: In the hundredth year of the third chiliad[4] (that is, of the third millennium: the word 'chiliad' comes from the Greek χιλιάς, meaning 'a thousand'; and so the word *miles* (a soldier) from *millenarius* (a troop of a thousand) is the equivalent of χίλιος, for soldiers were originally called *milites* from the number *mille,* a thousand, as it says in the *Pandects,* 'De testamento militis', the first law, beginning 'Miles';[5] and they call the commander of a thousand men a χιλίαρχος.)[6] In this year, as I say, [7]a son was born to Noah in his likeness, and he called him Ionitus. Ionitus received the gift of wisdom from God, and invented astronomy. The giant Nimrod came to him and received instruction from him. Now Nimrod was the son of Cush, who was the son of Ham, son of Noah. He was the first to begin to be powerful on earth. He was a mighty hunter of men before the Lord,[8] that is, a destroyer and oppressor, driven by a lust for domination; and he made people worship fire.[7] And so with reference to the text where the Lord, speaking to Abraham, says: 'I am he who brought you out of Ur of the Chaldees',[9] one reads that [10]the Hebrews call fire *ur*. This is the origin of the story which tells how the Chaldaeans, who used to make their children pass through fire, took Abraham and Haran, who was the first-born son of Terah and the brother of Abraham and Nahor, and threw them into the fire because they refused to worship it. Haran died in it, but Abraham was rescued by divine aid.[10] Josephus,[11] however, says that Ur is the name of a city

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[10–10] Ebrei . . . diuino liberatus est] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 41 (*PL* cxcviii. 1091); Liebrecht, pp. 76–7.

[11] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 151; Gen. 11: 28.

Caldeorum, in qua Aram sepultus fuit, ubi et sepultura eius ostenditur.

[12]Seth filio Ade natus est filius qui dictus fuit Enos, quod sonat 'homo' uel 'uir', quasi fortis et rationalis, quia primus cepit inuocare nomen Domini. Forte inuenit uerba deprecatoria primus ad inuocandum Deum. Sed plerique Ebreorum arbitrantur quod ymagines ad honorem Dei excogitauerit et errauerit;[q] uel forte ad excitandam pigriciam memorie Dei efigiauerit Deum,[r] sicut hodie fit.[12] [13]Porro Iosefus,[14] loquens de[s] Abraham, sic ait: Primus presumpsit pronunciare Deum creatorem unum esse cunctorum, et opiniones quas ceteri de Deo habebant innouare et immutare preualuit. Hec autem coniciebat per terre passiones et maris et ea que contingunt circa solem et lunam, et ex omnibus que circa celum semper[t] eueniunt. De eodem meminit Berosus Caldeus,[15] dicens: Post diluuium decima generatione fuit apud Caldeos uir in celestibus rebus expertus.[13] Tradunt etiam quidam Abraham[u] instituisse in astrorum pericia Zoroastren, inuentorem magice artis.[16] [17]Qui Zoroastres alio nomine Cham filius Noe uocabatur, qui adhuc uiuens[v] in Bactria[w] regnabat, quem Ninus filius Beli, rex Assiriorum, uicit. Hic autem Zoroastres septem liberales artes in quatuordecim columpnis scripsit, septem eneis et septem latericiis, contra utrumque iudicium; Ninus uero libros eius combussit.[17]

[18]Ad hec Abraham, quia peritus erat in astris, instituit annum iubileum, hoc est quinquagesimum, remissiuum captiuorum, cum rediret a cede quatuor regum.[19] Diciturque[x] iubileus a *iobel*, quod est 'remissio' uel 'inicium'. Ob hoc autem institutus est[y] quinquagesimus ille, quia tunc erat Loth, ut dicunt, quinquaginta annorum, uel quia tunc erat quinquagesimus annus[z] ex quo Dominus locutus est Abrae

[q] errauerit *MSS;* errant *Comestor* [r] effigiauerit Deum *MSS;* effigiauit Dominum *Comestor* [s] de *supplied by author N* [t] super *XQ* [u] abrahaam *with* aam *supplied by author N* [v] uiuens *supplied by author N* [w] *sic XQ;* bractria *N* [x] -que *QI;* enim *X;* quod *N* [y] est *om. N* [z] annus *supplied by author*(?) *N*

[12–12] Seth . . . sicut hodie fit] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 29 (*PL* cxcviii. 1080); Gen. 4: 26.

[13–13] Porro . . . celestibus rebus expertus] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 44 (*PL* cxcviii. 1092).

[14] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 155–6.

[15] Cf. ibid. i. 158. Berosus, or Berossus (*c.*340–*c.*270 BC) was a priest of Bel, and author of the Greek *Babyloniaca*, a history of Babylon, lost in its original form. An abridgement, made in the first century BC by Alexander Polyhistor, is also lost, but excerpts from it have come down to us in the works of Josephus, Eusebius of Caesarea, Clement of Alexandria, and others. See Stanley M. Burstein, *The 'Babyloniaca' of Berossus*, Sources and Monographs, Sources from the Ancient Near East, i (5) (Malibu, 1978), 5–11; I. P. Cory, *Ancient Fragments* (London, 1876), pp. 43–50.

of the Chaldaeans, in which Haran is buried, and his tomb is still pointed out there.

[12]To Seth, son of Adam, was born a son who was called Enos, which means 'human being' or 'man', signifying his possession of strength and reason; for he was the first to start calling on the name of the Lord. Perhaps he was the first to invent words of intercession for calling on God. But the Hebrews mostly think that he devised images for worshipping God, and that he erred; or perhaps he made an image of God to arouse people from their sloth and make them remember God, as is done today.[12] [13]But then Josephus[14] says, speaking of Abraham: He first dared to proclaim God to be the sole Creator of all things, and he was able to renew and reform the opinions which other people held concerning God. This truth he inferred from the changing phenomena of land and sea, from the occurrences which affect the sun and moon, and from all the alterations which are constantly taking place in the heavenly sphere. Berosus the Chaldaean[15] also makes mention of Abraham, saying: In the tenth generation after the flood there was among the Chaldaeans a man versed in heavenly matters.[13] Some even say that Abraham trained Zoroaster, the inventor of the art of magic, in knowledge of the stars.[16] [17]This Zoroaster was Noah's son, Ham, called by another name; at this time he was still alive and was reigning in Bactria, but Ninus, son of Belus, king of Assyria, conquered him. This same Zoroaster wrote down the seven liberal arts on fourteen columns, seven of bronze and seven of brick, to safeguard them against both judgments; his books, however, were burnt by Ninus.[17]

[18]In addition Abraham used his knowledge of the stars to institute the year of jubilee on his return from the slaughter of the four kings.[19] The year of jubilee is the fiftieth year, when captives are released. The name jubilee comes from *jobel*, which means 'release' or 'beginning'. The reason why the fiftieth year was established as the jubilee-year is that Lot was then, so they say, fifty years old, or else that it was then the fiftieth year since the Lord spoke to

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[16] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 47 (*PL* cxcviii. 1095). On the Persian sage and prophet Zoroaster, see A. V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroaster: The Prophet of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1919).

[17–17] Qui . . . libros eius combussit] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 39 (*PL* cxcviii. 1090).

[18–18] Ad hec . . . imitari in terris (p. 112)] Cf. ibid. c. 47 (*PL* cxcviii. 1095). Every fiftieth year was observed by the Jews as a year of jubilee, when slaves were freed and possessions restored (Lev. 25: 8–17).

[19] Gen. 14; see also next paragraph.

in uia,[20] uel ex quo egressus erat de Charam;[21] uel quia, cum esset peritus astrorum,[a] nouerat quod intemperies que fiunt ex eleuatis[b] uel depressis planetis semper usque ad quinquaginta annos ad temperiem redeunt, et quod uidit fieri in astris, uoluit imitari in terris.[18]

[22]Decimarum prestacio cepit ab Abraham, qui cum rediret a cede quatuor regum, Codolaomor regis Elamitarum, Rafael regis Saunaar (hoc est Babilonis), regis quoque Ponti, et gentium, qui quinque reges Sodomorum expugnauerant eo quod solitum tributum negarent regi Elamitarum et Loth captiuum duxerant, occurrenti sibi regi Salem uel Solime, que nunc est Ierusalem, Melchisedech, et offerenti sibi[c] panem et uinum, hoc est secundum Iosefum[23] multam habundantiam rerum oportunarum, et super epulas benedicenti Deum qui Abrahe subdiderat inimicos (erat enim Melchisedec sacerdos[d] Dei altissimi),[24] tunc Abram[e] decimas dedit. Hunc sane Melchisedech tradunt Ebrei fuisse Sem filium Noe, et uixisse usque ad Ysaac, et omnes primogenitos[f] a Noe[g] usque ad Aaron sacerdotes fuisse, qui in conuiuiis et oblationibus populo benedicebant, et habebant primogenita.[22]

Exhinc, felix semper Auguste, doctrina tibi sumenda est de benedictione ante prandium danda a sacerdote, sicut ab ipso Domino nostro Iesu Christo et ad mensam benedictio et post mensam gratiarum accio cum ymno dicto facta commemoratur.[25] Nec erit tibi pretereundum quod quidam auiditate gule breuiter benedictionem in principio transcurrunt, et breuius gratiarum accionem ex saturati uentris pigrisia transigunt. Vnde quid nostris temporibus intra fines contigerit uestri imperii recensendum arbitratus sum. Cum enim, in monasterio sancti Rufi[26] apud Valentiam ciuitatem a sanctissimo papa Adriano[27] constructo, celerarius eiusdem loci, propter nimiam temporalium sollicitudinem ac instantiam, protraccioribus orationibus uacare non posset, post prandium gratias acturus psalmum 'Miserere mei, Deus'[28] in psalmum[h] 'Laudate

[a] astrorum *supplied by author*(?) *N* [b] eleuatis *I and Comestor;* elementis *NACXQ* [c] sibi *om.* *β* [d] sacerdos *supplied by author N* [e] Abraham *ACβ* [f] primos genitos *N* [g] et uixisse . . . Noe] *supplied by author N* [h] psalmum *supplied by author N*

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[20] Cf. Gen. 12: 7.

[21] Cf. Gen. 12: 4.

[22–22] Decimarum . . . et habebant primogenita] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 46 (*PL* cxcviii. 1094–5); Gen. 14: 1–20; Heb. 7: 1–2.

[23] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 181.

[24] Gen. 14: 18.

[25] Cf. Matt. 26: 26–7, 30; Mark 14: 22–3, 26; Luke 22: 14–20; 1 Cor. 11: 23–5.

[26] An Augustinian priory, transferred to Valence in 1158; see *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vii. 1198–1200.

Abraham on the way,[20] or since he had left Haran;[21] or another possible reason is that, with his knowledge of the stars, he knew that the disturbances which arise from the planets being raised higher or pulled lower revert to a balance every fifty years, and he wanted what he saw happening in the stars to be mirrored on earth.[18]

[22]The offering of tithes was begun by Abraham, when he came back from the slaughter of the four kings, Chedorlaomer king of Elam, Amraphel king of Shinar (that is, Babylon), and also the kings of Pontus and of the nations. They had attacked the five kings of the Sodomites for refusing to pay the accustomed tribute to the king of Elam, and they had taken Lot captive. Melchizedek king of Salem, or Solima, which is now Jerusalem, came to meet Abraham and offered him bread and wine, that is, according to Josephus,[23] a great abundance of provisions. While they were feasting he blessed God, who had subdued Abraham's enemies (for Melchizedek was the priest of the most high God):[24] then Abraham gave him tithes. This Melchizedek, according to Hebrew tradition, was in fact Shem, son of Noah, and he lived up until the time of Isaac. All the first-born sons from Noah down to Aaron were priests, who blessed the people at feasts and offerings, and received the first things of every kind.[22]

From this, ever happy Augustus, you can derive valuable instruction concerning the blessing to be given by a priest before a meal. This practice is endorsed by our Lord Jesus Christ himself, of whom it is recorded that he said a blessing before supper and gave thanks afterwards along with the singing of a hymn.[25] You must not overlook the fact that some people hurry quickly through the blessing at the beginning of a meal because of their impatience to start eating, and make even shorter work of the thanksgiving as a result of the sloth that sets in once they have a full belly. And so I have judged it worth recording what happened in our own times within the boundaries of your empire. In the monastery of Saint-Ruf,[26] constructed by His Holiness Pope Adrian[27] in the town of Valence, the cellarer there could not spare the time for prolonged prayers on account of his excessive preoccupation and busyness with the things of this world. Accordingly, when he was to give thanks after a meal, he would swap the psalm 'Miserere mei, Deus'[28] for 'Laudate Dominum, omnes

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[27] Pope Adrian IV (1154–9); Adrian 'constructed' Saint-Ruf, founded in 1039, only in the sense that he had been prior there until 1148/9 and as pope sanctioned its removal to Valence. See U. Vones-Liebenstein, *Saint-Ruf und Spanien*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1996), i. 233–52 and 473–84.

[28] Ps. 50 (51).

Dominum, omnes gentes'[29] commutabat, ut exactis breuiter uersiculis negociis domus expedicius uacaret. Hoc in usum ducto, peractis uite sue terminis, diem clausit extremum. Et cum aliquo die unus bone religionis confrater in ambitu solus hora solitaria deambularet, orationes iugiter in ore deportans, ex inconsiderato obuium sibi respicit celerarium pridem ante defunctum. Dato ergo uerbo benedictionis, unde ueniat, quo eat, quid agat inquiritur, et quid patiatur inter mortuos sollicicius inuestigatur. Ad hec celerarius se post multas
f. 13$^{\text{r}}$ hostis antiqui calumpnias spem salutis | adeptum proponit; uerum inter omnia et pre omnibus grauissime torqueri se asserit, eo quod seculum[i] Deo preponens[j] psalmum misericordie psalmo tam breiusculo postposuerit, cum maxime iustis misericordia Domini semper sit inquirenda, quibus de uenia magis agendum est quam de meritorum iustitia. Requirens frater si quod ei posset[k] dari per confratres remedium, audiuit illum, continuis confratrum uigiliis, elemosinis et orationibus, maximeque missarum sacrificiis posse post annum liberari. Tandem ex compacto inter se sibi pollicentur quod si liberatus ad annum non fuerit celerarius, iterum prefato fratri reuoluto anno apparebit quid circa statum eius adhuc ei sit necessarium expositurus. His itaque condictis disparuit, et confrater in capitulo fratrum rem exponens, orationum et missarum affluencia celerarii animam post annum liberatam ab omni penarum angustia exultantem iterato inuenit. Considerandum ergo nobis est quante sit districtionis iusticia calculusque iudicialis, quante miserationis dulcedo Domini miserantis, ut et[l] offensam Dei timeamus incidere, et de misericordia Dei doceamur[m] non desperare.[30]

De Melchisedech isto legimus quod [31]Iosefus[32] in fine libri sui sic ait: Potentissimus Cananeorum, qui lingua patria 'iustus rex' appellatus est, primus Deo sacrificium obtulit, et fanum edificauit, et urbem quam Ierosolimam dixit, cum ante Solima uocaretur,[31] et

[i] seculum *supplied by author N* [j] preponens *QI*; postponens *NACX* [k] possit *XI* [l] et *supplied by author(?) N; om. AC* [m] doceamur *supplied by author N*

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[29] Ps. 116 (117).

[30] For a similar story of a soul freed from purgatory by masses and prayers, see *Otia*, iii. 17; cf. also iii. 103, esp. pp. 766–7. On the belief in the efficacy of praying for the dead, see Le Goff, *Naissance*, pp. 393–4 and 472–4 (transl. Goldhammer, pp. 293–4 and 350–2) and M. McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, 1994).

[31–31] Iosefus . . . ante Solima uocaretur] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 46, Additio 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1095).

gentes',[29] so as to get through the verses quickly and be free all the sooner for the business of the house. This became a habit with him, until he came to the end of his life and died. Then one day, while one of his brothers, a faithful monk, was walking around the grounds on his own in an hour of solitude, his lips moving all the time in prayer, he suddenly saw before him the lately-departed cellarer. He spoke a word of blessing, and then asked him where he had come from, where he was going, and what he was doing, and questioned him anxiously as to what he was suffering among the dead. In reply the cellarer declared that although he had been subjected to many false charges by the Old Enemy, he had now won the hope of salvation; but he asserted that in all his sufferings the source of the most severe torment to him, beyond anything else, was the fact that, preferring the world to God, he had neglected the psalm of mercy in favour of such a very short psalm, even though the Lord's mercy is always to be sought, especially by the righteous, who should be more concerned with forgiveness than with receiving a just reward. The monk asked the cellarer if any help could be rendered him by his brothers; he received the reply that if the monks were to give themselves to constant watching, alms-giving, and prayer, and especially to the sacrifice of the mass, the cellarer could be set free after a year. In the end they came to an agreement with each other whereby they pledged that if the cellarer had not been set free in a year, he would appear again to the same brother at the year's end and explain what was still needful for him with regard to his condition. And so, when they had come to this arrangement, he disappeared. The brother gave an account of the matter in the monks' chapter, and a year later he encountered the cellarer's soul again, now rejoicing as a result of having been set free from every distressing torment by their copious prayers and masses. This should lead us to ponder how strict is justice and the reckoning of judgment, but also how compassionate is our gentle Lord in his mercy, so that on the one hand we should fear to incur God's displeasure, but on the other we should be taught not to despair of his mercy.[30]

To return to Melchizedek, we read that [31]at the end of his book Josephus[32] speaks of him as follows: The mightiest of the Canaanites, he was called 'the righteous king' in his native tongue. He was the first to offer sacrifice to God, and he built a temple, and the city which he called Jerusalem; it had previously been called Solima,[31] or

[32] Cf. Josephus, *Bell.* vi. 438; *Ant.* i. 180.

Salem, a filio Salem Arfaxat.[33] In ea, expulsis Cananeis, longe post primus Iudeorum Lesbius regnauit.[34]

[35]In diebus Saruch proaui Abrahe, Belus Nembrotides, rex Babilonis (quia fuit alter Belus, rex Grecie), intrauit Assiriam, sed parum obtinuit in ea;[35] a quo etiam dictam dicunt Babiloniam,[n] licet a Babel, turre Nembrot, alii Babiloniam uocatam scripserint, ut infra in mappa mundi, decisione secunda, duce Deo trademus.[36] [37]Mortuo Belo, Ninus filius eius totam obtinuit Assiriam,[o] et ciuitatem, in qua erat caput regni, ampliauit itinere trium dierum,[38] et a[p] suo nomine Niniuen dixit. Regnum ergo Assiriorum a Belo incepisse dicimus ratione inicii, a Nino[q] uero ratione ampliationis,[37] sicut alias fundatio patronum ecclesie constituit, alias locupletatio, ut in *Decreto*,[r] C. .xvi. q. ultima.[39]

[40]A Nino orta sunt ydola sic: mortuo enim Belo, Ninus in solatium doloris ymaginem patris sibi construcxit, cui tantam exibuit reuerentiam ut quibuslibet reis ad ipsam confugientibus parceret. Proinde subditi regno eius diuinos honores ymagini eius ceperunt impendere. Huius exemplo plurimi caris suis mortuis ymagines dedicauerunt, et sicut ab ydolo Beli ceteri[s] traxerunt occasionem, sic et ab eius nomine generale nomen.[40] [41]Assirii enim Belum dicunt, Babilonii Bel, Moabita Beel, Palestina Baal, alii Baalim[t] dixerunt. Immo et nomina specificauerunt, superaddentes ut Beelfegor, hoc est deus tentiginis, qui est Priapus, quem plurimi 'deum ortorum' nominant; quandoque Baalim, qui est deus Sydoniorum, et sonat 'uir meus', id est robur meum et caput. Quod autem Beelzebub dicitur nullius ydoli nomen erat, sed Iudei irrisorie uicinum sibi ydolum Acaronitarum sic uocabant, et sonat 'uir muscarum', ob sordes immolaticii sanguinis, quem secuntur

[n] Babilonem *XQ;* Babiloniam uel Babilonem *C* [o] Siriam *β* [p] a *om. N*
[q] a Nino] anno *N* [r] ut in Decreto *XQ;* ut Decreto *C;* ut etiam dicunt *NA;* aut etiam ediffìcatio *I* [s] cetera *Comestor* [t] balaim *N*

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[33] For Salah, see Gen. 10: 24. An alternative explanation derived the name Salem from Shem, son of Noah and father of Arphaxad (Gen. 10: 22), with whom Melchizedek was commonly identified (see above; cf. *Otia*, ii. 4, pp. 204–5; Isidore, *Etym.* xv. 1. 5).

[34] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 46, Additio 1. It was, of course, David who was the first Jewish king of Jerusalem (cf. Josephus, *Bell.* vi. 439–40), but the Migne text of the Comestor reads: 'Leobius, vel Theobitus'.

[35–35] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 39 (*PL* cxcviii. 1089).

[36] See *Otia*, ii. 4, pp. 196–7; cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xv. 1. 4.

[37–37] Mortuo . . . uero ratione ampliationis] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 39 (*PL* cxcviii. 1089); *Otia*, Preface, n. 8.

[38] Cf. Jonah 3: 3.

Salem, after Salah the son of Arphaxad.[33] Long afterwards, when the Canaanites had been driven out, Lesbius became the first Jewish king to rule in this city.[34]

[35]In the days of Serug, the great-grandfather of Abraham, Belus son of Nimrod, king of Babylon (to distinguish him from another Belus, king of Greece), marched into Assyria, but achieved little success there.[35] Babylon is said to have been named after him, though others have written that it took its name from Babel, Nimrod's tower, as we shall relate below, with God's guidance, in the *mappa mundi* in Book II.[36] [37]After Belus' death, his son Ninus secured the whole of Assyria. He built up the capital city of the kingdom to such a size that it took three days to cross it,[38] and he named it Nineveh after himself. Accordingly we say that the kingdom of Assyria began with Belus as regards its origin, but with Ninus as regards its expansion.[37] In the same way it is sometimes by founding a church, and sometimes by endowing it, that a person becomes its patron, as it says in the *Decretum*, C. 16, the last question.[39]

[40]Idol-worship originated with Ninus as follows: on the death of Belus, Ninus fashioned himself an image of his father to assuage his grief, and he accorded such great reverence to it that he spared any offenders who fled to it for refuge. Accordingly the subjects of his kingdom began to pay divine honours to his image. Following his example, many people set up images to their dead loved ones, and just as others adopted the idea from the idol of Belus, so too they adopted a common name from his name:[40] [41]for, the Assyrian name being Belus, the Babylonians said Bel, the Moabites Beel, the Palestinians Baal, and others Baalim. Some went further, particularizing their names with additions, as for example Belphegor, that is, the god of lust: this is Priapus, whom many call 'the god of gardens'; or Baalim, who is the god of the Sidonians, Baalim meaning 'my man', that is, my strength and my head. The word Beelzebub, however, was not the name of any idol; rather, the Jews used this word derisively of the idol belonging to their neighbours the Ekronites: it means 'the man of flies', and refers to the filth of their bloody sacrifices, which attracted flies. (The last letter of

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[39] Cf. *Decretum*, C. 16 q. 7 cc. 30–35.

[40–40] A Nino . . . nomine generale nomen] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, cc. 39–40 (*PL* cxcviii. 1090).

[41–41] Assirii . . . uel u, sed b) (p. 118)] Cf. Comestor *Gen.*, c. 40, and *Evan.*, c. 63 (*PL* cxcviii. 1090 and 1570); Isidore (*Etym.* viii. 11. 23–6).

musce. (Nec est finalis littera d uel l uel u, sed b.)[41] Sirofanes primus fuit ydolatra Egyptiorum.[42]

Non erit omittendum quod quidam dicunt [43]Salomonem primum inuenisse quod in anulis quidam includunt spiritum inmundum, per quem imperant[u] aliis demoniis. Sed et apud Iudeos erant exorciste, qui per exorcismos Salomonis demones eiciebant, maxime si radix cuiusdam herbe poneretur in naribus obsessi. Ait enim Iosefus se uidisse quemdam exorcistam captum et adductum ad Vespasianum, dum obsideret Ierusalem, qui anulum, sub cuius gemma radix erat, posuit in naribus cuiusdam obsessi et adiurauit demonem, et egressus est demon. Vt autem probaret eiectum demonem, posuit peluim aqua plenam in medio et adiurauit demonem ut subuerteret peluim, et subuertit eam.[43] [44]Sed et Ciprianus quidam, Cartaginensis magus, in pixide reclusos habebat demones, et quando uolebat, mitebat eos ad peragenda negocia sua. Quadam itaque die precepit eis ut adducerent ei sanctam Iustinam, uirginem quam[v] diligebat, et non potuerunt: signaculo enim crucis se munierat. Quo comperto, magus statim factus christianus, simul cum uirgine pro fide Christi martirium suscepit.[44] [45] [w]Magos quoque mortuos suscitasse legimus, quibusdam caracteribus[x] ligatis sub utraque asella, et loqui eos ac incedere faciunt, sed ut comedant nequaquam efficere possunt,[45] quod soli Deo conuenit.[w]

Assur filius Sem, filii Noe, primus inuenit purpuram et unguenta crinium et corporum.[46]

Erictonius filius Vulcani[y] primus inuenit currum, et Troilus primus quadrigam iunxit.[47]

[u] imperat *XQ* [v] alius *add. after* quam *β* [w–w] Magos . . . soli Deo conuenit] *supplied by author N* [x] cararteribus *N* [y] Vulcani *supplied by author N*

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[42] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 39, Additio 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1090).

[43–43] Salomonem . . . et subuertit eam] Cf. Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 63, and *III Reg.*, c. 7 (*PL* cxcviii. 1570 and 1352); Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 45–9. By the time of Josephus it was a generally accepted belief among the Jews that Solomon was a sorcerer; his magical powers form the subject of a vast Oriental mythology (see Thorndike, *History of Magic*, ii. 279–89; cf. *Otia*, iii. 28).

[44–44] Sed et . . . Christi martirium suscepit] Cf. Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 63 (*PL* cxcviii. 1570). 'The legend of St Cyprian . . . is a moral tale . . . composed in order to impress on the listener or reader the powerlessness of the Devil and his angels in the face of Christian chastity defending itself with the might of the Cross' (*Butler's Lives*, iii. 652). See Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, xii. 119–21; *Legenda aurea*, c. 142; *AASS*, September, vii. 195–262, esp. 222–46 where versions of this story are to be found.

Beelzebub is not d, l, or v, but b.)[41] Syrophanes was the first among the Egyptians to worship idols.[42]

We should not neglect to mention that some say that [43]Solomon first began the practice which obtains among certain people of confining an unclean spirit in a ring and using it to control other demons. There were exorcists among the Jews who could cast out demons by means of Solomon's adjurations, especially if the root of a particular herb were applied to the nostrils of the person possessed. In fact Josephus claims to have been a witness when a certain exorcist, who had been taken prisoner, was brought before Vespasian while he was besieging Jerusalem; the exorcist applied a ring with this root underneath its stone to the nostrils of someone who was possessed, adjured the demon, and the demon came out. Then, in order to prove that the demon had indeed been cast out, he placed a basin full of water in their midst and called on the demon to upset the basin, which it duly did.[43] [44]Further, a certain Cyprian, a Carthaginian magician, used to keep demons shut up in a box; he would send them, at his whim, to run his errands. One day he ordered them to bring him the holy virgin Justina, with whom he had fallen in love; but they could not, because she had protected herself with the sign of the cross. On learning this the magician immediately became a Christian, and together with the virgin underwent martyrdom for his faith in Christ.[44] We also read that [45]magicians have resuscitated the dead by tying certain magical devices under each arm-pit; they make them talk and walk, but they can in no wise make them eat,[45] because that belongs to God alone.

Asshur, son of Shem, son of Noah, first invented purple dye and ointments for the hair and body.[46]

Erichthonius, son of Vulcan, first invented the chariot, and Trochilus first hitched a four-horse team.[47]

[45–45] Cf. Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 61 (*PL* cxcviii. 1569). The Comestor appends this remark to his account of Jesus' raising of Jairus' daughter, which ends with the instruction that the girl be given something to eat. We have been unable to find a medieval authority for the use of amulets to resuscitate the dead. However, this is mentioned in a Latin treatise of *c.*1593 by Randall Hutchins, who was no doubt drawing on earlier tradition: see V. B. Heltzel and C. Murray, 'Randall Hutchins' *Of Specters* (*ca.* 1593)', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, xi (1948), 407–29, at p. 428; see further *MI* D1070.

[46] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 38 (*PL* cxcviii. 1089); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 10.

[47] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 24 (*PL* cxcviii. 1153); Isidore, *Etym.* iii. 71. 34, v. 39. 10, xviii. 34; Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 196–8 and 166.

[48]In diebus Assueri, qui et Artaxerses,[49] Atenienses uiginti quatuor litteris uti ceperunt, cum ante tantum quindecim usi fuissent.[48] Illo tempore Aristotiles agens octauum decimum annum audiuit Platonem,[50] et Diogenes[z] et Ysocrates claruerunt.[51] Tunc ueneno interierunt Anaxagoras fisicus et Eraclius[a] tenebrosus et Democritus et Socrates philosophi.[52]

[53]Tempore Filadelfi[54] regis Egipti, argenteus nummus primus in Vrbe[b] figuratur.[53]

[55]Temporibus Gedeonis, de quo legitur in libro Iudicum, Mercurius inuenit syringas, trahens nomen a Siringa, uxore Cadmi[c] armonica,[d] que propter zelum armonie | f. 13v a uiro suo recesserat. Inuenit quoque idem liram hoc modo: repperit concam testudinis mortue ac putrefacte, cuius neruuli, arentes et extensi in ore conce, ad auram tenuem sibilum reddebant. Quis autem fuerit iste Mercurius dubitare licet. Fuerunt enim tres, secundum Iosefum, Mercurii: Mercurius Hermes, Mercurius Trimegestus philosophus,[e] et Mercurius minor.[56] Dedalus ea tempestate fecit aues metallinas quas uolare fecit artificiose, spiritu incluso; dicitur etiam fecisse simulacra se mouentia. Ipse primus omnium pedes statuarum a se diuisit, quia ante[f] coniuncti fiebant. Tunc Orpheus clarus fuit, et Minos Cretensibus primus legem dedit, quod Plato[57] negat. Tunc Ydra multorum capitum claruit, quam callidissimam sophistam Plato[58] asserit.[g] [55]

Tempore Abimelec, corus inuentus est in Grecia, quod instrumentum dicit Strabus pellem esse cum duabus cicutis, et per alteram inspiratur, per alteram reddit sonum.[59]

[z] tiogenes *N* [a] Eraclius *MSS;* Heraclitus *Comestor* [b] Urbe *Comestor;* orbe *MSS* [c] Cadmi *C and Comestor;* Cadini *NAβ* [d] armonica *om. Comestor* [e] philosophus *supplied by author N* [f] antea *CQI* [g] Hercules pugilatum inuenit, unde legitur in gestis Alexandri: Alexander per preconem iubet reedifficari Thebas esse permissum in honorem trium deorum: Herculis qui pugillatum inuenit, et Mercurii qui repertor luctandi fuit, et Pollucis qui testibus fuit magister *add. after* asserit *I*

[48–48] Cf. Comestor, *Esther*, c. 1, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1494–5); Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 462. According to both the Comestor and Jerome, the Greek alphabet originally contained sixteen letters; the figure is variously given as fifteen (e.g. Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 277), sixteen (e.g. Pliny, *Hist. nat.* vii. 56. 192), or seventeen (e.g. Isidore, *Etym.* i. 3. 6).

[49] Artaxerxes II, 405–362 BC.

[50] Cf. Comestor, loc. cit.; Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 468.

[51] Cf. Comestor, loc. cit.; Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 462.

[52] Cf. Comestor, loc. cit.; Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 452 and 462. Of these four, only Socrates died from poison; Gervase has mistakenly applied the Comestor's phrase 'venenum bibit' to all four.

[53–53] Cf. Comestor, *Esther*, c. 7, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1501); Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 488.

[48]In the days of Ahasuerus, who was also known as Artaxerxes,[49] the Athenians began to use twenty-four letters, while previously they had only used fifteen.[48] At that time Aristotle, then in his eighteenth year, became Plato's pupil,[50] and Diogenes and Isocrates were famous.[51] It was then that the physicist Anaxagoras, the obscure Heraclitus, and the philosophers Democritus and Socrates met their deaths by poison.[52]

[53]At the time of Philadelphus,[54] king of Egypt, the silver coin was first stamped with a portrait in Rome.[53]

[55]In the times of Gideon, whose story is told in the book of Judges, Mercury invented pipes, calling them *syringes* after Syringa, Cadmus' musical wife, who had left her husband because of her passion for music. Mercury also invented the lyre as follows: he found a tortoise's shell, the tortoise having died and rotted away, leaving its dry sinews stretched over the mouth of the shell; these sinews were producing a murmuring sound in the gentle breeze. Now which Mercury this was is open to question. For there were, according to Josephus, three Mercuries: Mercury Hermes, Mercury Trismegistus the philosopher, and the lesser Mercury.[56] In that age Daedalus produced birds made of metal, and ingeniously got them to fly by confining a spirit inside them; he is also said to have produced statues which moved. He was the very first to divide the feet of statues from each other: up to then they were left joined together. Orpheus was famous then, and Minos first gave laws to the Cretans, though Plato[57] denies this. That was the time when the many-headed Hydra was renowned; Plato[58] expresses the opinion that this Hydra was a very clever sophist.[55]

In the time of Abimelech, the bagpipe was invented in Greece. Strabo says that this instrument consists of a leather bag with two pipes; the player blows into one of the pipes, and sound comes out through the other.[59]

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[54] Ptolemy II, surnamed Philadelphus, king of Egypt 285–47 BC.

[55–55] Temporibus . . . sophistam Plato asserit] Cf. Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 8, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1280–81); Isidore, *Etym.* v. 39. 11; Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 236–8, 242, and 248; Judg. 6–8.

[56] A search of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* database has not traced any such statement by Josephus. Hermes Trismegistus was a legendary figure, to whom various religio-philosophical works were attributed; see e.g. Augustine, *Civ.* viii. 23–6 (*CSEL*, xl (1). 392–405 = *PL* xli. 247–55).

[57] Cf. Plato, *Minos*, 318D.

[58] Cf. Plato, *Euthydemus*, 297C.

[59] Cf. Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 9, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1282); Isidore, *Etym.* v. 39. 11; *Glossa ordinaria*, Exod. 15: 20, *PL* cxiii. 232; on Strabo, see *Otia*, i. 21, n. 2.

Iair Galadites de tribu Manasse[h] iudicauit populum Israel uiginti duobus annis; hic habuit triginta filios, quos fecit principes triginta ciuitatum, quas[i] uocauit nomine suo *Aiot Iair*, id est opida Iair.[60] Eo tempore Carmentis nimfa litteras latinas inuenit.[61]

Solomon primus [62]disputauit de natura arborum et erbarum, a cedro usque ad ysopum. De natura quoque omnium animantium filosofatus est, per unumquodque genus parabolas[j] dicens. Excogitauit etiam coniurationes quibus solent egritudines mittigari, alias quoque quibus demones eicerentur, et alias quibus obstricti non redirent.[62]

[63]Anno post euersionem Troie quadringentesimo quartodecimo, olimpiade autem sexta (que quinto demum anno quatuor in medio expletis apud Elidem, Grecie ciuitatem, agone et ludis exerceri solet), urbs Roma in Italia a Romulo et Remo geminis auctoribus condita est. Cuius regnum continuo Romulus paricidio imbuit, parique successu crudelitatis sine mora raptas Sabinas, improbis nupciis confederatas, maritorum et parentum cruore dotauit.[63] [64]Ex quibus, e Consularibus[k] ludis[65] atrociter raptis, pulcherrima uirginum Talamoni duci[l] Romuli sorte data est; unde quia bene sibi cesserat, locus nuptiarum dictus est thalamus.[64] [66]Romulus primus milites instituit; qui[m] sub Stacio,[n] rege Sabinorum, Romulo fauebant, Quirites appellauit. Centum senes elegit, quos Patres appellauit.[66]

[67]Secundus a Romulo rex Numa Ponpilius hos senes senatores nominauit. Hic primus imperialem largitionem militibus dedit. Ianuarium et Februarium anno addidit.[67]

Noe primus uineam plantauit, id est lambruscas siluestres ad culturam duxit.[68] [69]Cum uero longe post percuteretur Egiptus

[h] Manasses *Aβ* [i] quas *Comestor;* quos *MSS* [j] parabolam *Comestor*
[k] consularibus (consol- *A*) *MSS and Comestor for* Consualibus [l] ducis *NA*
[m] qui *MSS;* Cures, qui *Comestor* [n] Tatio *I* (*presumably a scribal correction*); Statio *Comestor*

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[60] Cf. Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 11 (*PL* cxcviii. 1283); Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 253; Isidore, *Etym.* v. 39. 11; Judg. 10: 3–5.

[61] Cf. Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 11, Incidentia (*Pl* cxcviii. 1283). Carmentis was the mother of Evander; she had a temple at the foot of the Capitoline Hill. See e.g. Virgil, *Aeneid*, viii. 335–41.

[62–62] disputauit . . . obstricti non redirent] Cf. Comestor, *III Reg.*, c. 7 (*PL* cxcviii. 1352); 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 4: 32–3.

[63–63] Anno . . . parentum cruore dotauit] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, ii. 4. 1–2. On the olympiad, see *Otia*, ii. 15, n. 24.

[64–64] Cf. Comestor, *IV Reg.*, c. 25, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1406–7); Isidore, *Etym.* xv. 3. 6; Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 364–6.

Jair the Gileadite, of the tribe of Manasseh, judged the people of Israel for twenty-two years; he had thirty sons, whom he made rulers of thirty cities, which he called after himself *Havoth-jair*, that is, the towns of Jair.[60] In those days the nymph Carmentis invented the Latin alphabet.[61]

Solomon was the first [62]to treat of the nature of trees and plants, from the cedar to hyssop. He also speculated on the nature of all living things, composing proverbs on each genus. And he devised incantations which are often used for the alleviation of sickness, and others for casting out demons, and still others to prevent the demons once bound from coming back.[62]

[63]In the four hundred and fourteenth year after the sack of Troy, and the sixth olympiad (so-called from the custom of celebrating the Olympic Games with competitive sports at the Greek town of Elis every fifth year, leaving four years in between), the city of Rome was founded in Italy by its twin founders, Romulus and Remus. Romulus immediately stained the kingdom of Rome with fratricide, and soon afterwards with equally successful cruelty he instigated the rape of the Sabine women, joining them in impious marriage alliances, and giving them the blood of their husbands and fathers as their dowry.[63] [64]Of these women, seized by force from the Consualia,[65] the most beautiful girl was awarded by lot to Romulus' general, Thalamo; and so, because it had turned out well for him, the marriage-chamber came to be called the *thalamus*.[64] [66]Romulus first established knights; those who supported him during the rule of the Sabine king, Tatius, he called *Quirites*. He chose a hundred elders, whom he called Fathers.[66]

[67]The next king after Romulus was Numa Pompilius. He called these elders senators; he was the first commander to give largesse to his soldiers; and he added January and February to the year.[67]

Noah first planted a vineyard, that is, he brought wild vines under cultivation.[68] [69]Long afterwards, when Egypt was stricken with the decem plagis, quidam Egiptiorum, timentes Egiptum perituram, egressi sunt, ut Cicrops, qui ingressus Greciam condidit Atten, que nunc Athene. Ea tempestate egressus est Dionisius Bachus, qui et Argos condidit,[o] et usum uinee Grecis dedit.[69]

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[65] i.e. games in honour of the god Consus, instituted by Romulus with the purpose of attracting the Sabine women, and thereafter celebrated annually on 21 August.

[66–66] Cf. Comestor, *IV Reg.*, c. 31, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1413); Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 366 and 376. Jerome explains the name *Quirites* (applied to the Roman people in their civil capacity) as deriving from the Sabine town of Cures.

[67–67] Cf. Comestor, *IV Reg.*, c. 31, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1414); Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 380; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, ii. 36 (ed. Flint p. 101 = *PL* clxxii. 152).

[68] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 36 (*PL* cxcviii. 1087); Gen. 9: 20.

[69–69] Cum . . . uinee Grecis dedit (p. 124)] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 24 (*PL* cxcviii. 1153).

[70]Sed et a Noe asserunt primum altare erectum et esum carnium cepisse, cum post sacrificium Noe egressi ab archa odoratus[p] est Dominus odorem suauitatis, et benedixit eis Dominus, dicens: 'Crescite et multiplicamini, et sit tremor uester super cuncta[q] animantia terre. Quasi olera uirentia prius dederam in cibum, nunc trado uobis animantia, excepto quod carnem cum sanguine non comedetis', hoc est animal suffocatum.[70]

Tempore Manasse, Glauchus de Chio primus ferri glutinum intra se excogitauit.[71]

Tullius[r] Ostilius primus in regno Romanorum purpura et fascibus usus est.[72]

Seruius, nobilis captiue filius, primus Romanorum ciuium census instituit.[73]

Primus Ioseph in Egipto instituit parciarios colonos. [74]Cum enim inualuit[75] fames in Egipto et precium defecisset emptoribus, sustentauit eos Ioseph anno illo pro commutatione pecorum. Sequente anno, cum fames inualesceret, emit omnem terram Egipti pro alimentis et subiecit eam seruituti Pharaonis, preter terram sacerdotum, quam dederant eis reges, quibus cibaria instituta debebantur ex orreis principis.[s] Circa uero finem sterilitatis ait Ioseph ad populos: 'En uos et pecora uestra et terra in manu Pharaonis sunt. Ecce uobis reddo terram uestram[t] et pecora, et dabo semina, et coletis terram regi. Quintam partem dabitis regi, quatuor partes permitto uobis in sementem et in cibos.' Qui dixerunt: 'Salus nostra in manu tua est.'[74]

Hic tibi duo, princeps sacratissime, notanda sunt: quod boni regis est populum seruare non dissipare, saluare non perdere, parcere non

[o] Argos (agros *A*) condidit *MSS;* agros coluit *Comestor* (*Migne's text*)
[p] adoratus *N* [q] cucta *N* [r] *sic MSS and Comestor for* Tullus
[s] principis *MSS;* publicis *Comestor* [t] uestram *om. ACβ and Comestor*

[70–70] Sed et . . . est animal suffocatum] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 35 (*PL* cxcviii. 1086); Gen. 8: 20–9: 4.

[71] Cf. Comestor, *IV Reg.*, c. 33, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1415); Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 384.

[72] Cf. Comestor, loc. cit.; Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 390.

[73] Cf. Comestor, *IV Reg.*, c. 46, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1427); Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 422.

[74–74] Cum . . . in manu tua est] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 99 (*PL* cxcviii. 1134–5); Gen. 47: 15–25.

ten plagues, some of the Egyptians left the country, fearing that it was going to be destroyed. One of them was Cecrops, who came to Greece and founded Acte, which is now called Athens. It was at that time that Dionysus Bacchus came forth; he founded Argos, and also taught the Greeks the cultivation of the vine.[69]

[70]They say that the first altar was built by Noah, and that the eating of meat began then, when Noah offered a sacrifice on coming out of the ark. The Lord smelt a sweet savour and blessed them, saying: 'Be fruitful and multiply, and let the dread of you be upon all the beasts of the earth. Even as in the past I gave you green herbs for food, I now deliver up living things to you, except that you shall not eat flesh with the blood in it,' that is, the strangled animal.[70]

In the time of Manasseh, Glaucus of Chios first devised a method of welding iron.[71]

Tullus Hostilius was the first of the Roman kings to adopt the purple and the fasces.[72]

Servius, the son of a noble slave-woman, first instituted the census of Roman citizens.[73]

When Joseph was in Egypt he first established crop-sharing for farmers. [74]For when famine prevailed[75] in Egypt and the buyers could not meet the price of corn, Joseph maintained them that year in exchange for their cattle. The following year, when the famine still prevailed, he bought all the land of Egypt in exchange for food and subjected it in slavery to Pharaoh, apart from the land of the priests, which the kings had given to them; for a portion of food was pledged to the priests from the ruler's own storehouses. Towards the end of the famine Joseph said to the people: 'Look, you, your cattle, and your land are in Pharaoh's hand. Now I am restoring your land and cattle to you, and I will give you seed, and you shall cultivate the land for the king. You shall give the fifth part to the king, but I am allowing you four parts for seed and for your food.' And the people said: 'Our lives are in your hand.'[74]

In this there are two points, most worshipful Prince, worthy of your notice. The first is that it belongs to a good king to preserve, not to destroy, his people, to bring them to salvation, not perdition, to

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[75] The Comestor's text at this point reads: 'Inclinavit fames in Aegypto. Cumque defecisset pretium emptoribus . . . ' ('Famine lay heavily on Egypt. And when the buyers could not meet the price of corn . . . '). Gervase has substituted *inualuit* for *inclinavit*, and has brought the phrase into the *cum*-clause, but without changing the verb into the subjunctive.

seruituti iugoque immisericordi[u] subiugare. Amandus enim est rex propter misericordiam, timendus propter iustitiam, horrendus propter attrocitatem et impietatem. Hinc est illud Tiberii [v]Cesaris laudabile memorandumque responsum, cum quibusdam presidibus augenda prouinciis tributa suadentibus scripsit:[v] 'Boni pastoris est pecus tondere, non deglebare.'[w][76] Secundo tibi considerandum est, f. 14^{r} felix Auguste, quod gentiles et immundi | suis sacerdotibus, quin immo deorum nefandorum execrabilibus ministris, tempore famis ex horreis publicis stipendia dabant, cum tempore nostro principes et milites uestri uenerabilibus corporis Christi consecratoribus id solum dimittant quod rapere nequeunt. Sola uita sine libertate relicta, altaribus corrosis, unicum paupertatis habent solacium oblationes pauperum deuorare. Quia sine defensore facile rapiuntur, patronos se nominant ecclesiarum qui predones sunt et auctores nequisiarum, et in caput Romani totum hoc redundat imperii, cui committitur custodia altarium; ideoque quicquid[x] a sibi[y] subiectis inultum[z] delinquitur, ad penam perpetuam principis reseruatur. Profecto multo consulcius Romana res publica defensabatur quando electione, non successione, obtinebatur imperium, et quarumlibet[a] prouinciarum rectores temporali regnantes[b] officio castigatius agebant, quia commissam potestatem de facili occasione amittere formidabant. Nunc autem immaturos[c] infantulos, inconstantes, truces, impios, et omnis leuitatis auctores, paterna uocat ad dominationem successio, nec ex Dei munere regnare se credunt sed ex nature debito. Sacius igitur erat maturum[d] et approbatum erigere,[e] quam sub puerilibus actibus senes et inueteratos contemptibiliter tabescere.[77]

Tarquinius Superbus genera tormentorum excogitauit: uincula, taureos[f] fustes (id est flagella de corrigiis), laminas,[g] carceres, compedes, cathenas, ac metalla.[78]

Rome post exactos reges, sub Bruto primo consule, miliaria

[u] misericordi *NX* [v–v] Cesaris . . . tributa suadentibus scripsit] *supplied by author N* [w] deglebare *NAXQ;* deglutire *CI;* deglubere *Orosius* [x] quiquid *N* [y] sibi *supplied by author N* [z] inultum *supplied by author N* [a] quorumlibet *β* [b] resgnantes *N* [c] iminaturos *N* [d] naturum *N* [e] erigere (*correcting* exigere) *N, A;* exigere *CXQ;* elygere *I* [f] taureos *Comestor;* tauros *MSS* [g] latumias *Comestor*

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[76] Cf. Suetonius, *Tib.*, c. 32; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 4. 4.

[77] Gervase is here echoing Innocent III's dismissal of hereditary claims to rulership, specifically imperial rulership: *RNI*, no. 29, p. 83, and on the claims of unsuitable rulers more generally, ibid., no. 62, p. 169.

spare them, not to subjugate them to the merciless yoke of slavery. For a king makes himself loved by showing mercy, feared by showing justice, and abhorred by showing cruelty and impiety. Hence we have that laudable and memorable answer of Tiberius Caesar, when he wrote to certain governors who were urging him to increase the tribute for their provinces: 'It belongs to a good shepherd to shear his sheep, not to flay them.'[76] The second point for your consideration, happy Augustus, is that in a time of famine the godless gentiles gave their priests, yes, even the execrable ministers of heinous gods, provisions from the public storehouses, while in our time your princes and knights leave to the venerable consecrators of the body of Christ only what they are unable to lay their hands on. Left with only their life, not their liberty, with their altars broken down, the one solace they have in their poverty is to consume the offerings of the poor. Because churches without a defender are easy to plunder, men who are robbers and authors of iniquity nominate themselves as their patrons. All this redounds upon the head of the Roman empire, to whom the protection of the altars is entrusted; and so any wrongdoing on the part of his subjects which is left unpunished is reserved for the emperor's punishment in eternity. The Roman state was in fact much more wisely protected when power was won by election and not by succession, and the governors of all the provinces were more restrained in their conduct when they held office by a temporary appointment, because they were afraid that for the slightest cause they might lose the power entrusted to them. Now, however, the succession from father to son calls to power immature infants, or men who are fickle, cruel, or impious, or the perpetrators of every kind of folly; and they believe that they reign not by God's gift, but by natural right. It would therefore be better to raise someone mature and well-tried to office, than for those with the benefit of age and experience to dwindle away in obscurity under the government of a mere boy.[77]

Tarquinius Superbus devised various instruments of torture: chains, bull-scourges (that is, whips made from leather straps), metal plates, prisons, shackles, manacles, and labour in the mines.[78]

In Rome, after the expulsion of the kings, in the time of Brutus the terminis lapidum distinguntur, et tunc protendebatur imperium tamtum ad quindecim miliaria.[79]

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[78] Cf. Comestor, *Dan.*, c. 19, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1274); Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 432; Isidore, *Etym.* v. 27. 23.

[80]Ante annos urbis condite .ccc.,[h] Ninus, rex Assiriorum, solus bellator cruentam uitam quinquaginta annis per totam Asiam bellis egit. Huic mortuo Semiramis[i] uxor successit,[j] uirum animo, feminam[k] [81] habitu gerens. Hec, libidine ardens, sanguinem siciens, inter incessabilia stupra et omicidia, cum omnes quos,[l] regie accersitos, meretricie[m] habitos[n] concubitu oblectasset[o] occideret, tandem filio flagiciose concepto, impie exposito, inceste cognito, priuatam ignominiam puplico scelere obtexit. Precepit enim ut inter parentes et filios nulla nature delata reuerentia de coniugiis expetendis, ut cuique libitum esset, liberum fieret.[80] Hec prima omnium braccas ad contegendam uerendorum[p] uerecundiam inuenit.[82]

[83]Anno ante urbem conditam .lxiiii. nouissimus apud Assirios regnauit Sardanapallus, uir muliere corruptior, qui inter scortorum greges, femineo habitu, purpuram colo tractans, a prefecto suo Arbato, qui tunc Medis preerat, uisus atque execrationi habitus, mox etiam excitis Medorum[q] populis ad bellum prouocatus et uictus, ardenti pire se iniecit.[83] Hic primus puluinaria inuenit.[84]

[85]Prometheus, frater Atlantis, inuenit primus anulum ferreum, et inclusit in eo gemmam, ungulum eum nominans, quia sicut umguis carni, sic gemma metallo circumdatur. Tradidit[r] etiam in quarto digito ponendum propter uenam cordis, que digitum illum premit,[85] ad rememorandam cuiusuis ex contactu amiciciam.

[86]Tempore Ciri regis Persarum, Falaris Siculus Agrigentinos,[s] arrepta tirannide, populabatur; qui crudelis mente, commentis

[h] MCCC *Orosius* [i] semiranus *N* [j] succedit *N* [k] feminam *MSS*; filium *Orosius* [l] quo *N* [m] meretricii *XQ*; meretricis *I* [n] habitos (*correcting* habitis) *C*, *Orosius*; habitis *N*; habitus *AXQ*; habitu *I* [o] oblactasset *N* [p] uerecundorum *NA* [q] medolum *N* [r] tradit *NXQ* [s] agricentinos *N*

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[79] Cf. Comestor, *Iudith*, c. 3, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1483); Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 442.

[80–80] Ante . . . esset, liberum fieret] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 4. 1–8. On Ninus, see *Otia*, Preface, n. 8.

[81] The text of Orosius reads: 'habitu filium gerens' ('wearing the clothes of her son'). Semiramis concealed the fact that she was a woman and pretended to be her son, since his features and voice resembled hers.

[82] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 36, Additio 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1087).

[83–83] Anno . . . pire se iniecit] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 19. 1. Sardanapalus (Assur-bani-pal), the last Assyrian king (668–626 BC), was unfairly caricatured by classical historians, and became a byword for luxury and degeneracy.

[84] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 64 (*PL* cxcviii. 1109).

first consul, the miles were marked off by boundary stones. At that time the empire only extended fifteen miles.[79]

[80]Three hundred years before the founding of Rome, Ninus, king of Assyria, led a life of bloody warfare throughout all of Asia for fifty years, being then the only warrior. On his death his wife Semiramis succeeded him. Though she wore a woman's clothes,[81] she was a man in spirit. Burning with lust and thirsting for blood, she gave herself up to incessant debauchery and murder. She would summon men like a queen, and then use them like a harlot; after entertaining them in her bed, she would kill them all. In the end, having shamefully conceived, impiously exposed, and incestuously known her son, she covered up her private disgrace with public wickedness. For she decreed that between parents and children no respect was to be paid to nature in regard to sexual desire, but that everyone should be free to act as they pleased.[80] She was the first person in the world to invent breeches to cover the shame of the private parts.[82]

[83]In the sixty-fourth year before the founding of Rome, Sardanapalus, a man more corrupt than any woman, reigned as the last king of the Assyrians. He was seen by his prefect Arbatus, who held authority over the Medes at that time, dressed as a woman among a crowd of prostitutes, spinning purple thread. Arbatus cursed him, and when soon afterwards the peoples of Media rose in revolt, Sardanapalus was provoked into a war in which he was conquered, whereupon he threw himself on a burning pyre.[83] He first invented cushioned seats.[84]

[85]Prometheus, the brother of Atlas, was the first to make an iron ring; he set a gem in it, and called it an *ungulus* (finger-ring), because the gem is set in the metal just as the *unguis* (finger-nail) is set in the flesh. He also initiated the tradition that it should be worn on the fourth finger, on account of the vein of the heart which touches that finger,[85] so as to remind the wearer of their friendship with someone by its contact.

[86]In the time of Cyrus, king of Persia, the Sicilian Phalaris seized power and brought ruin on the people of Agrigentum. Cruel in mind,

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[85–85] Prometheus . . . digitum illum premit] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 86 (*PL* cxcviii. 1124); Isidore, *Etym.* xix. 32. 5. Gervase has altered the Comestor's text in the last sentence, where it reads: 'Tradidit etiam ut in digito, quem medium vocant, poneretur ad ornatum, digniorem hunc reliquis dicens, quia ab eo usque ad cor, quaedam uena pertingat' ('He also initiated the tradition that it should be worn on the finger which they call the middle finger, for its adornment, saying that this finger was worthier than the others, because a certain vein linked it with the heart').

[86–86] Tempore . . . sua inuentione puniuit (p. 130)] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 20. 1–4. The notorious Phalaris was tyrant at Agrigentum *c.*570–554 BC.

crudelior, omnia nefarie in innocentes agens, inuenit aliquando[t] quem iuste puniret iniustus. Nam puer illius[u] [87] quidam, eris opifex, affectans tiranni amiciciam, aptum munus crudelitati ipsius ratus taurum eneum fecit, cui faber[v] e latere ianuam composuit, que ad contrudendos dampnatos receptui foret: ut cum inclusus ibidem subiectis ignibus[w] torreretur, sonum uocis extorte capacitas eris concaui augeret pulsuque ferali competens ymagini murmur emitteret, nefarioque spectaculo mugitus pecudis non hominis gemitus uideretur. Sed Falaris, factum amplexus, factorem exsecratus, et ulcioni materiam prebuit et crudelitati: nam ipsum opificem sua inuentione puniuit.[86]

[88]Abimelech rex Gerare (que est post conuallem Mambre ad terram australem, inter Cades, unde fluxerunt aque contradictionis, et Sur), cum rapuisset Sarram, correptus a Domino, dixit Sare: 'Ecce dedi fratri tuo pro te mille argenteos. Hoc erit tibi in uelamen oculorum coram[x] hominibus qui tecum sunt', id est ad pepla emenda, ne ameris.[88] Et hinc pepla[y] dicunt originem habuisse, quasi ad uelanda capita et facies operiendas.

Mensas ad usum prandencium primus Dedalus instituit.[89]

Memfin ciuitatem Egipti Epofos, Iouis filius, edificauit, ubi cartarum usus inuentus est primus, ubi et mathematici optimi extiterunt.[90]

Q litteram Latini primi inuenerunt, Grecis loco Q C scribentibus.[91] Y litteram Pitagoras inuenit, ad exemplum humane uite; cuius prior
f. 14v uirgula primam | significat etatem incertam; biuium quod superest ab adolescensia incipit, cuius dextera pars ardua sed ad beatam uitam tendit, sinistra facilior a luce ad interitum[z] ducens.[92]

Insula Samo, in Egeo mari sita, fictilia uasa reperta fuerunt; de qua fuerunt[a] Sibilla et Pictagoras.[93]

[t] aliquem *CI* [u] puer illius *MSS;* Perillus *Orosius* [v] fabre *Orosius* [w] ignibus *supplied by author N* [x] coram *supplied by author N* [y] pleba *N* [z] a luce ad interitum *MSS;* ad labem interitumque *Isidore* [a] fuerant *N*

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[87] The words 'puer illius' are a corruption of the proper name 'Perillus'.

[88–88] Abimelech . . . emenda, ne ameris] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 55 (*PL* cxcviii. 1102–3); Gen. 20.

[89] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xx. 1. 1.

[90] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* vi. 10. 1; xv. 1. 31; Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 190; Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 24 (*PL* cxcviii. 1153).

[91] This is an over-compressed version of Isidore, *Etym.* i. 4. 12–13.

[92] Cf. ibid. i. 3. 7; Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 13 (*PL* cxcviii. 1068).

crueller still in his contrivances, he committed all kinds of outrage against innocent people. At last, he discovered someone whom, unjust as he was, he could punish justly. For a certain servant of his,[87] a worker in bronze, hoping to win the tyrant's friendship, made him a gift which he thought well-suited to the latter's cruelty. It was a bronze bull, in whose side the craftsman placed a door to allow condemned men to be pushed inside. Then when someone was shut in there, he could be roasted by a fire set underneath, and the space inside the hollow bronze would amplify the sound of the cry wrung out of him and produce a noise matching the image in its beastly timbre; so, for an abominable wonder, it would seem to be not the groaning of a man but the bellowing of a bull. But Phalaris, while welcoming the invention, loathed the inventor, and used it as a means both for taking revenge and for exercising cruelty: for he punished the maker himself with his own invention.[86]

[88]When Abimelech, king of Gerar (which is behind the valley of Mamre towards the south country, between Kadesh, where the waters of contradiction flowed forth, and Shur), had taken Sarah, he was reproved by the Lord, and said to Sarah: 'Look, I have given your brother a thousand pieces of silver for your sake. This will serve you for a covering of your eyes in the presence of any men who are with you', that is, for buying veils, lest you should be loved.[88] And this, they say, was the original purpose of veils, that is, for covering the head and hiding the face.

Daedalus first introduced tables for the convenience of diners.[89]

Epaphus, son of Jupiter, built Memphis, the city in Egypt where the use of maps was first invented, and where also the best mathematicians were found.[90]

The Latins first invented the letter Q; the Greeks wrote C in place of Q.[91] Pythagoras invented the letter Y on the model of human life: the stem with which it starts signifies the first uncertain phase of life; the fork on top of it represents life from early adulthood on, the way to the right being a hard path but one which is directed towards a blessed life, while the way to the left, though easier, leads from the light to destruction.[92]

On the island of Samos, which lies in the Aegean Sea, it was first discovered how to make earthen vessels; the Sibyl and Pythagoras came from Samos.[93]

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[93] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 31; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 33 (34) (ed. Flint p. 65 = *PL* clxxii. 132); *Otia*, ii. 7, n. 80. For the ten Sibyls, see *Otia*, iii. 121.

In insulis Balearibus inuente sunt funde et baliste.[94]

Aesculapius Apollinis filius medicine artem laude et[b] opere ampliauit.[95]

Esculus arbor glandifera per e scribitur, dicta ab esu,[c] quod ex ea prius escam sumpserunt homines.[96]

[97]Stercorandi agri rationem quidam nomine Stercucius[d] primus induxit. Hunc quidam Saturnum putauerunt, ut illi magnam[e] nobilitatem facerent. Stercorare enim est cum[f] letamine aspergere; uel, quod melius est, a Stercten,[g] qui et Stercucius[h] dictus est.[97]

In epistola Petri Alexandrini[98] de ymagine Saluatoris legitur quod omnes sinagoge in ecclesias[i] consecrate fuerunt, ibique mos inoleuit ut pontifices catholice fidei basilicas et oratoria[j] dedicarent et altaria consecrarent in ueneratione Domini Saluatoris.

[99]In diebus Othoniel iudicis Israel, Cadmus[k] regnauit Thebis, ex cuius filia Semele natus est Dionisius Liber pater. Tunc Bithinia condita est a Fenice, qui Fenicibus quasdam litteras tradidit,[l] et ad scribendum uermiculum colorem instituit, unde et color ille feniceus dictus est, qui postea, littera mutata, puniceus dicitur.[99]

Vt ait Nicholaus Damascenus, Abram, ueniens aduena cum exercitu de terra que super Babilonem est et dicitur[m] Caldeorum, regnauit in Damasco;[100] factaque magna fame in terra descendit in Egiptum, et a[n] Pharaone, rege Egipti, deductus arismeticam et que de astrologia sunt Egiptiis tradidit, ante eis incognita, a quibus postea

[b] uel *Isidore* [c] esca *Isidore* [d] Stercutus *Isidore* [e] maiorem *Isidore*
[f] cum *supplied by author N* [g] stertem *QI*, stercen *X*, Stercen *Isidore* (*MS T*)
[h] Sterculus *Isidore* [i] ecclesia *N* [j] oratorias *N* [k] Cadinus *Aβ*
[l] tradididit *N* [m] est et dicitur *NAC;* est et de Vr *β;* dicitur Hur *Comestor*
[n] a *supplied by author N*

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[94] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 44.

[95] Cf. ibid. iv. 3. 1.

[96] Cf. ibid. xvii. 7. 28.

[97–97] Stercorandi . . . Stercucius dictus est] Cf. ibid. xvii. 1. 3, xvii. 2. 3. The lack of clarity in Gervase's text here is a result of his omission of part of the passage on which he was drawing. Isidore says: 'Stercoratio est laetaminis adsparsio. Stercus autem vocatum vel quia sternitur in agris, vel quia extergi oporteat quod sordidum in civitate redundat [sive, quod verius est, ab Sterce qui et Sterculus dictus]' ('Manuring is the sprinkling of dung. Now dung *(stercus)* is so-called because it is spread *(sternitur)* on the fields, or because the filth which builds up in a city should be cleaned up *(extergi)* [or, and this is a truer explanation, the word comes from Sterces, also called Sterculus]'). Since the words in square brackets are found in Lindsay's MS T of the *Etymologiae* (Tol. 15. 8), belonging to his third family of MSS, but not in exemplars of the other two families, the copy available to Gervase must have belonged to the third group. The addition was probably inspired by Augustine, who asserts that Sterces (or Stercutius) was

On the Balearic Islands slings and the military engines known as *ballistae* were invented.[94]

Aesculapius, son of Apollo, brought renown to the art of medicine by the fame of his achievements.[95]

The oak (*esculus*), the tree which bears acorns, is spelt with an e; it takes its name from eating (*esus*), because in early times people took their food from it.[96]

[97]A person called Stercutius first introduced the idea of manuring (*stercorandi*) a field. Some have held him to have been Saturn, so as to confer great nobility on him. For to manure means to strew over with dung; or, to give a better explanation, the word *stercorare* comes from Sterces, who is also called Stercutius.[97]

In the letter of Peter of Alexandria[98] concerning the image of the Saviour, one reads that all the synagogues in Alexandria were consecrated as churches, and that it was there that it became customary for priests of the Catholic faith to dedicate basilicas and oratories and consecrate altars in honour of our Lord and Saviour.

[99]In the days of Othniel, judge of Israel, Cadmus reigned in Thebes. His daughter Semele was the mother of Dionysus, Father Liber. Bithynia was founded at that time by Phoenix, who gave the Phoenicians some of the letters of their alphabet, and introduced the use of the colour scarlet for writing; as a result that colour was also called *phoeniceus*, and later, by a change of letter, *puniceus*.[99]

As Nicholas of Damascus tells us, when Abram came as a stranger with his followers from the land above Babylon which is called the land of the Chaldees, he ruled in Damascus;[100] and when a great famine fell upon the land he went down into Egypt. Pharaoh, king of Egypt, sent him away; but Abram taught the Egyptians arithmetic and all he knew about astrology, a subject of which they had been ignorant before. From them this knowledge

a skilled farmer who was made a god for his services to agriculture (*Civ.* xviii. 15 (*CSEL* xl (2). 287 = *PL* xli. 573)).

[98] Perhaps the *Epistola canonica* of Peter of Alexandria (*PG* xviii. 467–508) or the *Epistola* of Peter II of Alexandria (*PG* xxxiii 127–92), though the statement in question has not been found in either of these texts.

[99–99] In diebus . . . mutata, puniceus dicitur] Cf. Comestor, *Iud.* c. 5, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1274); Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 202–6; Isidore, *Etym.* i. 3. 5–6, v. 39. 10.

[100] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 44 (*PL* cxcviii. 1093); Nicholas of Damascus, *Fragmenta*, in *Historici Graeci minores*, ed. L. Dindorf (Leipzig, 1870), i. 21, ll. 16–18, Fragment 24; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 159; *Otia*, ii. 22, n. 22.

peruenerunt ad Grecos.[101] Vnde et Moyses, quia in Egipto nutritus, peritus dicitur omni scientia Egiptiorum.[102]

Tempore Abrahe iam ita processerat libido dominandi quod unaqueque ciuitas[o] suum regulum habebat, quorum plurimi alicui maiori seruiebant; tandem omnes uni monarcho subditi fuerunt.[103]

Ab angelo primum nomen predictum[p] Ismaelis, cum aparuit Agar fugienti a facie Sare.[104] [105]Sunt autem in ueteri testamento quatuor ab angelo prenuntiati: Ysmael, Yzaac, Samson, et Iosias; et ut quidam tradunt, etiam Ieremias. In nouo testamento duo tantum: Christus qui est[q] Iesus, et Iohannes.[105]

[106]Samuel primus instituit conuentus religiosorum iugiter sallentium Domino, et dicebatur conuentus eorum cuneus,[r] quasi couneus;[s] et dicebantur prophetare, hoc est Dominum laudare iugiter, et forte aliqui ex eis quandoque prophetabant; unde et Saul inter eos profetasse dicitur.[106]

[107]Abraham primus circumcidit se et familiam suam, et tunc mutatur nomen[t] Abram, quasi Abaram, hoc est 'pater excelsus', in Abraham, quod sonat 'pater multarum', subaudi 'gentium'. Hinc sumunt Iudei quod in circumcisione imponunt nomina,[107] et christiani in signo Christi, quod est baptismus. Sed et in papatu papa nomen nouum recipit ex eo quod Dominus ait Petro: 'Tu uocaberis Cephas.'[u] [108]

[109]Eusebius ait: Primo omnium prophetarum Abrahe Verbum[v] Dei, cum in figura apparuisset humana, uocationem gentium pollicetur; et sic apparuit ei Filius, quem et adorauit. Verum quia nusquam legitur Pater apparuisse in substantia creata,[w] dicunt doctores quod duo angeli apparuerunt in designatione duorum preconum Moysi et Elie, quorum alter primum preuenit aduentum,

[o] ciuitas *supplied by author N* [p] est *add. after* predictum *XQ* [q] est] et *β* [r] cuneus *altered* (*by author?*) *to* cimeus *N* [s] couneus *Comestor;* conneus *MSS* [t] nomen *supplied by author N* [u] Sed et in papatu . . . Cephas] *supplied by author N; om. I* [v] Abrahe Verbum *supplied by author N* [w] substantia creata *MSS;* subjecta creatura *Comestor*

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[101] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 45 (*PL* cxcviii. 1093); Josephus, *Ant.* i. 167–8; Gen. 12: 10, 20.

[102] Cf. Acts 7: 21–2.

[103] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 46 (*PL* cxcviii. 1094).

[104] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 49 (*PL* cxcviii. 1096); Gen. 16: 11.

[105–105] Sunt . . . Iesus, et Iohannes] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 50 and *Iud.*, c. 16, Additio 2 (*PL* cxcviii. 1098 and 1286). Gervase has added Jeremiah to the Comestor's list.

[106–106] Samuel . . . eos profetasse dicitur] Cf. Comestor, *I Reg.*, c. 11 and *Num.*, c. 2, Additio 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1304 and 1217); Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 3. 59; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 10: 5, 10.

[107–107] Abraham . . . circumcisione imponunt nomina] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 50 (*PL* cxcviii. 1097–8); Isidore, *Etym.* vii. 7. 2; Gen. 17: 5, 10–14.

subsequently passed to the Greeks.[101] And so because Moses was brought up in Egypt, he is said to have been learned in all the knowledge of the Egyptians.[102]

By Abraham's time the lust for power was already so far advanced that each city had its own ruler, most of them being subject to another greater ruler; eventually they were all brought into subjection under a single monarch.[103]

The first name to be proclaimed in advance by an angel was that of Ishmael, when an angel appeared to Hagar fleeing from the face of Sarai.[104] [105]There are four people altogether in the Old Testament whose births were announced beforehand by an angel: Ishmael, Isaac, Samson, and Josiah; and also Jeremiah, according to some sources. In the New Testament there are only two: the Christ, who is Jesus, and John.[105]

[106]Samuel was the first to establish companies (*conuentus*) of worshippers constantly singing the praises of the Lord. Such a company was called a troop (*cuneus*) from their being gathered into one (*co-uneus*). They were said to prophesy in the sense that they were always praising the Lord; perhaps some of them occasionally prophesied in the narrow sense as well. And so Saul is said to have prophesied among them.[106]

[107]Abraham first introduced circumcision, circumcising himself and his household; that was the occasion on which his name was changed from Abram, or Abaram, that is, 'the most high father', to Abraham, which means 'the father of many', understanding 'nations'. This gave rise to the Jewish custom of bestowing names at circumcision,[107] and the Christian one of doing so on making the sign of Christ, which is done at baptism. In the case of the papacy too the pope receives a new name, because of the Lord's saying to Peter: 'You shall be called Cephas.'[108]

[109]Eusebius says: The Word of God, appearing in human form, promised the calling of the nations to Abraham, the first of all the prophets; this means that the Son appeared to Abraham, and he worshipped him. But because one nowhere reads that the Father appeared in a created substance, the doctors say that it was two angels who appeared with the Son, representing the two heralds Moses and Elijah, of whom the latter ushered in the first coming, while the

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[108] John 1: 42.

[109–109] Eusebius . . . alter preueniet secundum (p. 136)] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 51 (*PL* cxcviii. 1098); Eusebius-Rufinus, *HE* i. 2. (ed. Mommsen, ii (1). 15); Gen. 18.

alter preueniet secundum.[109] Tercius uero Filius Dei fuit, quem adorauit, et ita tunc[x] primo Verbum Dei in carne apparuit, sicut Octouiano Beata Virgo cum[y] Filio apparuit, ut[z] infra, decisione secunda, titulo *De imperio Romano*.[110]

De Abraham legitur quod [111]creuit Ysaac et[a] trimus ablacatus est, et fecit pater grande conuiuium die illo, quia, ut tradunt, illo die primo accessit filius ad mensam patris,[111] cum hodie a plerisque militibus tempus hoc non expectetur; et forte tunc maior erat trinus quam modo sit septinnis: mundus enim senescit et deficit.[112]

[113]In Rebecca primo incepit ut sponse consensus in nuptiis loquendis requiratur. Illic enim uoluntas eius a Nacor et matre puelle et consensus requisitus est.[113]

Esau ueniens ab agro lassus, paruipendens primogenita sua, uendidit ea Iacob pro edulio lentis, et iurauit talem uenditionem se ratam[b] habiturum.[114] Hinc est[c] quod Prouinciales[d] omnes contractus indistincte sacramento corporaliter prestito[115] firmant, et maxime propter legem Frederici que sanctit sacramenta puberum sponte facta super contractibus rerum suarum non retractandis inuiolabiliter[e] obseruari. [116]Erant autem primogenita uestis specialis, qua induebatur in sacrificiis tantum offerendis et recepturus finalem benedictionem a patre; et in diebus sollempnibus conuiuia benedicebat,[f] et in his duplam ciborum portionem capiebat. Sed et tradunt quod in diuisione hereditatis duplum recipiebat,[116] quod apparet in diuisione filiorum Noe.

[117]Tempore Ysaac, Foroneus, filius Ynaci et Niobes, primus Grecis dedit leges, et sub iudice causas agi instituit, locum iudiciorum forum nominans. Cuius soror, Ysis, in Egiptum nauigans quosdam litterarum apices Egiptiis dedit. De agricultura etiam eos multa docuit,
f. 15^{r} unde | cum prius Yo diceretur, Ysis ab eis dicta est, quod in eorum

[x] tunc *supplied by author N* [y] cum *supplied by author N* [z] ut] uide *AI*
[a] et *supplied by author N* [b] ratam *β and Comestor;* ratum *NC*, reatum *A*
[c] est *supplied by author N* [d] prountiales *N* [e] inuiobiliter *N*
[f] conuiuia benedicebat *MSS;* in conviviis benedicebat minoribus *Comestor*

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[110] *Otia*, ii. 16 (pp. 374–5).

[111–111] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 56 (*PL* cxcviii. 1103); Gen. 21: 8.

[112] St Augustine had compared the course of human history to the six days of creation and the six periods of human life (cf. *Otia*, ii. 26). When to this was added the division of human history according to four world empires (cf. *Otia*, ii. 1), then the last empire, the Roman, corresponded to the period of old age, which had to continue till the end of the world. See E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (New York, 1953), p. 28.

[113–113] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 60 (*PL* cxcviii. 1107); Gen. 24: 58.

[114] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 68 (*PL* cxcviii. 1111); Gen. 25: 29–34.

former will usher in the second.[109] The third figure was indeed the Son of God, whom Abraham worshipped; and so that was the first appearance of the Word of God in the flesh. Another occurred when the Blessed Virgin appeared with her Son to Octavian, as will be described below, in the chapter *The Roman Empire* in Book II.[110]

Concerning Abraham, one reads that [111]Isaac grew and was weaned at the age of three, and on that day his father held a magnificent banquet, because, so they say, that was the day when the son was first present at his father's table.[111] Nowadays this occasion is not expected to occur so early by most knights, but perhaps a three-year-old of that time was bigger than a seven year-old now; for the world is growing old and tired.[112]

[113]With Rebekah it first came to be accepted that the consent of the bride was required in arranging a marriage. For in her case her wishes were consulted and her consent sought by Nahor and the girl's mother.[113]

Esau came in weary from the field, and since he set little store by his birthright, he sold it to Jacob in return for a pottage of lentils, and swore that he would hold that transaction to be binding.[114] It is for this reason that the people of Provence ratify all contracts without exception by taking a corporal oath,[115] particularly because of the law promulgated by Frederick which confirms that oaths freely taken by adults to make binding contracts in their affairs should be held as inviolable. [116]The birthright entailed wearing special clothing, which the first-born put on only when he was offering sacrifices or when he was about to receive the final blessing from his father; on feast days he used to bless the meal, and on these occasions he received a double portion of food. They say too that he received a double share in the division of the inheritance,[116] as is apparent in the division made among the sons of Noah.

[117]In the time of Isaac, Phoroneus, son of Inachus and Niobe, first gave laws to the Greeks, and introduced the trying of cases before a judge, calling the place where the trials took place the *forum*. His sister, Isis, sailed to Egypt and gave certain letter-forms to the Egyptians. She also taught them a great deal about agriculture. Consequently, although she was originally called Io, she was called

[115] i.e. one ratified by touching a sacred object. This remark clearly arises out of Gervase's experience as a judge in Provence (see above, pp. xxix–xxxiii).

[116–116] Erant . . . hereditatis duplum recipiebat] Cf. Comestor, loc. cit.

[117–117] Tempore . . . et Serapis nominatus (p. 138)] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 70 (*PL* cxcviii. 1112); Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 134, 126, 128; Isidore, *Etym.* xviii. 15. 1, viii. 11. 84–5.

lingua[g] 'terram' sonat; ideoque post mortem in numero deorum recepta est. Filius etiam Foronei, Apis dictus, in Egiptum nauigauit, quem alii uirum Ysidis fuisse tradunt; et[h] similiter ab Egipciis deificatus est, et Serapis nominatus.[117]

Tempore Iacob, [118]apud lacum Tritonidem uirgo apparuit, quam Greci Mineruam dixerunt. Hec plures artes adinuenit, et maxime lanificium. Eadem dicta est Pallas, a Pallane, insula Tracie in qua nutrita est, uel a Pallante, gigante quem interfecit.[118]

[119]Videns Farao dolos sibi non posse prodesse, precepit omnem masculum Israelis in puericia in flumen proici; pro quo peccato creditur Deus Egiptios in hunc errorem tradidisse, ut Apim[i] pro deo colerent. Erat autem Apis, ut ait Plinius,[120] qui et testatur se eum uidisse, quidam taurus, qui ex improuiso egrediebatur de flumine, habens in humero dextro signum candidum ad instar lune corniculate.[j] Ad hunc statim confluentes Egiptii omni genere musice sallebant, at[k] ipse leuabatur in aere super eos; tamquam[l] saliens ferebatur, ad cuius motum populus stabat aut saltabat; et eodem die taurus euanescebat. Dicunt tamen quidam quod in festo Serapis annuatim emergebat; unde et ipsum Serapin, hoc est Serapi[m] consecratum, autumant uocatum. Alii tantum post decennium apparere dicunt, alii tantum tempore iusti sacerdotis Elyopoleos, tempore iniusti non, ut quasi diuinitus iustitia iudicaretur sacerdotum. Peccatum ergo fluminis puniuit Deus in errore fluminis.[119] Et attendendum quod Egiptii adorabant taurum in honore Apis, uaccam pro Yside, ouem pro Amone, cuius ymago erat in corona Faraonis, quam fregit Moyses.[121]

[122]Cum timuissent[n] intrare mare Rubrum Ruben, Simeon, et Leui, Iudas primus agressus est iter post Moysen, unde et ex eo regnum promeruit. Canticum Moysi, quia[o] prius ceteris legitur, Canticum dicitur Canticorum, quod cum tympanis et instrumentis musicis

[g] linguam *N* [h] et *om.* *XQ* [i] apini *N* [j] corniculate *supplied by author N* [k] at *supplied by author* (*correcting* ut) *N*; ut *A* [l] et *add. before* tamquam *XQ* [m] serapin *N* [n] tinuissent *N* [o] quod *β*

[118–118] apud . . . gigante quem interfecit] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 76 (*PL* cxcviii. 1116); Isidore, *Etym.* viii. 11. 71–5; xix. 20. 1. For the belief that Minerva (Athene) was born by Lake Tritonis in Libya, see e.g. Herodotus, iv. 180; Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 1310. On the original identity of Pallas, see Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths* (rev. edn. London, 1960), i. 44–5; cf. Liebrecht, pp. 78–9.

[119–119] Videns . . . in errore fluminis] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 4 (*PL* cxcviii. 1143).

[120] Pliny, *Hist. nat.* viii. 71. 184–6.

[121] The Comestor recounts (*Exod.*, c. 5 (*PL* cxcviii. 1144)) that when Pharaoh's daughter showed the child Moses to her father, he admired his beauty so much that he

Isis by them, which means 'earth' in their language; and so she was received after her death among the number of the gods. The son of Phoroneus, called Apis, also sailed to Egypt. Another tradition has it that he was the husband of Isis. He was likewise deified by the Egyptians, and given the name Serapis.[117]

In the time of Jacob, [118]there appeared at Lake Tritonis a virgin whom the Greeks called Minerva. She invented many arts, being especially associated with weaving. She was also called Pallas, from Pallene, the island off Thrace where she grew up, or from Pallas, a giant whom she killed.[118]

[119]Pharaoh, seeing that guile could do him no good, ordered every male Israelite to be thrown into the river in childhood. It is believed that it was for this sin that God gave the Egyptians over to the error of worshipping Apis as a god. Apis, according to Pliny,[120] who actually claims to have seen him, was a certain bull which suddenly used to come up out of the river. It had a white mark on its right shoulder, in the semblance of a crescent moon. The Egyptians used immediately to crowd round this bull and make all kinds of music in its honour, while the bull itself was raised in the air above them; it was carried as if it were leaping, and according to how it moved the people either stood still or danced. The bull used to vanish the same day. Some say, however, that it emerged every year on the feast of Serapis; this, they affirm, is why the bull itself was called Serapis, because it was consecrated to him. Others say that it only appears every ten years, others again that it appears only in the time of a righteous priest of Heliopolis, and not in the time of an unrighteous one, in order that a judgment from heaven, as it were, might be passed on the righteousness of the priests. God therefore punished a sin involving the river with an error deriving from the river.[119] It should also be noted that the Egyptians worshipped a bull in honour of Apis, a cow for Isis, and a sheep for Ammon. This last was represented on the crown of Pharaoh which Moses broke.[121]

[122]Since Reuben, Simeon, and Levi were afraid to enter the Red Sea, Judah was the first to start marching behind Moses, and so, for that reason, his tribe merited the kingship. The Song of Moses is called the Song of Songs, because it is read before any other. The children of Israel sang it with tambourines and other musical

placed his crown, bearing an image of Ammon, on the child's head; but Moses threw the crown to the ground, and broke it.

[122–122] Cum . . . redimus ad fontes (p. 140)] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 31 (*PL* cxcviii. 1158).

septem continuis diebus cantabant filii Israel, singulis diebus ad litus accedentes, uiri seorsum et mulieres seorsum; ad cuius memoriam pascali ebdomada cantando redimus ad fontes.[122]

[123]Tradunt quidam quod formatio corporis animalis in utero matris ab humero dextro inchoatur, unde in lege dicebatur armus dexter separationis, quia in separatione membrorum hostie primus ab ea separabatur, et quia in partem[p] sacerdotum eum separauit Moyses, ut digniorem.[123]

Ablatiuus casus a Latinis primo est inuentus, ideoque ultimus ponitur, et eo Greci carent, pro quo genitiuo utuntur.[124]

[q]Alea lusoria ab Aleo[r] lusore sic dicta, qui eam primus inuenit.[125]

Apud Belgin ciuitatem Gallie, a qua Gallia Belgica dicitur,[126] uel Belgam, inuentus est usus curruum; de qua sic dixi:

> Belgis Celtiberis Beluacum Belga uocatur.[127]

[s]Inpressiones ymaginum pictarum[t] in uexillis Dominus instituit quando diuisit in heremo tribus duodecim per quatuor acies, unicuique aciei digniorem principem preponens,[128] et in suo uexillo sculpturam imprimens, ut in uexillo Iude leonem,[129] Ruben mandragoram,[130] Dan serpentem;[131] posuitque ternas tribus in acie, et fuit id actum secundum ea que acciderant unicuique illorum.[q,s]

xxi. *De Seth et eius generatione*

Mortuo Abel et profugo facto Caim, [1]Adam cognouit uxorem suam; que peperit ei filium, et uocauit eum Seth. Dicit Strabus[2] post

[p] parte *Comestor* [q–q] Alea . . . acciderant unicuique illorum] *om.* *β* [r] ableo *N*, alio *A*, Alea *Isidore* [s–s] Inpressiones . . . acciderant unicuique illorum] *om.* C [t] pietarum *N*

[123–123] Tradunt . . . Moyses, ut digniorem] Cf. Comestor, *Lev.*, c. 14 (*PL* cxcviii. 1202); Lev. 7: 32–4; Exod. 29: 27–8.

[124] Cf. e.g. Diomedes, in *Grammatici Latini*, i. 302.

[125] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xviii. 60.

[126] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 26. Liebrecht (p. 80) points out that although no ancient author mentions a city called Belgis, medieval oral tradition knew and distinguished three cities of this name: Belgis Togata or Armata, Belgis Comata, and Belgis Gallica. This last (now Beauvais) is apparently the one intended here. Liebrecht suggests that the name arose from a misunderstanding of Isidore's phrase: 'Belgis autem civitas est Galliae', where the word *Belgis* is in fact the dative plural of *Belga* ('There is a city in Gaul belonging to the Belgae'), but was taken to be a nominative singular.

[127] Here *Beluacum* would seem to be a variant spelling of *Bellouacum* (Beauvais), perhaps adopted so as to enable the author to use the name in what is presumably

instruments for seven days running, going down to the shore each day, the men and women separately. In memory of this, throughout Easter week we return singing to our fonts.[122]

[123]Some say that the formation of an animal's body in its mother's womb begins with the right shoulder. And so in the law the right shoulder was called the shoulder of separation, because in the separation of the victim's limbs it was the first part of it to be separated, and because Moses separated it to be the portion of the priests, as being the fittest part.[123]

The ablative case was first invented by the Latins, and so it is placed last. The Greeks do not have it, and use the genitive instead.[124]

The game of dice (*alea*) takes its name from the player Aleus, who first invented it.[125]

At Belgis, or Belga, a city in Gaul, from which Gallia Belgica takes its name,[126] the use of chariots was invented. I composed the following verse on this city:

> By the Celtiberian Belgae Belga is called Beauvais.[127]

The Lord introduced the marking of banners with coloured images when, in the desert, he divided the twelve tribes into four divisions, putting the most worthy of the leaders in command of each division,[128] and marking its banner with a figure. So, for example, he marked Judah's banner with a lion,[129] Reuben's with a mandrake,[130] and Dan's with a serpent.[131] He placed three tribes in each division, the arrangement being made in accordance with how each of them had fared.

21. *Seth and his Begetting*

When Abel was dead and Cain had become a fugitive, [1]Adam knew his wife; and she bore him a son, and called him Seth. Strabo[2] says

meant to be a hexameter, although the third syllable of *Celtiberis* is properly long. This line is probably indebted to *Adversum paganos*, v. 23. 11, where Orosius mentions Belgida as a famous city of Celtiberia. [128] Cf. Num. 2.

[129] Cf. Gen. 49: 9. [130] Cf. Gen. 30: 14. [131] Cf. Gen. 49: 17.

[1–1] Adam . . . 'Crescite et multiplicamini' (p. 142)] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 29 (*PL* cxcviii. 1080); Gen. 4: 25, 1: 28.

[2] Cf. *Glossa ordinaria*, *PL* cxiii. 105. The passage on which the Comestor was drawing here is one of a number correctly ascribed to 'Strabus' (i.e. Walafrid Strabo, d. 849) in the MSS of the *Gloss*. Later Strabo mistakenly came to be regarded as its main author; see B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1984[3]), pp. 56–66.

mortem Abel uouisse Adam non ultra suam se cogniturum uxorem; sed, Deo iubente per angelum, uotum fregit ut Dei Filius ex eo nasceretur. Verum Iosefus[3] dicit, Abel occiso et Caim fugato, Adam de procreatione filiorum cogitasse, quia uehementer eum generationis amor angebat. Hanc igitur generandi uoluntatem et propagationis amorem potuit Strabus dicere preceptum Domini, dum in mente concipiebat illud sibi pridem factum Domini preceptum:[4] 'Crescite et multiplicamini.'[1] Sicut ergo uotum fuit in mente conceptum, ita uoluntas contraria ad propagandum in mente concipitur. Nec tamen reus uoti iudicatur Adam, cum genuit Seth, ex cuius semine nascitura erat mater que uoti, hoc est propositi uirginalis, in mente concepti conscia, Christum paritura dixit: 'Quomodo fiet istud, quoniam uirum non cognosco?',[5] hoc est me cognituram non esse proposui. Habebat ista priuati cordis secreta cogitatio tacitam in se conditionem, 'nisi Deus mihi aliter reuelauerit'. Habebat et illa Ade priuata deuocio primordialis mandati corde impressam condicionem, quia Deus qui calamo scribe uelociter scribentis[6] legem naturalem in eius mente[a] arauerat, deliberationem secreti propositi secreta reuelatione melioris arbitrii commutauit in amorem propagandi. Non ergo ex fracto uoto Ade nascitur Christus, non ex transgressione sancti propositi de Maria nascitur Dei Filius, quia et hic sine coitu, ut in mente conceperat, prodiit[b] conceptus, et ibi secreta correctione spiritus contristati nascitur Seth, non patris |
f. 15v frangens uotum, sed animum. Non enim est pater increpandus de transgressione uoti qui in mente tranquillata tenuit uim diuini precepti.

xxii. *De Enos et Matusale*[a]

[1]Cum[b] ergo Adam tres filios genuerit,[c] Abel sine semine mortuo, Caim in suo semine multiplicato set profugo, Seth in beata patris

[a] monte *N* [b] prodiis *N*

[a] *Title written at top of column by rubricator of N, and keyed to start of chapter three lines down* [b] Dum *CQ; initial letter om. I* [c] generauit *XQ*

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[3] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 67.

[4] The phrase 'dum in mente . . . preceptum' is an elaboration by Gervase of the Comestor's 'quia jusserat'; he develops the play on the different meanings of 'concipiebat' in what follows.

[5] Luke 1: 34.

[6] Cf. Ps. 44 (45): 2 (1).

[1–1] Cum . . . nongentis sexaginta nouem (p. 144)] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 30 (*PL* cxcviii. 1080–1).

that after the death of Abel Adam vowed that he would never know his wife again; but, when God commanded it through an angel, he broke his vow in order that the Son of God might be born from his line. Josephus,[3] however, says that, with Abel murdered and Cain banished, Adam turned his thoughts to the procreation of sons because the reproductive urge tormented him sorely. Strabo was able to call this progenitive impulse and desire for offspring a command of the Lord, since Adam was conceiving in his mind the command which the Lord had already given him:[4] 'Be fruitful and multiply.'[1] And so, just as the vow had been conceived in his mind, so the contrary will towards procreation was conceived in his mind. Adam, however, is not condemned for having broken his vow when he became the father of Seth, from whose seed was to be born the mother who, knowing that she had conceived a vow, that is, a resolve to remain a virgin, in her mind, said when she was to give birth to Christ: 'How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?',[5] that is, I have resolved that I will not know a man. This secret intention of her innermost heart contained within itself an unspoken condition, 'unless God shows me otherwise'. And in making that private vow of his, Adam also bore stamped on his heart the condition of God's original command; for God, who with the pen of a swiftly-writing scribe[6] had traced the natural law in his understanding, was able to change the intention of his secret resolve into a desire to produce offspring by secretly revealing a better plan. Christ's birth was therefore not the result of a broken vow on Adam's part, nor was the Son of God born as the result of Mary's failure to keep a holy resolution; for in Mary's case the child issued from a virginal conception, in accordance with the resolution she had conceived in her mind, and in Adam's case Seth was born from the secret correction of an afflicted spirit, breaking not the vow, but the intention of his father. For the father who, with a mind rendered tranquil, kept to the meaning of the divine command, is not to be blamed for having broken his vow.

22. *Enos and Methuselah*

[1]Adam, then, had three sons: Abel died without issue, Cain had many descendants but was a fugitive, while Seth in blessed succession to

successione genuit[d] ad mundi succesiuam sementem Enos, et hic Cainan, et hic Malaleel, et hic Iared,[e] et hic Enoch,[f] et hic Matusalem, et hic Lamech, et hic Noe.[2] Septimus ergo in generatione Ade per Caim descendens, Lamec[3] pessimus fuit;[g] septimus in generatione Ade per Seth, optimus fuit Enoch, quia transtulit eum[h] Dominus in paradisum uolumptatis ad tempus, ut cum Elya conuertat corda patrum in filios.[4]

Sane de annis Matussale plures inter se plurima contriuerunt, dicentibus Septuaginta ipsum quatuordecim annis uixisse post diluuium,[i] cum nec translatus legatur ut Enoch, nec in archa fuisse ut Noe. Dicunt alii ipsum sex[j] annis mortuum ante diluuium. Ieronimus[5] eodem anno eum mortuum affirmat quo factum fuit diluuium, hoc idem atestante numero in libro Genesis assignato. Omnes tamen asserunt Matussalem uixisse annis nongentis sexaginta nouem.[1]

xxiii. *De causa diluuii*

Porro Noe decimus ab Adam, in quo prima etas terminata est,[1] [2]cum quingentorum esset annorum, genuit Sem, Cham, et Iaphet. Moyses dicturus de diluuio premisit causam diluuii, ita inquiens: 'Cum cepissent homines multiplicari super terram, uiderunt filii Dei', hoc est filii Seth religiosi, 'filias hominum' de stirpe Caim, et, uicti concupiscentia, 'acceperunt eas uxores',[3] et nati sunt ex eis gigantes.[4] Vtrum uero sub Noe, uel ante Noe, multum uel modicum, id factum fuerit, non determinat legislator. Iosefus[5] tamen dicit usque ad septimam generationem bonos permansisse filios Seth, post ad mala

[d] genuerit *NA* [e] Iared *supplied by author N* [f] et hic Enoch *om. XQ*
[g] quia primus bigamiam introduxit, non quod unam post alteram habuerit, sed contra Dei decretum, scilicet: 'Erunt duo in carne una', iste adulterium primus commisit, unam alteri superducens, quod est infame. Nam unam post aliam ducere licet *add. after* fuit *XQ* (*cf. Comestor, Gen., c. 28, PL cxcviii. 1078–9*) [h] illum *Aβ and Comestor*
[i] diluiium *N* [j] septem *XQ*

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[2] Cf. Gen. 5: 6–32.

[3] This Lamech, seventh from Adam in the line of Cain, is clearly distinguished from the Lamech mentioned above, seventh from Enos in the line of Seth: while Cain's descendant set his heart on vengeance (Gen. 4: 24), Seth's was hoping for comfort through his son Noah (Gen. 5: 29).

[4] Cf. Mal. 4: 6; Luke 1: 17. Neither Enoch nor Elijah was believed to have died: Enoch 'walked with God: and he was not; for God took him' (Gen. 5: 24; cf. Heb. 11: 5), while

Adam became the father of Enos, to ensure the continuing proliferation of the human race on earth. Enos was the father of Cainan, Cainan of Mahalaleel, Mahalaleel of Jared, Jared of Enoch, Enoch of Methuselah, Methuselah of Lamech, and Lamech of Noah.[2] The seventh in Adam's line descending through Cain was Lamech,[3] the worst of men; the seventh in Adam's line descending through Seth was Enoch, the best of men, as can be seen from the fact that the Lord translated him to the paradise of pleasure for a time, in order that, together with Elijah, he might turn the hearts of the fathers to their children.[4]

Now many people have used up very many words in discussing the question of Methuselah's dates. The Seventy say that he lived for fourteen years after the flood, although we do not read that he was translated, as Enoch was, or that he was in the ark, as Noah was. Others say that he died six years before the flood. Jerome[5] claims that he died in the same year that the flood occurred, and this date is corroborated by a reckoning up of the years assigned to him in the book of Genesis. All, however, are agreed that Methuselah lived for nine hundred and sixty-nine years.[1]

23. *The Cause of the Flood*

Now Noah, the tenth in line from Adam, and the person with whom the first age came to an end,[1] [2]became the father of Shem, Ham, and Japheth when he was five hundred years old. Moses, before describing the flood, explained its cause in the following words: 'When human beings began to multiply upon the earth, the sons of God', that is, the God-fearing sons of Seth, 'saw the daughters of the people' of Cain's stock, and, overcome by desire, 'they took them as their wives',[3] and giants were born of them.[4] The law-giver does not determine whether this happened in the time of Noah, or before his time; and if before, whether long or only shortly before. Josephus,[5] however, says that the sons of Seth remained good until the seventh

Elijah 'went up by a whirlwind into heaven' in a fiery chariot (4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 2: 11); cf. *Otia*, i. 16, at n. 16.

[5] Cf. Jerome, *Hebraicae quaestiones in Genesim*, c. 5 (*CCSL* lxxii. 9 = *PL* xxiii. 947).

[1] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 30 (*PL* cxcviii. 1081).

[2–2] cum . . . et quidam alii (p. 146)] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 31 (*PL* cxcviii. 1081–2).

[3] Cf. Gen. 6: 1–2.

[4] Cf. Gen. 6: 4.

[5] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 72–3.

progressos, recedentes a solempnitatibus suis, et ob hoc contra se Deum irritasse. Nam multi angeli Dei cum mulieribus coeuntes iniuriosos filios genuerunt, qui propter confidentiam fortitudinis a Grecis gigantes dicti sunt.

Methodius,[6] causam diluuii diffusius executus, dicit quingentesimo[a] anno prime ciliadis[b] filios Caim abusos uxoribus fratrum suorum nimiis fornicationibus. Sexcentesimo mulieres in uesaniam uerse supergresse uiris utebantur. Mortuo Adam, Set separauit cognationem suam a cognatione Caim, qui[c] redierat ad natale[d] solum; nam et pater uiuens prohibuerat ne miscerentur.[e] Et habitauit Seth in quodam monte proximo paradiso; Caim autem habitauit in campo Damasceno, ubi fratrem occiderat, in qua regione plasmatus fuit Adam.[7] Quingentesimo anno secunde ciliadis exarserunt homines[8] in alterutrum coeuntes. Septingentesimo filii Seth cupierunt filias Caim, et nati sunt gigantes. Et incepta ciliade tercia inundauit diluuium, sicut[f] ordinauit Methodius.

Potuit etiam esse ut incubi demones gignerent gigantes,[9] a magnitudine corporum sic dictos, a *geos*, quod est terra.[10] Set et immanitati corporum respondebat immanitas animorum. Sunt tamen et post diluuium nati alii gigantes in Ebron, et post fuerunt in Than, ciuitate Egipti, qui dicti sunt Titanes; de quorum stirpe fuit Enachim, cuius filii habitauerunt in Ebron,[11] de quibus ortus[g] est Golias et quidam alii.[2]

Set et in *Hystoria Britonum*, ex quibus per matrem, uenerande princeps, originem ducis,[12] legitur quod [13]Brutus, filius Siluii (quem Ascanius ex filia Latini Lauinia genuerat),[14] cum in puerperio matrem, neptem Lauinie, in uenatu Siluium patrem peremisset, ideoque profugus in Grecia, auxilio Assaraci, progeniem Eleni filii Priami, seruituti Pandrasi regis Grecorum addictam, a Pirro[h] Achillis filio in captiuitatem ductam, potencia uirtutis sue liberasset, Innoge

[a] quingesimo *N* [b] filiadis *N* [c] que *Comestor* [d] ad natale] anatale *N* [e] misceretur *N* [f] sic *Comestor* [g] ortus *supplied by author N* [h] et *add. after* Pirro *N*

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[6] Cf. Pseudo-Methodius, *Revelationes*, cc. 1–2 (ed. Sackur, pp. 61–2).

[7] Gervase here expands on his source; the Comestor says simply: 'in campo, ubi fratrem occiderat.' On the field of Damascus, see above, i. 8, n. 5.

[8] Cf. Rom. 1: 17.

[9] On incubi and succubi, see *Otia*, iii. 86, n. 23.

[10] This etymology, taken over from the Comestor, is probably based on Isidore, *Etym.* xi. 3. 13.

[11] Cf. Num. 13: 22 (23), 33 (34); Deut. 2: 10–11.

[12] See above, pp. xxxi–xxxii.

generation, turning to evil after that, and giving up their practice of religion; he says that it was on this account that they provoked God's anger against themselves. Many angels of God, too, fathered wicked sons by having sexual relations with women. Their sons were called giants by the Greeks because of their boldness and strength.

Methodius,[6] treating the cause of the flood in more detail, says that in the five hundredth year of the first chiliad the sons of Cain abused their brothers' wives in unbridled fornication. In the six hundredth year the women lost their right minds and took their pleasure lying on top of men. On the death of Adam, Seth separated his kindred from the kindred of Cain; for Cain had returned to his native soil. Their father too, when he was alive, had forbidden them to intermarry. Seth, then, lived on a certain mountain close to paradise, while Cain lived in the plain of Damascus where he had killed his brother, which was the region where Adam had been formed.[7] In the five hundredth year of the second chiliad men first became inflamed[8] with the desire to copulate with each other. In the seven hundredth year the sons of Seth conceived desire for the daughters of Cain, and the giants were born. And at the beginning of the third chiliad the flood submerged the earth, according to Methodius' scheme.

The giants could also have been the offspring of demon incubi.[9] They were called giants from γῆ, that is, the earth, because of their physical size;[10] and the immensity of their bodies was matched by the immensity of their spirits. There were also other giants born after the flood in Hebron. They subsequently lived in Zoan, a city in Egypt, and were called Titans. Anak was of their stock; his sons lived in Hebron,[11] and Goliath and certain other giants were descended from them.[2]

In the *History of the Britons*, from whom you trace your descent, venerable Prince, on your mother's side,[12] one reads that [13]Brutus, son of Silvius (whom Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, had borne to Ascanius),[14] killed his mother, a niece of Lavinia's, in childbirth, and killed his father Silvius when they were out hunting. Consequently he fled into exile, and in Greece, with the help of Assaracus and by his own mighty strength, he liberated the descendants of Helenus, son of Priam; they had been taken into captivity by Pyrrhus, son of Achilles,

[13–13] Brutus . . . Saltus Gogmagog nominatur (p. 148)] An abbreviation and adaptation of Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 6–21 (= ed. Griscom, i. 3–16); cf. *Otia*, ii. 10, pp. 306–7, and ii. 17, pp. 396–9, where Gervase treats the same material.

[14] In abbreviating his source, Gervase has mistakenly made Lavinia the wife of Ascanius instead of Aeneas.

filia Pandrasi[i] in coniugium ducta, Loegrena[j] Grecorum insula transacta, responsoque in sompnis[k] per Dianam accepto, triginta dierum cursu enauigato, Affrica subducta ad Aras Filistinorum[15] et lacum Salinarum, inter Russicadam et muntes Azare, flumine Malue[16] transito, Mauritania decursa, Columnis Herculis exactis, ad Tirrenum equor peruenit, ubi Corineum ducem cum quatuor generationibus exulum Troie, qui Antenoris[l] fugam comitati fuerunt, repperit. Hunc in socium[m] ausiliariumque euocans, deuicto Goffario Aquittannorum rege, consuleque Suardo bipenne Corinei transuerberato, mari Britannico enauigato, Albion insulam ingreditur. Que post a Bruto Britannia maior nuncupatur, ad differentiam minoris, que ad tempus fuerat uelut fugiencis Bruti asilus,[17] maiore Britannia postmodum in regnum perpetuum ducta. Distributione itaque facta terrarum, cessit in partem Coriney Cornubia, que uel a cornu Britannie, uel ab ipso duce Corineo, Cornubia nuncupatur.

Corineus in hac Britanniarum parte gigantes repperit, quos solos insule habitatores fuisse ad tunc legimus;[18] delectabaturque[n] Corineus contra gigantes singulariter dimicare, quos potenter ut pueros facilius obprimebat, uir modestus ac strenuus,[o] uirtutis incomparabilis ac audacie inexcesse.

f. 16^{r} Inter ceteros gigantes erat inibi | Gogmagog: detestabilis, stature duodecim cubitorum, tante uirtutis existens quod quercum semel excussam uelut uirgulam corili euellebat. Hunc singulari certamine Corineus aggreditur, et licet duas ei costas ex latere dextro et unam ex sinistro gigas constringendo fregisset, sucensus tamen ira, Corineus impositam humeris sarcinam de rupe uicina currendo deiecit. Vnde et locus usque in hodiernum diem Saltus Gogmagog nominatur.[13]

Ad giganteam fortitudinem Samson accedit. Ad ultimos quoque uite huius dies Carolus giganteis uiribus non immerito comparatur,

[i] regis *add. after* Pandrasi *XQ* [j] Loegregia *X*, Loegrecia *Q*; Leogetia *Geoffrey of Monmouth* [k] somniis *C*, sompniis *XI* [l] anterioris *N* [m] socrum *NA*
[n] -que] quoque *XQ*; *om. I* [o] mestruus *N*

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[15] Arae Philaenorum ('the Altars of the Philaeni'), which appears as Arae Philistinorum in the text of Geoffrey of Monmouth (c. 17), was a frontier town near Cyrene; the Philaeni were two Carthaginian brothers who, out of love for their country, submitted to being buried alive.

[16] A river between Mauritania and Numidia, now called *Maluja*.

[17] This word, normally neuter *(asylum)*, is treated consistently as a masculine noun by Gervase.

and handed over into slavery to Pandrasus, king of Greece. Brutus married Innogen, daughter of Pandrasus, and visited the Greek island of Leogetia, where he received an oracle in his sleep from Diana. After a sea-voyage of thirty days he landed in Africa, went to the Altars of the Philistines[15] and the Salt-pan Lake, then sailed between Rusiccade and the mountains of Zarec. Having crossed the river Malvia,[16] he travelled through Mauritania, passed between the Pillars of Hercules, and reached the Tyrrhenian Sea. There he found the leader Corineus with four generations of exiles from Troy; they had accompanied Antenor in his flight. Inviting him to be his companion and helper, he conquered Goffar, king of Aquitaine, and the leader Suhard was split in two by Corineus' axe. Then he sailed across the British Sea and landed on the island of Albion. This island was afterwards named Great Britain after Brutus. It was called 'Great' to distinguish it from Little Britain (Brittany), which had afforded asylum[17] for a time to Brutus on his flight; but it was Great Britain which he eventually took as his permanent kingdom. And so he divided out the land, and Cornwall fell to the share of Corineus. Cornwall takes its name either from its being the horn (*cornu*) of Britain, or from Duke Corineus himself.

Corineus found giants in this part of Britain. In fact we read that they had been the only inhabitants of the island up to that time.[18] Corineus took delight in wrestling with these giants in single combat, and he subdued them by his might as easily as if they were boys. He was a modest and active man, of incomparable strength and unrivalled boldness.

Among the giants who lived there was the detestable Gogmagog. He was twelve cubits tall, and he was so strong that after giving it a single shake he could tear up an oak tree as if it were a hazel wand. Corineus met this creature in single combat, and although the giant broke two ribs on his right side and one on his left by squeezing him in his grip, nevertheless Corineus, blazing with anger, took him on his shoulders, carried him at a run, and hurled him from a nearby cliff. Because of this the place is called Gogmagog's Leap to this day.[13]

Samson attained to a giant's might. Charlemagne also, to the very last days of his life, was not without reason compared to a giant in

[18] On the coming of the giants to Britain, see Liebrecht, pp. 80–1.

de quo scribit Turpinus in *Gestis* eius quod [19]octo pedes suos longissimos haberet in longitudine; facies eius unius palmi et dimidii, frons unius pedis, oculi similes oculis leonis, scintillantes ut carbonculus; supercilia oculorum dimidium palmum habebant, cingulum octo palmos in succintorio preter ligulas. Militem armatum cum equo solo ictu et unico a uertice capitis usque ad bases separabat. Quatuor ferros equinos manibus leuiter extendebat. Militem armatum[p] erecte stantem super palmam sola manu a terra usque ad caput suum facile leuabat.[19]

Nos quoque uidimus sepulcrum Ysoreti[20] in subburbio Parisiaciensi,[q] uiginti pedes in longum habens preter ceruicem et caput, quem sanctus Guillermus[21] peremit. [22]Ferracutum quoque, quem apud Nageram Rolandus, ipso locum sue mortis prodente,[23] deuicit, de genere Golie legimus e Siria missum in Hyspaniam, qui cum ferrea arma nec lignea[r] nec lapides timeret, uirtutem quadraginta fortium habens, staturam habebat quasi cubitorum uiginti,[s] faciem unius cubiti, nasum unius palmi, bracia et tibias quatuor cubitorum, digitos ternorum palmorum.[22]

Nota[t]

Legitur etiam in *Hystoria Britonum* quod Aurelius Ambrosius (frater Vter patris Arcturi, et filius Constantini fratris Androeni, regis Armorice, hoc est Britannie minoris), uolens consules ac principes Romanos in Britanniam secum aduectos, ab Hengisto duce Saxonum per proditionem enecatos,[24] condigna tantis uiris sepultura honorare,[25] fecit a Merlino propheta Britonum afferri lapides misticos ad

[p] armatum *om. N* [q] Parisiensi *Cβ* [r] lingea *N* [s] .xii. *Pseudo-Turpin* [t] Nota *as subheading NI, written in margin A, om. C;* De chorea gigantium *XQ*

[19–19] octo . . . suum facile leuabat] Gervase is drawing on the *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi* (generally known as the Chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin), c. 20 (ed. Meredith-Jones, pp. 176–9). This chronicle, written anonymously in the middle of the twelfth century, purported to be the work of Archbishop Tylpin or Turpin of Rheims, a contemporary of Charlemagne. Here and in the description of Ferracutus below, Gervase extracts from the narrative the proportions of these gigantic men.

[20] Isoret's tomb long remained an object of interest in the Faubourg Saint-Germain: cf. A. Berty, *Topographie historique du Vieux Paris: Région du Bourg Saint-Germain* (Paris, 1886), p. 221: 'On voyait jadis, auprès de la chapelle Saint-Père, une longue pierre qui avait nom "la Tunbe ou la Mesure du géant Isoret". Cette prétendue tombe du fabuleux géant Isore, auquel on prêtait plusieurs sépultures de même sorte, était évidemment un monument celtique, table de dolmen ou menhir abattu.'

[21] William of Orange, or Guillaume au Court-Nez, a legendary figure based on the warrior and monastic reformer William of Gellone (d. 812); see G. Lubich in *Lexikon des*

strength. Turpin writes of him in his *Deeds* that [19]his height was eight times the length of his feet, and his feet were exceedingly long; his face measured a span and a half, his brow a foot, and his eyes resembled a lion's eyes, sparkling like a carbuncle; his eye-brows were half a span wide, and his belt measured eight spans round his girth, not counting the ties. With one single blow he could cleave an armed knight in two, together with his horse, from top to bottom. He could effortlessly straighten out four horse-shoes with his bare hands. He could easily lift an armed knight standing upright on his palm from the ground as high as his own head with one hand.[19]

There was also Isoret,[20] whom St William[21] killed: we have seen his tomb in a suburb of Paris, and it is twenty feet long even without the neck and head. We have also read of [22]Ferracutus, whom Roland overpowered at Nagera; he himself gave away where on his body he could be killed.[23] A giant of the race of Goliath, he had been sent from Syria to Spain. He had no fear of weapons of iron or wood, nor of stones, but had the strength of forty powerful men; he was about twenty cubits tall, his face measured one cubit, his nose one span, his arms and shins four cubits, and his fingers three spans.[22]

Note

One also reads in the *History of the Britons* that Aurelius Ambrosius (the brother of Uther, father of Arthur, and the son of Constantine, brother of Aldroenus, king of Armorica, that is, Brittany), wished to honour with a tomb worthy of such great men[25] the Roman leaders and princes whom he had brought with him to Britain, and who had been treacherously massacred by the Saxon leader Hengist.[24] To this end he had some stones associated with certain secret rites brought to their burial place by Merlin, the prophet of Britain. These stones

Mittelalters, ix. 151–2. The *Moniage Guillaume* describes how he left his monastic seclusion in order to fight the giant Isoret before the walls of Paris; he decapitated the giant, and presented the head to his host: hence its absence from the tomb. See *Deux Rédactions en vers du Moniage Guillaume: chansons de geste du xii^e siècle*, ed. W. Cloëtta, Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris, 1906–11); Colby-Hall, 'Saint Guillaume de Gellone et Saint Bénézet', pp. 67–8; cf. *Otia*, iii. 103, at n. 40.

[22–22] Ferracutum . . . digitos ternorum palmorum] The conflict of Roland and Ferracutus is described by Pseudo-Turpin, c. 17 (ed. Meredith-Jones, pp. 147–63).

[23] Although the construction is ablative absolute, its subject is Ferracutus. He had said that he could only be wounded in the navel (p. 153), and that was where Roland struck him (p. 163).

[24] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 103–4 (= ed. Griscom, vi. 15); it was actually the leaders of the Britons who had been massacred by Hengist, in the time of Vortigern.

[25] Cf. ibid. c. 127 (= ed. Griscom, viii. 9).

diuersa medicamenta salubres, a gigantibus olim in Childardum montem Ybernie ab ultimis terre finibus aduectos, ut inter eos balnea construerent suis infirmitatibus profutura. Lauabant namque lapides et intra balnea diffundebant, sicque egroti sanabantur; miscebant etiam cum herbarum sucis, et sic uulneratos sanabant. Nec est in eis lapis sine medicamento. Hos ergo[u] lapides ad montem Ambrii iuxta Salesberiam[v] in maiore Britannia miro Merlinus artificio composuit, ingenii sui effectum ad perpetuam relinquens hominum admirationem.[26] Nam usque in hodiernum diem Corea dicitur illic esse Gigantum, in qua sepultus est et ipse Aurelius Ambrosius, occulta potione[w] ueneni interceptus.[27]

[x]Porro de [28]Og,[y] rege Basan, legimus quod fuit de stirpe gigantum, et monstrabatur lectus eius ferreus in Rabath[z] filiorum Hamon, nouem habens cubitos longitudinis et quatuor latitudinis.[x,a] [28]

xxiv. *De diluuio et archa et iri*

[1]Iratus Dominus de[a] peccatis hominum (que superiore capitulo memorauimus), dixit: 'Penitet me fecisse hominem'[2] (quasi: Delebo hominem,[3] sicut homo penitens opus solet delere quod fecerat). 'Non enim permanebit spiritus meus in homine in eternum, quia caro est'[4] (quasi: Non puniam eum eternaliter ut diabolum, quia fragilis est, sed hoc reddam quod meretur; et tamen, priusquam disperdam eum, dabo illi tempus penitudinis, si uoluerit). 'Eruntque dies eius'[b] (ad penitenciam) 'centum[c] uiginti annorum':[5] non quod iste sit terminus humane uite post diluuium, cum multi cotidie centum uiginti annos supergrediantur, sed quia centum annis edificata sit archa;[6] aut,

[u] ergo] inquam *ACβ* [v] ad montem . . . Salesberiam] ad monasterium .ccc. fratrum quod erat ad montem (in monte *I*) Ambrii iuxta Caercaradoc (Caercarados iuxta *I*), hoc est (hoc est *om. I*) Salesberiam *β* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, c. 127 = ed. Griscom, viii. 9*) [w] potatione *ACβ* [x–x] Porro . . . et quatuor latitudinis] *supplied by author N* [y] Ogio *N* [z] Rabathat *N* [a] Sed et legitur quod et Alexander Porcum (*for* Porum) ad solitarium prelium preuocauit, dicens inperatores ui laudem non posse capere unde suditis (*for* subditis) suis periculum fieret; quod et Porro placuit quoniam considerabat exiguitatem Alexandri, cum ipse quinque cubitorum, Alexander tantum trium mensuraretur *add. after* latitudinis *X*

[a] de *om. ACβ and Comestor* [b] illius *ACβ and Vulgate* [c] centum *supplied by author N*

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[26] Cf. ibid. cc. 128–30 (= ed. Griscom, viii. 10–12); Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica*, ii. 18; Liebrecht, pp. 81–2.

[27] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 132 and 134 (= ed. Griscom, viii. 14 and 16).

possessed various healing properties. They had been brought long ago by giants from the farthest bounds of the earth to Mount Killaraus in Ireland, so that they could build baths amongst them which would be beneficial for their infirmities. They used to pour water over the stones and then fill the baths with it; when sick people washed in the baths, they were healed. They also used to mix herbal juices into the water, and thus they cured the wounded. And there is not a stone among them without some healing property. It was these stones, then, that Merlin set up with marvellous skill at Amesbury near Salisbury in Great Britain, leaving this product of his genius as a lasting object of wonder in the world.[26] To this very day that place is called the Giants' Ring. Aurelius Ambrosius himself was buried there, after he was murdered by a secret draught of poison.[27]

Furthermore, we read concerning [28]Og, king of Bashan, that he was of the race of giants. His iron bedstead, nine cubits in length and four in width, used to be pointed out in Rabbath of the children of Ammon.[28]

24. *The Flood, the Ark, and the Rainbow*

[1]The Lord, angered at the sins of the human race (which we recounted in the last chapter), said: 'I repent of having made man'[2] (as if to say: I shall destroy man,[3] just as man, repenting of his work, often destroys what he had made). 'My spirit shall not remain in man for ever, because he is flesh'[4] (as if to say: I shall not subject him to an eternal punishment like that of the Devil, because he is frail, but I shall give him what he deserves; and yet, before I destroy him, I shall give him time to repent, if he will). 'And his days' (in which to repent) 'shall be a hundred and twenty years':[5] not that this was to be the limit of human life after the flood, for many people were to go on living beyond a hundred and twenty every day, but because the ark was built in a hundred years;[6] or,

[28–28] Cf. Comestor, *Deut.*, c. 2 (*PL* cxcviii. 1249); Deut. 3: 11.

[1–1] Iratus . . . anno, deleti sunt (p. 154)] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 31 (*PL* cxcviii. 1082). [2] Cf. Gen. 6: 6. [3] Cf. Gen. 6: 7. [4] Cf. Gen. 6: 3. [5] Loc. cit. [6] Cf. Comestor: 'et dixit Dominus hoc ante annos viginti, quam inciperet fieri arca, ut dicit Hieronymus, quae facta legitur centum annis' ('and the Lord said this twenty years before the building of the ark began, as Jerome says; for one reads that the ark was built in a hundred years'; cf. Gen. 5: 32, 7: 6): the completion of the ark therefore marked the term of 120 years. In abbreviating his source, Gervase has obscured the meaning.

secundum Strabum,[7] eo anno dixit quo cepit arca fieri, sed quia in malicia perseuerabant, ante prefixum terminum, silicet centesimo anno, deleti sunt.[1] Vel arbitror numerum hunc terminum fuisse humane penitentie, non uite, sicut in psalmo[d] numerus octogenarius terminus fuit penitentie, non uite, cum dicitur: 'Si autem in potentatibus octoginta anni, et amplius eorum labor et dolor.'[8]

Sequitur quod ait Dominus: [9]'Finis uniuerse carnis uenit coram me' (preter illos quos in arca saluabo), 'et disperdam eos cum terra',[10] hoc est auferam cum eis fertilitatem terre; ferunt enim uigorem terre ac fecunditatem longe inferiorem esse post diluuium. Vnde esus carnium homini concessus est post diluuium, cum antea fructibus terre uictitaret.[9] Sed et ait Augustinus nundum animalia carnibus usa esse, sicut nec homines utebantur carnibus ante diluuium.[11]

Porro arca ad modum corporis humani facta fuit,[e] et ad exemplum spiritualis imperii seu terreni. [12]Cum enim longitudo fuerit trecentorum cubitorum, quinquaginta uero latitudo, triginta[f] altitudo,[13] ad instar corporis humani facta fuit, cuius longitudo sexties[g] maior est latitudine, et decies maior altitudine. Est enim longitudo a planta pedis usque ad uerticem capitis, latitudo a crate lateris ad cratem, altitudo a dorso ad uentrem. Quod tamen quidam uolunt tantum dictum de corpore Christi, cuius dimensionem Ysidorus[14] describit. Fuit igitur arca in fundamento quadrata, sed in forma altera parte
f. 16^{v} longiore, ab angulis in arctum | conscendens, donec in cubito summitas eius[15] perficiatur.[12]

Arca hec ad ymaginem ecclesie pertinet, cuius Noe proretha[h] dominum papam significat, in qua, ut in arca, recolliguntur animalia monda et immunda, dum in eadem orationis domo, regenerati per aquam et Spiritum Sanctum, quidam sunt boni, quidam mali, quidam electi, quidam reprobi, quidam in uasa contumelie,[i] aliqui in uasa honoris transumpti.[16] Archa bituminata, ecclesia indissolubili fidei

[d] spalmo (*sic*) *supplied by author N* [e] fuit *supplied by author(?) N* [f] uero *add. after* triginta *XQ* [g] sexties *β and Comestor;* septies *NAC* [h] id est primus nauta *written by author above* proretha *N* [i] contumelie *supplied by author N*

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[7] Cf. *Glossa ordinaria*, *PL* cxiii. 104. [8] Ps. 89 (90): 10.

[9–9] 'Finis . . . fructibus terre uictitaret] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 32 (*PL* cxcviii. 1082); *Glossa ordinaria*, *PL* cxiii. 105.

[10] Cf. Gen. 6: 13.

[11] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 33 (*PL* cxcviii. 1084). Augustine actually believed that animals preyed on each other even before the flood, but that Noah provided them with other kinds of food while they were in the ark; see e.g. *De Genesi ad litteram*, iii. 16 (*CSEL* xxviii (1). 81–2 = *PL* xxxiv. 289–90); *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, i. 7 (*CCSL* xxxiii. 4 = *PL* xxxiv. 550); *Civ.* xv. 27 (*CSEL* xl (2). 121–2 = *PL* xli. 476).

according to Strabo,[7] he spoke in the year in which the ark was begun, but because they persevered in their wickedness, they were destroyed before the appointed term, that is, in the hundredth year.[1] In my opinion this number was the term fixed for human repentance rather than life, just as in the psalm the number eighty was the term of repentance, not life, when it is said: 'If those who are strong live for eighty years, yet what is more of them is but labour and sorrow.'[8]

Next we are told that the Lord said: [9]'The end of all flesh has come before me' (apart from those whom I shall save in the ark), 'and I will destroy them with the earth',[10] that is, I will remove along with them the fertility of the earth; for they say that the vigour and fecundity of the earth have been greatly reduced since the flood. That is why human beings were given permission to eat meat after the flood, while beforehand they had lived on the fruits of the earth.[9] Augustine says that animals had not yet become carnivorous either, just as human beings never ate meat before the flood.[11]

Now the ark was made after the fashion of a human body, and to illustrate right government, whether spiritual or earthly. [12]For in that its length was three hundred cubits, its breadth fifty, and its height thirty,[13] it was made in the likeness of the human body, whose length is six times greater than its breadth, and ten times greater than its height. The length of a human being is measured from the sole of the foot to the top of the head, the breadth from one side of the ribs to the other, the height from the back to the belly. Some, however, would only apply this description to the body of Christ, whose dimensions Isidore[14] describes. The ark, then, was square at its base, but its superstructure was oblong; it got narrower from the corners up, until it ended in a cubit at the top.[15,12]

This ark provides an image of the Church, with Noah as its pilot signifying the lord pope. In the Church, just as in the ark, clean and unclean creatures are gathered together: for in the same house of prayer, while all alike are regenerated by water and the Holy Spirit, some are good, some bad, some elect, some reprobate, some are made into vessels of dishonour, some into vessels of honour.[16] The ark was

[12–12] Cum . . . summitas eius perficiatur] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 32 (*PL* cxcviii. 1082); Augustine, *Civ.* xv. 26 (*CSEL* xl (2). 116–18 = *PL* xli. 472–3). [13] Cf. Gen. 6: 15.

[14] Cf. Isidore, *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum, In Genesin*, c. 7 (*PL* lxxxiii. 229–31).

[15] Cf. Gen. 6: 16.

[16] Cf. Rom. 9: 21; 2 Tim. 2: 20; Augustine, *Civ.* xv. 21 (*CSEL* xl (2). 105–7 = *PL* xli. 466–7).

constantia conglutinata[j] est; que bicamerata est et tricamerata, quasi per cenacula et tristega,[17] dum inter mites et immites, fortes et debiles, quedam sunt inter apothecas oportuna ecclesie membra, quedam ad sentinam stercoraria promenda.[k]

Nec enim mirandum si uno columbe[18] cibario per os transumpto intestina nutriuntur ut decoquant,[l] membra uero[m] exteriora[n] calescunt ut proficiant, et ex eodem cibo in uno uase conglutinato delicatiora transumuntur[o] ut nutriant, uiliora ut sentinam impleant. Sic et in domo imperiali quidam nobiliora tractant ministeria, quidam uiliora proiciunt; dum nobiles frusta[p] percipiunt, humiliores exta[q] discerpunt. Et cum ad ymaginem et similitudinem sui[r] Deus creauerit[s] hominem[19] conformitate rationis, non dimentione quantitatis, uoluit tamen ut in imperatore sit ratio discernens ut dominetur, et corporis pars sincerior ut gloriam capiat, et abiectior ne superbiat.

Porro [20]arca cubitis erat mensurata geometricis. Continet enim, ut ait Rabanus, geometricus sex[t] uel nouem nostros. Noster pedem continet et dimidium,[20] qualis in arca federis esse describitur, cuius longitudo duos cubitos habebat et semissem, latitudo cubitum et semissem,[u] altitudo similiter cubitum et dimidium.[21] [22]Quod autem fuerit cubitus communis[v] et non geometricus apparet in altari

[j] glutinata *ACβ* [k] proicienda *XQ* [l] dequocant *N* [m] uero] eius *XQ* [n] exteriora *supplied by author N* [o] transumuntur *XI;* transumentur *NAC,* transumantur *Q* [p] *sic β;* frustra *NAC* [q] id est interiora *written by author in margin N* [r] sui *om. N* [s] creauit *ACβ* [t] septem *X and Comestor* [u] latitudo . . . semissem] *supplied by author N; om. X* [v] communis *MSS;* humanus *Comestor*

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[17] Cf. Gen. 6: 16. The Comestor explains (*Gen.*, c. 32 (*PL* cxcviii. 1083)) that 'bicamerata et tricamerata' was an alternative translation to the Vulgate 'coenacula, et tristega' (see *Vetus Latina*, Gen. 6: 16, ed. B. Fischer *et al.* (Freiburg, 1949–), ii. 110; this reading is also cited in the *Glossa ordinaria*, *PL* cxiii. 106). He takes from Augustine the suggestion that the level above the *sentina* contained two chambers, the *stercoraria* and the *apothecaria*, while on the level above that there were three chambers: 'Laterales camerae erant una immitium, altera mitium animalium, media hominum, et avium' ('one of the outer chambers contained the dangerous animals, the other the harmless ones, while the middle one contained the human beings and the birds'). Others, the Comestor says, believed there were five storeys, containing respectively the refuse, the stores, the dangerous animals, the harmless animals, and at the top, the human beings and the birds; cf. *Glossa ordinaria*, *PL* cxiii. 105.

[18] The dove was much favoured as an image of the Church: see e.g. Augustine, *In Ioannis evangelium tractatus cxxiv*, vi. 25 (*CCSL* xxxvi. 66 = *PL* xxxv. 1436); *Glossa ordinaria*, *PL* cxiii. 942; *Otia*, iii. 103, at n. 57. Here, however, Gervase passes from the ark as an image of the Church to the dove as an image of the imperial household, drawing out the link between the spiritual and earthly powers to which he has referred above.

[19] Cf. Gen. 1: 26–7.

sealed with pitch, the Church is sealed with the indissoluble steadfastness of faith. The Church has second and third storeys, corresponding to the middle and upper chambers of the ark;[17] as in the ark, there are some who are harmless, others who are dangerous; some who are strong, others who are weak; there are some in the hold who will be serviceable members of the Church, while others will have to be cast stinking into the bilge.

Nor should it cause astonishment if, when a dove[18] takes in a single morsel of food through its mouth, its entrails receive the food to digest it, while its outer limbs are warmed so that they may be of service, and from the same food, which had formed a single substance in one vessel, the finer elements are taken for nourishment, the baser ones to make up excrement. So too in the imperial household some people hold the nobler offices, others discharge the meaner ones; while the nobles take the fine morsels, the humbler servants fall to on the entrails. And although God created man in his own image and likeness[19] only in so far as man shares the use of reason, not in his physical dimension, it was nevertheless his will that the emperor should possess not just rational discernment for ruling, but also a body, with a respectable part to win glory, and a humbler part to prevent him from becoming proud.

Returning to the ark, [20]its measurements were expressed in geometric cubits. For a geometric cubit, according to Rabanus, contains six or nine of ours. Our cubit contains one and a half feet.[20] It is this latter kind of cubit that is meant in the description of the ark of the covenant, which was two and a half cubits long, one and a half cubits wide, and likewise one and a half cubits high.[21] [22]That this was the common cubit and not the geometric is clear from the

[20–20] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 32 (*PL* cxcviii. 1083); Rabanus Maurus, *In Genesim*, ii. 6 (*PL* cvii. 517); Augustine, *Civ.* xv. 27 (*CSEL* xl (2). 119–20 = *PL* xli. 474); Origen, *In Gen. Hom.* ii (*PG* xii. 167). The suggestion, originally made by Origen, that the measurements of the ark were in geometrical cubits, arose from the need to explain how so many animals fitted into it. Although Migne's text of the Comestor states that a geometrical cubit contains *seven* or nine common cubits, the figure is six in the tradition handed on by Rabanus.

[21] Cf. Exod. 25: 10.

[22–22] Quod . . . federis duos palmos (p. 158)] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 46 (*PL* cxcviii. 1170). The tradition that the ark of the covenant was kept beneath the Lateran altar is recorded by John the Deacon in his *Liber de ecclesia Lateranensi* (Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, ii. 564): 'in eiusdem ecclesiae ara principali est arca foederis Domini, vel, ut aiunt, arca est inferius, et altare ad mensuram longitudinis, latidudinis et altitudinis arcae conditum est superius' ('in the principal altar of the same church is the ark of the covenant of the Lord, or rather, so they say, the ark is beneath it, and the altar was built above it, its length, width, and height being the same as those of the ark').

Lateranensi, infra quod dicitur arca contineri. Dicit etiam Iosefus[23] cubitum uocari in arca federis duos palmos.[w] [22]

Enimuero in arca Noe, de qua nobis est agendum, [24]ingressa sunt animancia inmunda bina, hoc est combinata, quasi masculus et femina secundum genus suum; de mundis uero septena. Inmunda sane uocauit Moyses que lex immunda uocat; uel tunc dicebantur immunda quia esui hominum tunc non erant apta: naturaliter enim non erant concessa.[25] Siue autem munda siue immunda, tantum generantia ingressa sunt,[26] quod patet ex eo quod additur, 'secundum genus suum', uel 'ex genere suo'.[24]

[27]Ingresso ergo Noe in arcam, 'rupti sunt fontes abyssi', hoc est aqua que est in uisceribus terre, 'et catharacte celi', id est nubes, quasi fenestre celi.[28] (Catharacte enim proprie sunt meatus Nili cum in septem ostia separatur, uel decidua in quibus decidit, que Cataduppa uocantur; [29]que tantum murmur in cadendo faciunt quod aures nascentium inibi obsurduerunt.[29] Abusiue quoque[x] quilibet[y] meatus aquarum iniciales catharacte dicuntur.)[30] Et super omnes montes qui nunc sunt (quia tunc terram dicunt in planicie factam) excreuit aqua altior quindecim cubitis, ut ablueret sordes aeris usquequo ascenderant opera hominum; usque ad eundem locum ascendet ignis iudicii ob aeris purgationem.[27] [z]Vnde in glosa super Marchum, 'Celum et terra transibunt',[31] ita legitur: [32]'Generatio preterit, generatio aduenit.' Sic ergo celum et terra transeunt secundum ymaginem, manent in eternum secundum essenciam.[32] Et

[w] palmos *supplied by author N* [x] queque *N* [y] quelibet *N* [z–z] Vnde . . . in eternum stat (*p. 160*)] *supplied by author N; om. XI; transposed in Q to follow* Vel si forte . . . maculasse *below*

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[23] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 135.

[24–24] ingressa . . . 'ex genere suo'] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 33 (*PL* cxcviii. 1083–4); Gen. 6: 19–20, 7: 2.

[25] The Comestor's point is that, although no animals were eaten before the flood, their natures already made them either suitable or unsuitable as food: 'Vel tunc dicta sunt immunda, quae etiam tunc naturaliter esui hominum non erant apta. Ideo dixi, naturaliter, quia nulla adhuc ad edendum concessa' ('Or else those animals which even then were not naturally suited to human consumption were already called unclean; I said "naturally", because up to that time no animals had been granted as food').

[26] It was believed that some creatures, such as fleas, did not always reproduce sexually, but could be generated from various substances; cf. *Otia*, i. 8; Augustine, *Civ.* xv. 27 (*CSEL* xl (2). 120 = *PL* xli. 475).

[27–27] Ingresso . . . ob aeris purgationem] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 34 (*PL* cxcviii. 1084); Gen. 7: 11, 20; *Otia*, i. 12, pp. 76–7.

size of the Lateran altar, since the ark is said to be kept underneath it. Josephus[23] also says that in the case of the ark of the covenant two spans are called a cubit.[22]

But it is Noah's ark of which we are meant to be speaking. [24]The unclean animals went into the ark in twos, that is, in couples, a male and a female after their kind; but of the clean animals seven of each kind went in. Presumably by the unclean animals Moses meant those which the law calls unclean; or else they were called unclean then because even at that time they were not suited to human consumption: in other words, their nature would have prevented them from being granted as food.[25] But of the clean and unclean creatures alike, only animals that breed (*generantia*) went into the ark,[26] as is clear from the words which are added, 'according to their kind' (*genus*), or 'by their kind'.[24]

[27]When Noah had gone into the ark, 'the fountains of the great deep were broken up', that is, the water which is in the bowels of the earth; likewise 'the flood gates (*cataractae*) of heaven', that is, the clouds: heaven's windows, so to speak.[28] (Actually the word *cataractae* properly refers to the channels of the Nile when it divides into seven mouths; or to the falls where it drops down: these are called the Catadupa, [29]and they produce such a loud roaring in their fall that the ears of the people who are born in their vicinity are deafened.[29] In addition, by an improper usage, any channels of water are called *cataractae* after the original ones.)[30] And the water rose up fifteen cubits higher than all the mountains which now exist (for they say that the earth was flat then), in order that it might wash away the uncleanness of the air as high as human activity had ascended; the fire of judgment will ascend to the same level to purge the air.[27] And so in the gloss on the verse of Mark, 'Heaven and earth shall pass away',[31] one reads the following: [32]'One generation passes away, another generation comes.' Thus heaven and earth pass away as regards appearance, but remain for ever as regards essence.[32] And again:

[28] Gervase has (probably accidentally) omitted the 'apertae sunt' ('were opened') found in both the Vulgate and the Comestor's text.

[29–29] Cf. Cicero, *De re publica*, vi. 18. 19; Macrobius, *Commentarii*, ii. 4. 14. Gervase has added this comment to the Comestor's material, just as he did in i. 12 above.

[30] The meaning of *initiales* in this context is obscure; cf. Comestor: 'Abusive quilibet aquarum meatus dicuntur initiales, id est cataractae.'

[31] Mark 13: 31.

[32–32] Cf. *Glossa ordinaria*, *PL* cxiv. 228; Eccles. 1: 4.

iterum: [33]Celum aereum, de quo aues celi; unde Petrus: 'Celi autem, qui nunc sunt, et terra eodem uerbo repositi sunt, igni reseruati', aperte docens quia non[a] alii celi sunt igne perituri quam aqua perditi, id est inania et nebulosa.[b][33] Et iterum super Matheum, 'Celum et terra transibunt',[34] id est: [35]Innouabuntur, deposita priori forma, manente autem substancia, unde dicitur: 'Terra in eternum stat.'[35] Vel si forte tunc erant montes, potuit uapor sacrificiorum et ignis tantum ascendisse et aera tantum maculasse.[36]

xxv. *Egressus ab arca expositio*[a]

[1]'Mense secundo, septima et uicesima die mensis, dixit Dominus ad Noe: Egredere de arca, tu et uxor tua, et filii tui, et uxores filiorum tuorum.' Coniunctim iubentur exire, qui disiunctim intrauerant.[1] Tunc enim [2]dixit Deus[b] ad Noe: 'Ingredieris[c] in arcam tu et filii tui,[d] uxor tua et uxores filiorum tuorum,' ac si diceret: Tempore afflictionis uacandum[e] est ab amplexibus.[2] Tempore uero egressionis a[f] penitentia et spiritu contribulato,[3] [4]tunc redit tempus amplectendi. Vnde mox subiunxit illud originale mandatum: 'Cressite et multiplicamini.'[4] Huic quoque consonat Apostolus cum ait ut uir[g] et uxor ad tempus carnali inuicem fraudarentur debito ut uacent orationi.[5]

[6]Quia uero maxime timebat Noe ne Dominus iterum aquas diluuii

[a] non *om. Glossa* [b] nubulosa *N*

[a] Egressus ab arca expositio, *with* expositio *supplied by author N;* Egressus ab archa *A; om. C;* Expositio *I;* De egressione Noe ab archa *XQ* [b] Deus *supplied by author* (*correcting* Dominus) *N;* Dominus *AQ* [c] ingredieris *XI;* ingredietis *NAQ;* ingrediens *C* [d] et *add. after* tui *N* [e] uocandum *N* [f] a] et *N* [g] uir *supplied by author N*

[33–33] Celum . . . inania et nebulosa] Cf. *Glossa ordinaria*, loc. cit.; 2 Pet. 3: 7; and see above, i. 1, n. 32. The *Gloss*, like the Epistle of St Peter, says that the heaven which will be destroyed by fire is a replacement of the one which was destroyed by water; the *non* inserted in the text here (see apparatus) would seem to produce the opposite sense, but in fact Gervase means that in each case it is the lowest, airy heaven that is in question, successive appearances of it being destroyed while its 'essence' or 'substance' remains unchanged.

[34] Matt. 24: 35.

[35–35] Cf. *Glossa ordinaria*, *PL* cxiv. 162; Eccles. 1: 4.

[36] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 34 (*PL* cxcviii. 1084–5). Even without Gervase's interpolation of material from the *Gloss*, this sentence about the mountains would have lacked clarity, owing to Gervase's earlier statement that the water rose to a height of fifteen cubits above the mountains *which now exist*. The Comestor, on the other hand, posing the question of how human activity could have reached fifteen cubits above the mountains we know, since

[33]This is the airy heaven, to which belong the birds of heaven; and so Peter said: 'But the heavens and the earth which are now, are kept in store by the same word, reserved for fire', teaching plainly that no other heavens are to perish in the fire than the ones which were destroyed by the water, that is, the empty and cloudy heavens.'[33] And again the gloss on 'Heaven and earth shall pass away'[34] in Matthew explains: [35]They shall be renewed, putting off their former appearance, while the substance remains; and so it is truly said: 'The earth abides for ever.'[35] Alternatively, if by chance the mountains were in existence then, the smoke from burnt offerings could have ascended to such a height and caused such pollution of the air.[36]

25. *Exposition of the Departure from the Ark*

[1]'In the second month, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, the Lord said to Noah: Go out of the ark, you and your wife, and your sons and your sons' wives.' They had entered separately, but they are ordered to go out together.[1] For at the former time [2]God said to Noah: 'You shall come into the ark, you and your sons, your wife and your sons' wives,' as if to say: At the time of affliction you must refrain from embracing.[2] However, at the time when penitence and a broken spirit[3] are left behind, [4]then the time of embracing returns. And so he quickly went on to reiterate the command he had given in the beginning: 'Increase and multiply.'[4] The Apostle also concurs with this when he says that a husband and wife should deny their marital obligations to each other for a time in order to be free for prayer.[5]

[6]Because Noah was extremely fearful in case the Lord should send

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the air on Mount Olympus, for example, is so thin that people can only stay there a short time (cf. *Otia*, i. 11), suggests that either the mountains were not so high then (and that the air was only polluted to a height of fifteen cubits above the mountains *as they were then*); or that it was the smoke and ash from the fires of sacrifices on the mountains that reached so high.

[1–1] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 35 (*PL* cxcviii. 1085); Gen. 8: 14–16.

[2–2] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 33 (*PL* cxcviii. 1083); Gen. 6: 18.

[3] Cf. Ps. 50 (51): 19 (17).

[4–4] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 35 (*PL* cxcviii. 1085); Eccles. 3: 5; Gen. 9: 1; see also 1: 22, 1: 28, 8: 17.

[5] Cf. 1 Cor. 7: 5.

[6–6] Quia . . . desiccationem iam ceptam (p. 162)] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 35 (*PL* cxcviii. 1086); Gen. 9: 8–17.

immitteret super terram, Noe cotidie, ut ait Iosefus,[7] orante ne id fieret, pepigit ei pactum Deus quod ultra non faceret diluuium, et in signum federis huius posuit arcum suum in nubibus. Et est signum duorum iudiciorum: iudicii per aquam preteriti, ne timeatur; iudicii per ignem futuri, ut expectetur. Inde est quod duos habet colores: ceruleum, qui est aqueus, et est exterior quia preteriit; rubeum, qui est igneus, et est interior quia uenturus[h] est ignis. Vnde tradunt sancti quadraginta annis ante iudicium non appariturum arcum celi, quod etiam naturaliter ostendet aeris desiccationem iam ceptam.[6]

Explicita est prima dicisio.[i] Incipiunt tituli[j] secunde decisionis.[k]

[h] uenturus *supplied by author N;* futurus *Comestor* [i] explicita . . . dicisio] *A, written in margin N; om. Cβ* [j] Incipiunt tutuli (*sic*) *written in margin N;* Incipiunt capitula *XQ; om. I* [k] secunde decisionis *supplied by author in margin, linked by a sign to f.* 17^r, where secunde dicisionis (*sic*) *is written by the rubricator, immediately before the*

the waters of a flood over the earth again, and prayed every day, as Josephus[7] tells us, that that would not happen, God established a covenant with him, promising that he would never send a flood again, and as a token of this covenant he set his bow in the clouds. The bow is a sign of the two judgments: the judgment by water that is past, that it should not be feared; and the judgment by fire that is to come, that it should be expected. That is why it has two colours: blue, which is the colour of water, and is on the outside because it is past; and red, which is the colour of fire, and is on the inside because the fire is still to come. And so the saints say that the rainbow of heaven will not appear for forty years before the judgment; this will make it clear even in the natural world that the drying up of the air has already begun.[6]

The end of the first book. Here begin the titles of the second book.

(*displaced*) *list of titles, N;* secunde distinctionis *XQ;* De diuisione filiorum Noe et diuisione quatuor regnorum *N* (*deleted*), *AI*

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[7] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 96–8.

SECVNDA DECISIO

f. 17r i. | [a] De diuisione filiorum Noe et diuisione quatuor regnorum
ii. De diuisione orbis tripartiti in summa
iii. De distinctione Asie maioris per regiones et prouincias a parte orientali
iv. De distinctione a parte meridiana
v. De distinctione maioris Asie a parte septentrionali
vi. De distinctione Asie minoris
vii. De distinctione Europe a parte septentrionali et eius prouinciis et urbibus
viii. De Italia et eius prouinciis et ciuitatibus; de situ Rome
ix. Tituli particulares[b]
x. De partibus Europe occidentalibus; de urbibus maioris Britanie[c]
xi. De Affrica
xii. De insulis maris Mediterranei
xiii. De mari et eius natura
xiv. De regni Troiani excidio et ducibus populi Israel et regibus Latii
xv. De regno Romanorum et regno Judeorum et Medorum et Macedonum et Egipti et Persarum
xvi. De imperio Romanorum et[d] Gottorum et Longobardorum regno
xvii. De regno Britonum
xviii. De regno Francorum et eius ortu
xix. De imperatoribus Romanis ex Alemannia creatis[e]
xx. De successione regum post Karolum[f] in Francia
xxi. De successione regum Anglie a tempore Normannorum
xxii. Epilogus prouinciarum tocius orbis, ac primum de Asia usque ad terram sancta
xxiii. De situ terre sancte secundum Teodoseum diaconem et uia filiorum Israel

BOOK II

1. The Distribution between the Sons of Noah and the Division into Four Kingdoms
2. A Summary Description of the Three Different Parts of the World
3. The Eastern Part of Greater Asia, and its Various Regions and Provinces
4. The Regions of the Southern Part
5. The Regions of the Northern Part of Greater Asia
6. The Various Regions of Asia Minor
7. The Regions of Northern Europe, its Provinces and Cities
8. Italy, its Provinces and Cities; the Topography of Rome
9. Various Headings
10. The Western Parts of Europe; the Cities of Great Britain
11. Africa
12. The Islands of the Mediterranean Sea
13. The Sea and its Nature
14. The Overthrow of the Trojan Kingdom, the Leaders of the People of Israel, and the Kings of Latium
15. The Kingdom of the Romans; also the Kingdoms of the Jews, the Medes, the Macedonians, Egypt, and the Persians
16. The Empire of the Romans, and the Kingdoms of the Goths and the Lombards
17. The Kingdom of the Britons
18. The Kingdom of the Franks and its Rise
19. The Roman Emperors Appointed from Germany
20. The Line of Kings Succeeding Charlemagne in France
21. The Line of the Kings of England from the Time of the Normans
22. An Epilogue containing the Provinces of the Whole World, beginning with Asia and ending with the Holy Land
23. The Topography of the Holy Land according to Theodosius the Deacon, and the Route of the Children of Israel

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[a] *List of titles inserted between* ciliadis *and* natus, *20 lines after the beginning of the first chapter, N* [b] Tituli particulares *ringed in N, with* Iste titulus debet esse rubeus *written alongside by author* [c] De partibus Europe occidentalibus; de urbibus maioris Britanie *I; om. NACXQ* [d] Romanorum et *om. NA* [e] creans *N* [f] Karolum *supplied by author N*

xxiv. De situ terre promissionis et eius adiacentiis diffusius
xxv. Mappa mundi[g]
xxvi. De ortu prouinciarum et ciuitatum et sex etatibus seculi[h]

i. *De diuisione filiorum Noe*[a] *et diuisione*[b] *quatuor regnorum*[c]

f. 16v Sicut supra meminimus,[1] Noe genuit Sem, Cham, et Iaphet. [2]Verum
Moyses post diluuium generationes Noe computans, incipit a[d] Iaphet
minore, ut ultimo ponatur Sem, cuius successionem texere intendit.
Texuntur autem ex his septuaginta due generationes: quindecim de
Iaphet, triginta de Cam, uiginti septem de Sem. Hii tres disseminati[e]
in tribus partibus orbis; secundum Alquinum[3] Sem Asiam, Cam
f. 17r Affricam, Iaphet | Europam sortitus est, uel secundum Iosefum[4]
expressius dicitur, filii Iaphet tenuerunt septentrionalem regionem,
a Tauro et Aman, montibus Cilicie et Sirie, usque ad fluuium
Tanaym, in Europa uero usque ad Gadira; filii uero Cham a prouincia
Siria et Aman et Libano montibus cunctas terras obtinuerunt
quecumque ad mare sunt posite, apprehendentes eas etiam que
usque ad occeanum sunt, et proprias facientes appellationes; filii
uero Sem usque ad occeanum seorsum habitant Asiam, ab Eufrate
facientes inicium:[2] qui[f] ergo, benedictus et primogenitus, ampliorem
partem et uberiorem[g] optinuit.[h]

Porro [5]Methodius[6] de quodam filio Noe, de quo[i] non egit Moyses, sic ait: Centesimo anno tercie ciliadis[j] natus est Noe filius in similitudinem eius, et dixit eum Yonicum. Trecentesimo anno dedit Noe donationes filio suo Yonico, et dimisit eum in terram Etham,[7] et intrauit eam Yonicus usque ad mare quod dicitur Elyocora, quod est 'solis regio'. Hic accepit donum sapientie a Domino, et inuenit astronomiam; ad quem ueniens[k] Nembrot gigas

[g] diffusius | Mappa mundi] *om. β* [h] De ortu . . . seculi] Epilogus prouinciarum totius orbis, quibus terre habuerunt exordium, et ciuitates et gentes, et de sex etatibus seculi, et diuersitatibus auctorum annos ab origine computantium *XQ; om. I*

[a] Naoe *N* [b] divisione *om. CXQ* [c] De . . . regnorum] *deleted N; om. A* [d] a *supplied by author N* [e] sunt *add. after* disseminati *Comestor* [f] qui] Sem *ACβ* [g] meliorem *β* [h] qui ergo . . . optinuit] *supplied by author N* [i] quo *supplied by author N* [j] *The list of titles interrupts the text at this point in N* [k] ueniens] uenit *CI;* cum uenit *XQ*

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[1] i. 23.

[2–2] Verum . . . Eufrate facientes inicium] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 37 (*PL* cxcviii. 1087–8).

[3] Cf. Alcuin, *Interrogationes et responsiones in Genesin*, 141 (*PL* c. 532).

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24. A Fuller Description of the Topography of the Promised Land and its Adjoining Territories
25. A Map of the World
26. The Origin of the Provinces and Cities, and the Six Ages of the World

1. *The Distribution between the Sons of Noah and the Division into Four Kingdoms*

As we said above,[1] Noah's sons were Shem, Ham, and Japheth. [2]But when Moses was reckoning the generations of Noah after the flood, he began with Japheth, the youngest, so that Shem could be placed last, as he intended to trace the history of his line. Seventy-two descendants of these brothers are recorded, fifteen being Japheth's, thirty Ham's, and twenty-seven Shem's. The three brothers settled respectively in the three parts of the world. According to Alcuin,[3] Shem acquired Asia, Ham Africa, and Japheth Europe. Josephus[4] is more specific, saying that the children of Japheth took possession of the northern region, from the Taurus and Amanus mountain ranges in Cilicia and Syria as far as the river Don, and all of Europe as far as Cadiz; the children of Ham acquired all the lands which border the sea, starting from the province of Syria and the Amanus and Lebanon mountains, taking also those which stretch to the ocean, and giving them their own names; while the children of Shem have made Asia their home, beginning from the Euphrates, and reaching to the ocean.[2] Shem, then, having the rights and blessing of the first-born, received the largest and richest share.

Further, [5]Methodius[6] speaks as follows of a certain son of Noah whom Moses did not mention: In the hundredth year of the third chiliad a son in his likeness was born to Noah, and he called him Ionitus. In the three hundredth year Noah gave gifts to his son Ionitus, and sent him into the land of Etham;[7] and Ionitus took possession of this land as far as the sea called Heliochora, which means 'the region of the sun'. Here he received the gift of wisdom from the Lord, and invented astronomy. The giant Nimrod came to

[4] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 122, 130, 143.

[5–5] Methodius . . . de Iapeht Romani (p. 168)] Cf. Comestor, loc. cit.

[6] Cf. Pseudo-Methodius, *Revelationes*, c. 3 (ed. Sackur, pp. 63–4); see *Otia*, i. 20, n. 4.

[7] The Comestor's *terram Ethan* is a corruption of *terram Eoam* ('the land of the east') in Pseudo-Methodius.

eruditus[l] est ab eo et accepit ab illo consilium, in quibus[m] regnare cepisset. Ionicus iste futuros quosdam euentus preuidit, et maxime de ortu quatuor regnorum et occasu eorum per successionem; et predixit disciplo suo Nembroth quod primi regnarent de Cham, de quo Belus descendit Nembrocides, rex Babilonis, a quo regnum Babilonie; post de Sem, Medi et Perse et Greci, a[n] quibus regnum Medorum, Macedonicum scilicet;[8] post quod Affricanum; ultimum de Iapeht Romani[5] prodeunt, uelut Grecorum et Troianorum seminaria.

[o]Porro secundum antiquorum traditionem, [9]quatuor post diluuium excellentia regna excorta sunt:[p] Assiriorum ab oriente, Sicioniorum ab occidente, Scitarum ab aquilone, Egiptiorum a meridie. Apud Assirios primus regnauit Belus (de quo dixi),[10] apud Sicionias Agellus,[11] apud Scitas Thanus,[12] apud Egiptios Imineus.[13] Sicioniorum regnum propter sui breuitatem, Scitarum propter sui remotionem minus apud nos celebre fuit.[9]

Deficiente quoque regno Assiriorum, Caldea suos reges habuit, quorum primus Merodacal.[14] Regnum Medorum sub Ezechia rege cepit, sed regnum Caldeorum illo posterius, strenuitate Nabucodonosor[15] (qui postea tempore Iosie, pronepotis Ezechie, regnauit apud Caldeos) sublimatum est ita quod Medos et Persas obtinuit. Longe post sub Ciro[16] regnum cepit Persarum; subuerso post Dario ab Alexandro,[17] Macedones Persis imperauerunt. Quo mortuo, diuisio

[l] et eruditus *C;* erudictusque *I* [m] locis *add. after* quibus *Comestor* [n] a *supplied by author N* [o–o] Porro . . . Deo duce dicetur (*p. 170*)] *om. β* [p] sunt *supplied by author N*

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[8] Gervase has expanded the Comestor's account here, inserting this suggestion that the kingdoms of the Medes and the Macedonians only count as one kingdom, and adding the mention of the kingdom of Africa; by this means he preserves the traditional number of four kingdoms, derived from Daniel 2: 37–40 (see below, n. 21), while harmonizing the account of Comestor-Methodius with that of Orosius (*Adversum paganos,* ii. 1. 4–6; see below).

[9–9] quatuor . . . nos celebre fuit] An identical formulation of regions and kings is found in Hugh of St Victor, *De unitate mundi,* iii (*PL* clxxvi. 727–8); its ancient source, if such exists, has not been traced. These four kingdoms are not successive, as in Daniel, but are based on an east-west-north-south scheme.

[10] *Otia*, Preface, pp. 4–5, and i. 20, pp. 116–17.

[11] Jerome names Aegialeus as the first king of Sicyon (*Chronica, PL* xxvii. 111). In early times Sicyon was dependent on Argos. Though never a great power, in the seventh and sixth centuries BC it enjoyed independence and a certain international importance, and it acquired in retrospect some of the renown properly belonging to Mycenae and Argos in the Heroic Age. We know from Augustine (*Civ.* xviii. 2, *CSEL* xl (2). 268 = *PL* xli. 561) that Varro began his (lost) work *De gente populi Romani* with an account of the Sicyonian kingdom.

[12] The Greeks called the land between the Carpathian Mountains and the river Don

him and was instructed by him, taking advice from him, since Ionitus had set himself up as the first ruler there. This Ionitus foresaw certain future events, in particular the successive rise and fall of the four kingdoms; he predicted to his disciple Nimrod that the first people to reign would be the descendants of Ham, including Nimrod's son Belus, king of Babylon, with whom the Babylonian kingdom began; then would come the descendants of Shem, the Medes, the Persians, and the Greeks, founders of the kingdom of the Medes, that is, of the Macedonian kingdom;[8] after that the African kingdom would arise; finally the Romans would spring from the line of Japheth,[5] as offshoots, as it were, of the Greeks and the Trojans.

Again, according to a tradition of the ancients, [9]four principal kingdoms arose after the flood: the kingdom of the Assyrians in the east, that of the Sicyonians in the west, that of the Scythians in the north, and that of the Egyptians in the south. The first king of the Assyrians was Belus (whom I have already mentioned),[10] of the Sicyonians Aegialeus,[11] of the Scythians Tanus,[12] and of the Egyptians Menes.[13] The kingdoms of the Sicyonians and the Scythians are less well-known to us, the former because of its brief duration, the latter because of its remoteness.[9]

When the kingdom of the Assyrians also came to an end, Chaldaea had its own kings, the first of whom was Merodach.[14] The kingdom of the Medes began in the time of King Hezekiah, but the kingdom of the Chaldaeans, though it arose later than that of the Medes, grew so powerful under the strong rule of Nebuchadnezzar[15] (who afterwards, in the time of Josiah, great-grandson of Hezekiah, became the ruler of the Chaldaeans) that it extended its dominion over the Medes and the Persians. Long afterwards the kingdom of the Persians began with the reign of Cyrus;[16] subsequently, when Darius was overthrown by Alexander,[17] the Macedonians ruled the Persians. On Alexander's

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'Scythia'; the term 'Scythians' is used of those Asian tribes of Indo-European origin who penetrated into Eastern Europe in the first millennium BC. Tanus is named as their first king by Isidore (*Etym.* xii. 21. 24).

[13] Menes, founder of the Egyptian monarchy, reigned *c.*3750 BC.

[14] Merodach-baladan, a Chaldaean sheik who twice established himself as king of Babylon (in 721 and 701 BC), and as such sent an embassy to King Hezekiah of Judah (4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 20: 12; Isa. 39: 1).

[15] Nebuchadnezzar II, king of Babylon 605–562 BC, responsible for the destruction of Jerusalem and the deportation to Babylon (4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 24–25); see D. J. Wiseman, *Nebuchadrezzar and Babylon* (Oxford, 1985).

[16] Cyrus the Great (d. 529 BC), founder of the Persian empire.

[17] Darius III was overthrown by Alexander in 330 BC.

facta est, et principantur regnum Sirie et regnum Egipti. Sicque deficiente Macedonico, Romanorum regnum cepit, ut infra, titulo *De regno Romanorum*, plenius Deo duce dicetur." [18]

[19]Narrat autem Iosefus[20] in libro *Questionum super Genesim* quod ex tribus filiis Noe, adhuc ipso uiuente, nati sunt .xxiiii. milia uirorum et centum, extra mulieres et paruulos.[19]

De hiis sane quatuor[q] regnis successiuis prophetauit Daniel cum sompnium Nabugodonosor exponens dixit: [21]'Videbas coram te statuam gramdem et terribilem, cuius caput et columpna[r] erat ex auro, pectus[s] et bracia de argento, uenter et femora ex ere,[t] tibie f. 17v autem | ferree, pedum quedam pars ferrea, quedam fictilis. Et abcisus est lapis de monte sine manibus, et percussit statuam in pedibus et contriuit eam; et redacta est in fauillam, que uento rapitur, et non est inuentus locus eius. Lapis autem factus est mons magnus et impleuit totam terram. Nunc audi, rex, interpretationem eius. Tu es caput aureum, cum hiis qui sucedent tibi. Et post hec consurget regnum aliud minus te', quod intelligendum est de regno Medorum[u] et Persarum, tamquam per duo bracia, per que deiectum est regnum Babilonis. 'Tercium erat eneum, quod imperabat[v] uniuerse terre', quod intelligendum[w] est de regno Grecorum, quod uocalius fuit ceteris, uel propter eloquentiam Grecorum, uel propter famam Alexandri. 'Quartum regnum erit ferreum, quia sicut ferrum domat omnia metalla, sic illud regnum conteret omnia hec', quod intelligendum est de imperio[x] Romanorum. 'Porro quia uidisti partem pedum terream,[y] partem ferream, sicut ferrum non potest misceri teste, sic erunt in eo ciuiles discordie, et pars[z] solidabitur, et pars altera conteretur.[a] Tunc suscitabit Deus regnum celi et[b] comminuet omnia regna hec, et stabit in eternum.'[21]

[q] quatuor *om.* *β* [r] collum *Comestor* [s] pectus] collum *Comestor* [t] ex ere *I*, ex aere *Comestor;* eree *NAXQ* [u] Medorum *supplied by author N;* Iudeorum *XQ* [v] imperabit *Comestor* [w] intelligendum *supplied by author N* [x] imperio *supplied by author N* [y] testeam *Comestor* [z] in se *add. after* pars *XQ* [a] conterebitur *N* [b] et] quod *Comestor*

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[18] ii. 15 [19-19] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 37 (*PL* cxcviii. 1088).

[20] The Comestor correctly attributes this information to *Philo Judaeus*, not Josephus. In fact it derives from Pseudo-Philo: see *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, ed. Guido Kisch, v. 8 and 20–21. Philo's *Quaestiones in Genesim* and this work by Pseudo-Philo were often confused in the Middle Ages. The figure given in Pseudo-Philo is 914,100. But see L. Cohn, 'Pseudo-Philo und Jerachmeel', in *Festschrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstage Jakob Guttmanns*, ed. Vorstand der Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums (Leipzig, 1915), pp. 173–85 at p. 176: 'Hier haben wir dieselbe Vermengung der Philonischen *Quaestiones in Genesim* und der pseudophilonischen Schrift . . . Die

death a partition was made, and the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt became powerful. With the Macedonian kingdom thus at an end, the kingdom of the Romans began, as will be described more fully below, under God's guidance, in the chapter *The Kingdom of the Romans.*[18]

[19]Josephus[20] tells us in his book of *Questions on Genesis* that in Noah's lifetime twenty-four thousand and one hundred men were born, descended from his three sons, not counting the women and children.[19]

Daniel prophesied concerning these four successive kingdoms in his interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, when he said: [21]'You saw before you a great and terrible statue. Its head and neck were of gold, its breast and arms of silver, its belly and thighs of brass, its legs of iron, and its feet partly of iron and partly of clay. A stone was cut out without hands from a mountain, and it struck the statue on its feet and smashed it; the statue was reduced to dust, which was carried away by the wind, and its place was not found. And the stone became a great mountain and filled the whole earth. Listen now, king, to the interpretation of this dream. You are the golden head, along with those who will succeed you. And after this there shall arise another kingdom, a lesser one than yours.' This is to be taken as referring to the kingdom of the Medes and the Persians, with its two arms, as it were, by which the kingdom of Babylon was overthrown. 'The third kingdom was of brass, and ruled over the whole world.' This is to be taken as referring to the kingdom of the Greeks, which resounded more loudly than the others: an allusion either to the eloquence of the Greeks, or to the fame of Alexander. 'The fourth kingdom will be of iron, because just as iron subdues all other metals, so that kingdom', which is to be taken as referring to the empire of the Romans, 'will crush all these others. Furthermore, you have seen the feet to be partly clay, partly iron, and just as iron cannot be mixed with earthenware, so there will be civil discord in that empire, and one part will be made strong while the other will be crushed. Then shall God raise up the kingdom of heaven and reduce all these other kingdoms to nothing, and it shall stand for ever.'[21]

angegebene Ziffer weicht allerdings erheblich ab, Pseudo-Philo gibt die Zahl auf 914 000 an; es liegt aber vermutlich nur eine Verschreibung in der betreffenden Hs. vor (viginti quattuor statt nongenti quattuordecim).'

[21-21] Videbas . . . stabit in eternum] Cf. Comestor, *Dan.*, c. 2 (*PL* cxcviii. 1449); Dan. 2: 31 ff. The story of Nebuchadnezzar's dream probably received its present form in the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Some inscriptions of the Persian empire speak of three successive empires: the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians. After the time of

Cepit autem regnum Assiriorum a Belo, anno uigesimo quinto Saruch proaui Abrahe;[c] [22] uel ut alii scribunt, [23]a Nino, rege Assiriorum primo, qui propagande dominacionis libidine arma foras extulit, cruentamque uitam quinquaginta annis per totam Asiam bellis egit. Cui successit uxor Semiramis, uirum animo, feminam[24] habitu gerens. Ethiopiam bello pressam, sanguine interlitam, imperio adiecit. Indis quoque bellum intulit, quo preter illam et Alexandrum Magnum nullus[d] intrauit.[23]

[25]Regnum ergo Assiriorum per mille .clxiiii. annos usque ad Sardanapallum[e] per quinquaginta prope modum reges actum est, et numquam pene inferendis uel excipiendis usque ad id tempus bellis quieuit;[25] uel secundum alios annis .mcccvii. a Belo usque ad annum septimum Ozie regis Iudee.[f] [26] Interfecto autem Sardanapollo ab Arbato prefecto suo, rege autem Medorum, Arbatus regni nomen et summam ad Medos transtulit.[27] [28]Deinde multis preliis undique scatentibus per uarios prouentus ad Scitas Caldeosque[g] et rursus ad Medos regnum parili uia rediit. Medis enim Frahortes imperauit; post hunc Diocles, post quem Astiages, cuius nepos Cirus fuit.[28] Verum Nabugodonosor ceterique post eum usque ad Cirum reges, quamuis Caldeorum uiribus potentes et Babilonie nomine clari legantur,[h] in numero tamen et ordine[i] regum[j] non habentur illustrium.[29] [30]Descendente[k] enim[l] Arbato in Medos, partem regni penes se retinuere Caldei, qui Babiloniam[m] sibi aduersus Medos uendicauerunt. Ita Babilonie potestas apud Medos, proprietas apud

[c] anno . . . Abrahe] *supplied by author N* [d] ullus *N* [e] Sardatiapollum *N*
[f] uel secundum alios . . . Iudee] *supplied by author N* [g] Caldeasque *N*
[h] legantur *supplied by author N* [i] cardine *Orosius* [j] regum] rerum *N*
[k] discedente *Orosius* [l] enim] autem *β and Orosius* [m] Babilonam *Orosius*

Alexander the Great, the Greeks added their own empire to this series. The Jews of the Hellenistic age took over this scheme, but taking all the Assyro-Babylonian dynasties as a single unit, they substituted Babylon for Assyria. The author of Daniel was also drawing on an ancient concept of world history (made famous by Hesiod's *Works and Days*, 109–80) as divided into four decreasingly happy ages, characterized by four metals of decreasing value; in a Persian variant of this concept, reflected here, the iron of the last age was mixed with clay (see D. Flusser, 'The Four Empires in the Fourth Sibyl and in the Book of Daniel', *Israel Oriental Studies*, ii (1972), 148–75). Jerome treated the empires of the Medes and the Persians as one single empire, so that the fourth and last pagan empire before the establishment of God's eschatological kingdom could be identified with Rome. His scheme remained for a long time the standard Christian interpretation of the dream.

[22] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 64 (*PL* cxcviii. 1109).

[23–23] a Nino . . . Magnum nullus intrauit] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 4. 1 and 4–5; *Otia*, Preface, n. 29, and i. 20, n. 80.

[24] Cf. *Otia*, i. 20, n. 81.

So, the kingdom of the Assyrians started with Belus, when Serug, great-grandfather of Abraham, was twenty-four years old;[22] or, according to other writers, [23]with Ninus, first king of the Assyrians, who in his lust to extend his dominion embarked on foreign wars, and led a life of bloody warfare all through Asia for fifty years. He was succeeded by his wife Semiramis, who showed herself a man in spirit though a woman[24] in dress. She annexed Ethiopia to her empire, after wearing it down with war and drenching it with blood. She also carried her warfare into India, where no one has penetrated apart from her and Alexander the Great.[23]

[25]The kingdom of the Assyrians, then, lasted for 1,164 years, in the course of which it was ruled by some fifty kings, ending with Sardanapalus. In that whole period it was hardly ever free from war; sometimes it was the aggressor, and sometimes it was itself under attack.[25] According to other sources the kingdom lasted for 1,307 years, from Belus until the seventh year of Uzziah, king of Judah.[26] When Sardanapalus was assassinated by Arbatus, a prefect of his and king of the Medes, Arbatus transferred the name and power of the kingdom to the Medes.[27] [28]After that, with numerous battles raging on all sides, the kingdom underwent changing fortunes, passing to the Scythians, the Chaldaeans, and then, to complete the cycle, back to the Medes. Fraortes became the ruler of the Medes; after him came Diocles, followed by Astyages, whose nephew was Cyrus.[28] But Nebuchadnezzar and the rest of the kings who succeeded him down to the time of Cyrus, though known as powerful rulers by virtue of the strength of the Chaldaeans, and famous because of the name of Babylonia, are not counted among the ranks of the greatest kings.[29] [30]For when Arbatus withdrew to Media, the Chaldaeans kept part of the kingdom in their own possession, claiming Babylon as theirs despite the Medes. And so the Babylonian sovereignty rested with the Medes, but the Chaldaeans retained possession of their city.

[25–25] Regnum . . . tempus bellis quieuit] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 12. 2; ii. 3. 2.

[26] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 64 (*PL* cxcviii. 1109).

[27] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, ii. 2. 2. The text of Orosius reads: 'sed cum Arbatus, quem alii Arbacen uocant, praefectus Medorum idemque natione Medus, Sardanapallum regem suum apud Babylonam interfecisset, regni nomen et summam ad Medos transtulit' ('but when Arbatus, whom others call Arbaces, the prefect of the Medes and himself a Mede by birth, had killed Sardanapalus, his king, at Babylon, he transferred the name and power of the kingdom to the Medes'). Cf. also ibid. ii. 3. 2; *Otia*, i. 20, n. 83.

[28–28] Deinde . . . nepos Cirus fuit] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 19. 2 and 4–6.

[29] Cf. ibid. ii. 2. 8.

[30–30] Descendente . . . se uocare maluerunt (p. 174)] Cf. ibid. ii. 2. 6–7.

Caldeos fuit. Caldei autem, propter antiquam regie urbis dignitatem, non illam suam sed illius se uocare maluerunt.[30] [31]Babilon itaque eo anno sub Arbato prefecto dehonorata quo Roma sub Procha, a quo omnes Romanorum exoriuntur hystorie, ut proprie dixerim,[n] seminata est. Illa nunc[o] quasi moriens dimisit hereditatem, hec uero pubescens tunc se agnouit heredem. Oriens[p] tunc occidit et ortum est occidentis imperium.[31]

Sane inter primum ac nouissimum, hoc est Babilonium[q] et Romanum, quasi inter patrem senem[r] ac filium paruulum, Affricanum a meridie, Macedonium a septentrione, breuia et media, quasi tutor ac[s] curator uenerunt, potestate[t] temporis, non iure hereditatis admissa.[32] Macedonicum quingentis .xiiii. annis stetit incolume, ab Arbato incipiens, in Alexandri ducibus finitum; uel si lacius agimus tempora, [33]a Carono usque ad Persen, paulo minus quam septingentis annis, stetit.[33] Cartago, que ante urbem Romam per nonaginta et duos[u] annos ab Elissa condita inuenitur, uernaculum atque intestinum semper intra se malum nutriens discordiam,[34] septingentesimo post[v] anno et paulo amplius quam condita erat[35] diruta est, omni murali lapide in puluerem comminuto,[36] anno ab urbe condita sexcentesimo sexto.[37] Vtrumque regnum sepcenarius ille numerus, quo iudicantur omnia, terminauit.[38] [39]Macedonicum igitur Affricanumque regnum, hoc est quasi meridie ac septentrione, breuibus uicibus partes tutoris tenuit ac curatoris; Babilonium et Romanum orientis et occidentis hereditatem nutriebat. Macedonicum sub septentrione tum ipsa celi plaga, tum Alexandri Magni are[40] posite usque ad nunc sub Rifeis montibus docent. Affricanum Sicilie, Sardinie, omnibusque[w] insulis adiacentibus et mari Ispanie terminos dedisse hystorie monstrant.[39]

[n] dixerint *N* [o] tunc *Orosius* [p] orientis *Orosius* [q] Bobilonium *N*
[r] senem *om. XQ* [s] ac] et *ACβ; -que Orosius* [t] potestate *supplied by author N*
[u] nonaginta et duos] duo et septuaginta *Orosius* [v] post *supplied by author N*
[w] et omnibus *β*

[31–31] Babilon . . . est ocidentis imperium] Cf. ibid. ii. 2. 9–10 and 4; the same idea is expressed by Augustine, *Civ.* xviii. 2 and 21–2 (*CSEL* xl (2). 268 and 294–7 = *PL* xli. 560 and 577–8). Procas was one of the early kings of Latium (see e.g. Livy, i. 3; Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 767); the phrase 'a quo omnes Romanorum exoriuntur hystorie' is an addition on Gervase's part.

[32] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, ii. 1. 6. Orosius attempts to combine an east-south-north-west scheme with the tradition of four successive kingdoms.

[33–33] Cf. ibid. vii. 2. 9. Caranus, according to legend, founded the Argive dynasty in Macedonia in the mid-eighth century BC. Perses, eldest son of Philip V, was the last king of Macedon; he was dethroned by the Romans after the battle of Pydna in 168 BC.

Moreover, in recognition of the ancient dignity of the royal city, instead of calling it the city of the Chaldaeans, the people preferred to call themselves the Babylonians.[30] [31]Babylon therefore lost her glory in the time of the prefect Arbatus, in the very year that the seed of Rome was sown, so to speak, under Procas, with whom all histories of the Romans begin. At one and the same moment Babylon in her death-throes bequeathed a legacy, and Rome, attaining adulthood, acknowledged herself heir. Then the eastern empire fell, and that of the west arose.[31]

Between the first and last kingdoms, namely those of Babylon and Rome, between, so to say, the old father and the young son, came the African kingdom in the south and the Macedonian kingdom in the north, intervening briefly as protectors and guardians, permitted to rule by force of circumstances rather than by right of inheritance.[32] Macedon remained unsubdued for 514 years, beginning in the time of Arbatus and ending with Alexander's generals; or, if we reckon a broader span, [33]its rule lasted from Caranus to Perses, a little under 700 years.[33] Carthage, which the records say was founded by Elissa ninety-two years before the city of Rome, always nourished within itself the domestic, internal evil of civil discord,[34] and just over 700 years after its foundation[35] it was destroyed, every stone of its walls being ground to dust.[36] That was in the 606th year after the foundation of Rome.[37] So the number seven, by which all things are determined, brought both kingdoms to an end.[38] [39]The Macedonian and African kingdoms, then, representing the north and the south, took brief turns in the role of protector and guardian, but the Babylonian and Roman kingdoms of the east and the west preserved the inheritance. To show that the Macedonian kingdom stretched to the north we have both its actual geographical location and the altars of Alexander the Great,[40] standing to this day at the foot of the Rhiphaean Mountains; while the histories tell us that the African kingdom extended its boundaries to include Sicily, Sardinia, and all the neighbouring islands, as far as the Spanish Sea.[39]

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[34] Cf. ibid. iv. 6. 1–2. Orosius is clearly Gervase's primary source here, but Orosius says that Carthage was founded seventy-two years before the foundation of Rome. Elissa is another name for Dido.

[35] Cf. ibid. vii. 2. 9.

[36] Cf. ibid. iv. 23. 6.

[37] Cf. ibid. iv. 23. 1.

[38] Cf. ibid. vii. 2. 9.

[39–39] Macedonicum . . . dedisse hystorie monstrant] Cf. ibid. vii. 2. 4–6.

[40] The altars were set up by Alexander's soldiers to mark the limits of his conquests; see Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, p. 52.

Romam quoque crebris irrupcionibus lassatam Sennones Galli, duce Brenno, Dumgallonis regis Britannorum filio iuniore, extincto populo, urbe deleta, ipsum quoque Rome nomen in extremis cineribus prosequentes, anno ab urbe condita .ccclxiiii.^{to} detriuerunt.[41] [42]Quibus exeuntibus remanserat in illo quondam urbis ambitu |
f. 18^{r} informium ruinarum obscena congeries, et undique per impedita errantium et inter sua ignotorum offense uocis ymago respondens trepidos suspendebat auditus. Horror quatiebat animos, silentia ipsa terrebant: siquidem materia pauoris est raritas in spaciosis.[42] Sed et millesimo centesimo .lxiiii. anno postquam condita fuit, a Gothis[x] et Alarico, rege eorum, comite autem suo, irrupta et opibus spoliata, non regno.[43] [44]Ibi uix quemquam inuentum senatorem qui uel[y] abscens euaserit, hic uix quemquam requiri qui forte ut latens perierit. Recte sane comparari[z] hunc fuisse ibi seruatorum numerum qui hic fuit[a] perditorum.[44]

ii. *De diuisione orbis tripertiti in summa*

Diuisionem filiorum Noe expleuimus,[a] quorum possessio ab oriente in occidentem, ab austro ad septentrionem porrecta est; habentque diuisiones ista, ut prelibauimus, particionum nomina, scilicet Asiam, Europam, et Affricam, quarum[b] loca specialia per certas regiones, ciuitates et montes, maria ac flumina describere nostri propositi est, ut cum aliqua mirabilia cuilibet terre locoue assignabuntur, facilius habeatur locorum et ipsorum gestorum noticia. [1]Quamuis ergo quidam uelint duas tantum orbis fieri partes, Asiam scilicet et Europam, Affricam in Europam[c] accipiendam putantes,[1] nos tamen assignantes orbis diuisionem distributioni filiorum Noe, a quibus

[x] Gotihis *N* [y] uel *supplied by author N* [z] compararim *Orosius*
[a] fuerit *Orosius*

[a] expleuimus] impleuimus *N* [b] quorum *β* [c] Europa *XI*

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[41] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, ii. 19. 5 and 13; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 35–44 (= ed. Griscom, iii. 1–10); *Otia*, ii. 10, n. 11, and ii. 17, n. 22. The Gauls under Brennus defeated the Romans at the Allia and occupied Rome in 390 BC, but failed to capture the Capitol.

[42–42] Quibus . . . raritas in spaciosis] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, ii. 19. 10–11.

[43] Cf. ibid. ii. 3. 3. In 394 Alaric was given a Roman dignity as a reward for allying himself with the Romans (see J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 44); he sacked Rome in 410 AD (cf. *Otia*, ii. 16, n. 84).

Rome in turn was laid low in the 364th year after its foundation, having been weakened from repeated incursions by the Senonian Gauls under their leader Brennus, younger son of Dunvallo, king of Britain; they wiped out the population and destroyed the city, pursuing even the very name of Rome till nothing but ashes remained.[41] [42]When the Gauls departed all that was left within the circumference of the former city was an appalling heap of unsightly ruins, and from every side the answering echo of doleful cries kept the hearers in a state of alarm, as people wandered amidst the rubble, lost in their own home. Horror shook their minds, and the very silences were terrifying, for when a large place is left deserted it is frightening in itself.[42] Then again, in the 1164th year after its foundation, Rome was attacked by the Goths and Alaric, king of the Goths but also a count of Rome; the city was despoiled of its wealth, but not of its sovereignty.[43] [44]On the first occasion there was hardly a senator to be found who had preserved his life, even through absence from the city, while on the second there was hardly one who had gone missing, having perhaps died while in hiding. It is a fact that the number of those who survived the first attack matched the number who were lost in the second.[44]

2. *A Summary Description of the Three Different Parts of the World*

We have completed our account of how the world was distributed among the sons of Noah, whose holdings stretched from east to west and from south to north. The names of the different parts, that is to say, Asia, Europe, and Africa, reflect this distribution, as we have already mentioned. We propose now to describe the specific features of these parts region by region—the cities and mountains, the seas and rivers—so that when some marvels are ascribed to particular countries or localities, an idea of the places and of the actual happenings may more easily be formed. [1]There are in fact some who hold that the world consists of only two parts, namely Asia and Europe, believing that Africa is to be counted as part of Europe.[1] We, however, attribute the division of the world into parts to its having been apportioned among the sons of Noah, tracing the basic partition of the entire world back to them. Adopting the opinion of Paulus

[44] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, ii. 19. 13–14.

[1–1] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 1.

summa tocius orbis cepit particio, [2]orbem tocius terre occeani limbo circumseptum triquadrum[d][3] esse statuimus secundum Pauli Orosii sentensiam, eiusque tres partes Asiam, Europam, et Affricam nominamus.[2] Generalis ergo terminorum suorum uniuscuiusque[e] partis descriptio hec est.

De Asia

[4]Asia, tribus partibus occeano circumdata, per totam[f] transuersi plagam orientis extenditur. Hec occasum uersus a dextra sui sub axe septentrionis incipientem contingit Europam, a sinistra dimittens Affricam; sub Egipto uero et Siria mare nostrum quod Magnum[5] generaliter dicimus habet.[4] [g]Et est Asia multo maior quam Europa uel Affrica; Sem enim, qui eam obtinuit, primogenitus erat, ideoque maiorem ac uberiorem partem accepit.[6] Iafet Europam, similiter bonam, Cham quia maledictus Affricam, que sterelior est, recepit.[g]

De Europa

[7]Europa uero incipit, ut diximus,[8] sub plaga septentrionis, a flumine Tanai, qua Rifei montes Sarmatico[9] auersi occeano Tanaim fluuium fundunt, qui preteriens aras[10] ac terminos Alexandri Magni in Roboscorum[h] finibus sitos Meotidas[i] auget paludes,[11] quarum immensa exundacio iuxta Teodosiam urbem Euxinum Pontum late ingreditur,[7] unde et mare illud Dulce uocatur.[j] [12]Inde iuxta Constantinopolim longe mittuntur angustie, donec eas mare hoc Mediteraneum, quod nostrum dicimus, accipiat.[12] Ibi Brachium sancti Georgii.[k][13] [14]Europe in Hyspania occidentalis occeanus terminus est, maxime ubi apud Gades insulas Herculis Columpne[15] uisuntur et

[d] triquadrum *Orosius;* et quadratum *MSS* [e] uniuscuius *N* [f] totam *XQ and Orosius;* totum *NACI* [g-g] Et est . . . sterelior est, recepit] *supplied by author N* [h] Roboscioruin *N* [i] autem *add. after* Meotidas *N* [j] unde . . . uocatur] *supplied by author N* [k] Ibi . . . Georgii] *supplied by author N;* est *add. after* Georgii *ACβ*

[2-2] Cf. loc. cit.

[3] Where the text of Orosius reads *triquadrum* ('divided into three parts': see Du Cange, s.v.), Gervase has *et quadratum* ('and square'). Liebrecht (pp. vi–vii), commenting on the manifest absurdity of describing the 'circle' of the earth as 'square', suggests that *et quadratum* was substituted for the rare word *triquadrum* by copyists of the *Otia*. However, its presence even in *N* suggests that the mistake had already been made in the copy of Orosius used by Gervase; there is in fact abundant evidence that the version at his disposal contained many corruptions.

[4-4] Asia . . . generaliter dicimus habet] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 2–3.

[5] 'Our sea' and 'the Great Sea' were both common appellations of the Mediterranean.

Orosius, [2]we maintain that the circle of the whole earth, which is surrounded by the girdle of the ocean, is divided into three parts,[3] and we call its three parts Asia, Europe, and Africa.[2] There follows a general account of the boundaries of each part.

Asia

[4]Asia, surrounded on three sides by the ocean, stretches right across the entire region of the east. To the west, on its right, it touches on the beginning of Europe near the north pole, leaving Africa on its left; in the region of Egypt and Syria it is bounded by our sea, which we generally call the Great[5] Sea.[4] Asia is much larger than Europe or Africa; for Shem, who acquired it, was the first-born, and so received the largest and richest portion.[6] Japheth received Europe, likewise a good portion; Ham, because he was accursed, got Africa, which is the most barren part.

Europe

[7]Europe begins, as we have said,[8] at the river Don in the northern region. This river has its source in the Rhiphaean Mountains beyond the Sarmatian Sea;[9] it then flows past the altars[10] and boundary stones of Alexander the Great which he set up in the territory of the Rhobasci, and swells Lake Maeotis,[11] whose immense overflow near the city of Theodosia runs far out into the Euxine Sea,[7] causing it to be called the Fresh-water Sea. [12]From this sea long straits lead down past Constantinople to where the Mediterranean, which we call 'our sea', receives them.[12] The Arm of St George is there.[13] [14]Europe ends in Spain at the western ocean, at the point where the Pillars of Hercules[15] are seen near the islands of Cadiz, and where the ocean

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[6] Cf. *Otia*, ii. 1, p. 166; there too this sentence was added by the author in the margin.

[7-7] Europa . . . Pontum late ingreditur] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 4–5.

[8] ii. 1, pp. 166–7.

[9] i.e. the Black Sea; see also *Otia*, ii. 7, n. 13. The Don actually has its source in Lake Ivan Ozero, not in the Rhiphaean Mountains.

[10] See *Otia*, ii. 1, n. 40.

[11] i.e. the Sea of Azov.

[12-12] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 6.

[13] The Hellespont (Dardanelles), the Propontis (Sea of Marmara), and the Bosphorus were commonly referred to at this time, collectively or individually, as the Arm of St George; see e.g. Orderic Vitalis, *HE* ix. 4; William of Tyre, *Historia rerum transmarinarum*, ii. 7, xiv. 24, xx. 24 (*PL* cci. 257, 603, 802).

[14-14] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 7.

[15] Usually identified as Mt Calpe (the Rock of Gibraltar) in Europe and Mt Abyle or Abilyx in Africa; cf. *Otia*, ii. 11, at n. 20; ii. 25, at n. 16.

Tirreni maris faucibus occeanus[l] immittitur,"[m][14] ubi est ciuitas Hispalis[n] que nunc uocatur Sibilia.[o]

De Affrica

[16]Affrice principium est a finibus Egipti urbisque Alexandrie,[17] ubi Paretanio[18] ciuitas sita est, super hoc mare Magnum, quod omnes plagas terrarum interluit.[19] Vnde per loca que accole Cathabathmon[20] uocant, haut[p] procul a castris Alexandri Magni et super lacum Chalearzum,[q][21] deinde iuxta superiorum fines Abasitarum[r] missa in transuersum per deserta loca Ethiopie,[s] meridianum contingit occeanum. Termini Affrice ad occidentem iidem sunt qui et Europe, id est fauces Gaditani freti. Vltimus autem eius finis est mons Athlas[22] et insule quas Fortunatas[23] uocant.[16]

iii. *De Asia orientali*

Nunc, sicut pollicitus sum, tripertiti orbis particulares regiones significare curabo, [a]hanc lectoribus meis prestans cautelam, quod si quas regiones aut urbes aliis quam uulgus nominat appellationibus nominauero, uenia detur, eo quod euentus uarii circa loca nomina uariauerunt cum gentibus.[a] [1]Asia ergo a regina eiusdem nominis nuncupatur. Huius prima regio in oriente est paradisus, locus fidelis[b][2] omnique[c] amenitate conspicuus, inadibilis hominibus quia igneo muro usque ad celum cinctus. In hoc est lignum uite, de cuius fructu qui comederit semper[d] in uno statu immortalis permanebit. In

[l] occeanis *N;* oceani aestus *Orosius* [m] immitittitur *N* [n] Hisparys *N* [o] ubi est . . . Sibilia] *supplied by author N* [p] haut *supplied by author N* [q] lacum Chalearzum *Orosius;* locum Caleazorum *MSS* [r] Auasitarum *Orosius* [s] Ethiopie *β;* Ethiopia *NAC;* Ethiopica *Orosius*

[a–a] hanc . . . uariauerunt cum gentibus] *supplied by author N* [b] fertilis *I;* videlicet *Honorius* [c] omni *Honorius* [d] felix et *add. after* semper *XQ*

[16–16] Affrice . . . quas Fortunatas uocant] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 8–11.

[17] Egypt itself was regarded as part of Asia; cf. the description of Asia above, and see e.g. Pomponius Mela, i. 9.

[18] A seaport, the modern Marsa Labeit.

[19] According to the ancient and medieval world-view, east, west, north, and south met at the Mediterranean.

[20] A tract of land in Libya, now Akabah.

flows into the mouth of the Tyrrhenian Sea.[14] The city of Hispalis, now called Seville, is situated there.

Africa

[16]Africa starts from the boundaries of Egypt and the city of Alexandria.[17] The town of Paraetonium[18] marks the beginning of Africa, lying on the shore of this sea of ours, the Great Sea, which washes all the quarters of the earth.[19] From there Africa stretches across the region which the local people call Catabathmos,[20] not far from the camp of Alexander the Great and above Lake Chalearzus;[21] then, running across the Ethiopian desert past the lands of the Upper Avasitae, it reaches the southern ocean. The western boundaries of Africa are the same as those of Europe, that is, the channel called the Strait of Gibraltar. Its furthest limits are Mount Atlas[22] and the islands known as the Fortunate[23] Islands.[16]

3. *Eastern Asia*

Now, as I promised, I shall endeavour to indicate the different regions within the three parts of the world. But I give my readers fair warning, asking them to bear with me if I call any regions or cities by other names than those in common usage, for historical changes have brought different names along with different peoples to some places. To begin with Asia, then: [1]this region is called after a queen of the same name. It starts to the east with the region of paradise, a secure[2] place, remarkable for its possession of every delight, but inaccessible to human beings because it is surrounded by a wall of fire reaching right up to heaven. Within it is the tree of life: whoever eats of its fruit will remain in the same state forever and will never die. Also in paradise there rises a spring which

[21] Orosius' *lacum Chalearzum* appears as *locum Caleazorum* ('the place of the Caleazi') in the MSS of the *Otia*.

[22] Atlas was generally identified with a high mountain in Mauritania; sometimes, however, it was stated to be off the coast of Africa in the sea (see below, ii. 11, at n. 30; iii. 33, at n. 2) or in the land of the Hyperboreans.

[23] On the Fortunate Islands, or Isles of the Blessed, see below, ii. 11, n. 34.

[1–1] Asia . . . et ferarum genera (p. 182)] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 8–9 (8–10) (ed. Flint p. 52 = *PL* clxxii. 123).

[2] Gervase's *fidelis* is a corruption of Honorius' *videlicet*.

hoc fons, ut superiore distinctione tractauimus,[3] oritur in quatuor flumina diuisus.[4] Nam Fison, qui et Ganges, in India de monte Orcobares nascitur, et contra orientem fluens occeano excipitur. Gion, qui et Nilus, iuxta Athlantem fluens, mox a terra absorbetur, per quam occulto meatu currens in littore Rubri maris denuo refunditur, et uersus orientem surgens et[e] Ethiopiam circuiens,[f] et sic per Egiptum labitur, ac in septem ostia diuisus, Magnum mare iuxta Alexandriam ingreditur. Porro Tigris et Eufrates in Armenia de monte Parchoatra funduntur, et contra meridiem uergentes Rubro[g] tandem mari immerguntur. Post paradisum sunt loca multa deserta et inuia ob diuersa serpentum et ferarum genera.[1]

[5]Habet ergo Asia ad mediam frontem orientis in occeano Eoo[h] ostia fluminis[i] Gangis, a sinistra promontorium[j] Caligardamana, cui subiacet ad eurum insula Taprobane,[6] ex qua occeanus Indicus uocari incipit. A dextra habet Imaui montis, ubi Caucasus[7] deficit, promontorium[k] Samara,[l] cui ad aquilonem subiacent ostia fluminis Ortorogorre, ex quo occeanus Sericus apellatur.

f. 18v In his finibus India est,[5] ab Indo | fluuio dicta, qui aduersus[m] de monte Caucaso[n] nascitur, et ad meridiem cursum suum dirigens, a Rubro mari excipitur.[8] Reliqua, ut dixi, Eoo et Indico occeano terminatur ex uno latere, ex altero regione tenebrarum.[o] [9] Hec India clauditur ab occeano et ob hoc occeanus Indicus appellatur.[10] [11] [p]Sunt autem tres Indie: superior, in qua predicauit Bartholomeus; inferior, in qua predicauit Thomas, et hec ducit ad Medos, in qua ciuitas est Edissa; est et India meridiana que tangit Echiopiam, in qua predicauit Matheus apostolus. In inferiore est urbs Elioforus, in qua repperit

[e] et uersus orientem surgens et *supplied by author N; om. Honorius* [f] circuens *N* [g] Rubro *MSS;* Mediterraneo *Honorius* [h] id est orientis *written by author in margin beside* Eoo *N* [i] fulminis *N* [j] promotorium *N* [k] promotorium *N* [l] Samarae *Orosius* [m] aduersus *MSS;* ad septentrionem *Honorius* [n] Caucase *N* [o] ex uno . . . tenebrarum] *supplied by author N* [p–p] Sunt . . . Cesarea mandato dominico (*p. 184*)] *supplied by author N*

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[3] i. 11.

[4] Here Gervase omits a statement by Honorius (i. 8 (9)) to the effect that these rivers flow underground from paradise, to emerge in far-distant regions; what follows is an account of these four rivers from where they seem to us to originate.

[5–5] Habet . . . finibus India est] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 13–15.

[6] i.e. the modern Sri Lanka.

[7] Following Orosius, Gervase uses the word *Caucasus* to refer to the entire chain of mountains stretching from the Black Sea to the Pacific Ocean, as well as the shorter range between the Black and Caspian Seas usually associated with the name.

[8] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 10 (11) (ed. Flint p. 53 = *PL* clxxii. 123). Herodotus used the name *Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα* for the Indian Ocean (in which the Red Sea

divides into four rivers,[4] as we described in the earlier part of this work.[3] The Pison, which is also called the Ganges, springs from Mount Orcobares in India, and flows eastwards to join the ocean. The Gihon, also called the Nile, rises near Atlas but is soon absorbed back into the earth, and runs through a hidden channel underground until it re-emerges again on the shore of the Red Sea; it then heads eastwards and flows round Ethiopia, and so it comes to glide through Egypt until, dividing into seven channels, it enters the Great Sea near Alexandria. The other two, the Tigris and the Euphrates, have their sources in the Parcohatras Mountains in Armenia, and turning southwards, they eventually pour into the Red Sea. After paradise come extensive desert regions, impassable on account of various kinds of snakes and wild beasts.[1]

[5]Midway along its eastern frontier Asia has the mouth of the river Ganges on the eastern ocean, with the promontory of Caligardamana to the left. South-east of this promontory lies the island of Taprobane;[6] from this point onwards the ocean is called the Indian Ocean. To the right of Mount Imavus, where the Caucasus[7] ends, is the promontory of Samara, north of which lies the mouth of the river Ottorogorra; from here on the ocean is called the Seric Ocean.

In this region is India,[5] so-called after the river Indus; this river rises in the Caucasus Mountains opposite India, and takes a southerly course until it empties into the Red Sea.[8] The rest of India, as I have said, is bounded by the eastern and the Indian oceans on one side, and by the region of darkness on the other.[9] Where the ocean forms the boundary of this country of India, it is for that reason called the Indian Ocean.[10] [11]There are in fact three Indias: Upper India, where Bartholomew preached; Lower India, where Thomas preached: this leads to Media, and contains the city of Edessa; and then there is Southern India, which touches on Ethiopia: the apostle Matthew

was sometimes included); this was rendered as *mare Rubrum* by Latin authors. In Gervase's usage, therefore, *mare Rubrum* sometimes refers to the Red Sea as such, but at other times, as here, to the Indian Ocean.

[9] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 15; Pseudo-Abdias, m8r.

[10] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, loc. cit.: 'Hoc (*sc.* Rubro mari) India ab occidente clauditur, et ab hoc Indicus oceanus dicitur' ('The Red Sea forms the western boundary of India, and so it is known as the Indian Ocean'). Gervase's attempt to combine the accounts of Honorius and Orosius, adding other interpolations as well, has not served the cause of clarity here.

[11–11] Sunt . . . Cesarea mandato dominico (p. 184)] Cf. Pseudo-Abdias, esp. m8r; *Passio Sancti Thomae Apostoli*, pp. 133, 140, and 159; *Otia*, ii. 22, nn. 2–4. On Pseudo-Abdias, see *Otia*, ii. 22, n. 8. For Thomas's encounter with King Gundaphorus, see *Otia*, iii. 26, n. 2.

beatus Thomas Gondoforum regem, ueniens a Cesarea mandato dominico.[p] [11] [12]India quadraginta quatuor gentes habet, absque insula Taprobane[q] que decem habet ciuitates, et absque plurimis aliis insulis ac habitatoribus pluribus.[r] [12]

[13]Porro insula Taprobane, Indie subiacens ad eurum, occeano et Rubro mari circumducta, in longitudinem per milia passuum .dccc. quinque, in latitudinem per stadia .dcxxv. protensa,[14] tota[s] margaritis repletur, habens in fine Indie, ubi elefantes nascuntur, ciuitatem Elmacidam, in confinio Taprobane ad terminos Rubri maris positam,[15] hyenis[t] elefantisque referta,[16] duas estates et duas yemes fertur habere uno anno, et omni tempore uiret.[13]

[17]In Indico occeano quoque sunt Crisa et Arguse[u] insule, auro et argento et omni metallo fecunde, et semper floride. Ibi sunt et montes aurei, qui propter dracones et grifes non possunt adiri.

In India est mons Caspius, a quo mare Caspium uocatur. Inter quem et mare Gog et Magog,[18] ferocissime gentes, a Magno Alexandro incluse feruntur, que humanis carnibus et beluinis crudis uescuntur,[17] ut in Ezeciele[19] legitur.[v]

India ad subsolanum oriens occeano[w] Indico clauditur, in quo sunt ab oriente insula Maior et[x] insula Escolaria. India a parte uulturni habet montem Ynabum, cui iungitur mons Caspius, sub quorum radicibus Tirabeni et Vactriani. Porro inter montes illos et occeanum late spatiantur ciuitates iste Pitennia, Antiocha, Framata, Magaris, Carsania, et Anthohion.[20]

[21]In India sunt quadraginta quatuor, ut dixi, regiones et multi populi: Garmairi, Oreste, Coartrae, quorum silue tangunt ethera. In montanis Indie sunt Pigmei, duorum cubitorum homines, quibus

[q] probane *N* [r] ac habitatoribus pluribus] habitabilibus *Orosius* [s] tota *om. β* [t] hyenis *supplied by author* (*correcting* uenis) *with* genus animalium *added underneath N;* uenis *A;* yemmis *C;* yenis *XQ;* hyemps *I* [u] Arguse (Argii e *I*) *MSS;* Argere *Honorius* [v] *Item 2 of the Addenda is integrated at this point in X* (*see Appendix i. 2*) [w] occeano *supplied by author N* [x] et *supplied by author N*

[12-12] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 16.

[13-13] Porro . . . omni tempore uiret] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 12; xiv. 3. 5; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 10 (11) (ed. Flint p. 53 = *PL* clxxii. 123).

[14] According to Isidore, the island is 875 miles long, and 625 *milia stadiorum* wide.

[15] These remarks about Elmacida are interpolated into the material from Isidore; from Gervase's description, it would not be easy to place it on a map.

[16] This phrase would seem to be derived from Isidore's 'gemmis et elephantis refertam' (*Etym.* xiv. 3. 5). Gervase's *hyenis*, glossed by him as *genus animalium* ('a kind of animal'), probably represents an attempt on his part to make sense of the scribe's *uenis*, to which *gemmis* had at some stage been corrupted.

preached there. In Lower India is the city of Elioforus, where the blessed Thomas met King Gundaphorus, having gone there from Caesarea at the Lord's command.[11] [12]India contains forty-four peoples, not counting the island of Taprobane which has ten cities, and not counting either the numerous other islands where more peoples live.[12]

[13]The island of Taprobane, lying south-east of India and surrounded by the ocean and the Red Sea, is 805 miles long and 625 stades wide.[14] The whole island is full of pearls. On the Indian side, where elephants live, it has the town of Elmacida, situated within the confines of Taprobane on the shores of the Red Sea.[15] Taprobane is full of hyenas and elephants.[16] It is said to have two summers and two winters each year, and it is always green.[13]

[17]Also in the Indian Ocean are the islands of Chrysa and Argare, rich in gold and silver and every metal, and always full of flowers. There are even mountains of gold there, but dragons and griffins prevent anyone from approaching them.

Mount Caspius, which gives the Caspian Sea its name, is in India. Gog and Magog[18] are said to have been confined between this mountain and the sea by Alexander the Great. They are extremely savage tribes, mentioned in Ezekiel,[19] who feed on the raw flesh of humans and animals.[17]

Beginning in the east India is bounded by the Indian Ocean. Out in the ocean to the east are the Greater Island and the island of Escolaria. In its south-eastern region India has Mount Imavus, which forms a chain with Mount Caspius. In the foothills of these mountains dwell the Tibareni and the Bactrians. Then, well spread out between those mountains and the ocean, there are the following cities: Pitennia, Antiocha, Framata, Magaris, Carsania, and Anthohion.[20]

[21]There are, as I have said, forty-four regions in India and many peoples, including the Garmani, the Orestae, and the Coatrae, whose forests reach as high as the upper air. In the mountains of India are found the Pygmies, human creatures two cubits high, who fight with

[17-17] In Indico . . . beluinis crudis uescuntur] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 10 (11) (ed. Flint p. 53 = *PL* clxxii. 123).

[18] See Liebrecht, p. 83; Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*, pp. 35–51.

[19] Cf. Ezek. 38–9.

[20] Gervase's source for this paragraph has not been identified; it may possibly have been part of the collection of Alexander-literature which he used (see *Otia*, i. 14, n. 4).

[21-21] In India . . . facere ista negauerit (p. 186)] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 10 (11) (ed. Flint p. 53 = *PL* clxxii. 123–4).

cum gruibus pugna est, qui tertio anno pariunt, octauo senescunt. Apud hos piper crescit, colore quidem album, sed dum serpentes illic habitantes flamma fugantur, nigrum colorem ab incendio trahit.[22] Habet et India Mencobrios, duodecim cubitorum homines, qui pugnam habent cum grifibus. Sane grifes corpora leonis habent, alas et ungulas aquilarum. Habet et India Agroitas, et Bragmannos, qui se ultro in ignem iniciunt,[y] amore alterius uite. Sunt alii qui iam senio confectos parentes mactant et eorum carnes ad epulas sibi preparant, impio iudicato qui facere ista negauerit.[21] De istis meminit Aristotiles, cum dixit: 'Bonum est mactare patrem in Trivallis.'[23] Vnde litteratus ille nostri temporis uir, magister Radulfus Niger, domini mei regis iunioris concurialis,[24] cum *Topica* Aristotilis et *Elencos* uersibus glosaret, ait:

> Sunt loca, sunt gentes quibus est mactare parentes,
> Cum mors aut pietas aut longa superuenit etas.[25]

[26]Sunt alii in India populi piscibus crudis utentes, salsumque mare bibentes.

Sunt et ibi diuersa animantium monstra,[27] quorum quedam hominibus, quedam bestiis ascribuntur, ut qui aduersas[z] plantas habent et octenos in pedibus digitos; alii canina[a] capita, ungues aduncos, quibus est uestis pecudum, uox latratus canum. Illic sunt matres que semel pariunt et canos partus edunt qui in senectute nigrescunt, et longa nostre etatis tempora excedunt. Sunt et alie que quinquies pariunt, sed partus octauum non excedunt annum. Illic sunt Monoculi et Armenspidi;[b] Ciclopes,[26] ex quibus fuit Polifemus:

[y] mittunt *Aβ and Honorius*
[z] auersas *I and some MSS of Honorius*
[a] canina *supplied by author N*
[b] Arimaspi *I and Honorius*

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[22] Cf. *Otia*, iii. 72.

[23] Cf. Aristotle, *Topica*, 115b. The Triballi were a Thracian tribe who lived near the Danube. This custom was in fact attributed to various peoples in antiquity: see e.g. Herodotus, iii. 38; Pomponius Mela, iii. 7; Strabo, *Geographica*, iv. 5. 4; Jerome, *Contra Jovinianum*, ii. 7 (*PL* xxiii. 307–10). Liebrecht (pp. 84–6) gives examples of other similar customs.

[24] See above, p. xxvii.

[25] This is the only reference to this work by Ralph Niger, which appears not to have survived, though Gervase may have been confusing Ralph with Ralph of Flaix; see G. B. Flahiff, 'Ralph Niger: An Introduction to the Life and Works', *Medieval Studies*, ii (1940), 104–26, esp. pp. 116 and 123, and also Radulfus Niger, *De re militari et triplici via peregrinationis Ierosolimitane*, ed. L. Schmugge (Berlin, 1977), p. 14. These verses are also quoted by Ralph de Diceto (*Ymagines historiarum*, *MGH SS* xxvii (1885), 281) in the form: 'Sunt loca, sunt gentes, quibus est mactare parentes, | Vel mos vel pietas, cum sera supervenit etas.'

the cranes. They give birth at the age of two, and are old by the time they are seven. Pepper grows in their territory: it is really white in colour, but it forms a natural habitat for snakes, and when they are driven away by fire, the pepper is blackened by the conflagration.[22] India is also the home of the Macrobii, human creatures twelve cubits high, who fight with the griffins. Griffins have the body of a lion and the wings and talons of an eagle. India also contains the Agroctae, and the Bragmani, who hurl themselves into fire of their own accord, out of longing for the next life. There are others who immolate their parents once they are worn out with age, and prepare a banquet for themselves from their flesh. Anyone who refuses to do this is regarded as impious.[21] Aristotle had these people in mind when he said: 'Among the Triballi it is honourable to sacrifice one's father.'[23] And so that learned man of our time, Master Ralph Niger, a fellow courtier of mine in the service of my lord the Young King,[24] wrote the following lines in his verse gloss on Aristotle's *Topica* and *Elenchi:*

> There are certain tribes in certain places
> Who make it a rule their parents to kill
> When death impends, or duty faces,
> Or of length of days they have had their fill.[25]

[26]There are other peoples in India who eat raw fish, and drink salt-water from the sea.

There are also various kinds of monstrous creatures[27] there, some of which are regarded as human, others as animals. There are some, for instance, whose feet point backwards, and they have eight toes on each foot. Others have a dog's head and hooked claws; their skin is like the hide of cattle, their voice like the barking of dogs. There are mothers there who give birth only once and produce white-haired offspring whose hair turns dark in their old age, and they live far longer than we do. And there are other women who give birth five times, but their offspring do not live beyond their eighth year. The Monocoli and Arimaspi live there, and the Cyclopes,[26] to whose

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[26–26] Sunt alii . . . et Armensidi; Ciclopes] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 10–11 (11–12) (ed. Flint pp. 53–4 = *PL* clxxii. 124).

[27] For a modern study of medieval ideas about the creatures of the remoter parts of the earth, see J. B. Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981); see also I. Hallberg, *L'Extrême Orient dans la littérature et la cartographie de l'Occident des XIII^e, XIV^e, et XV^e siècles* (Göteborg, 1906). Dog-headed men are discussed in Brednich, *Enzyklopädie*, vi. 1372–80. Much of the material derives from Pliny; see especially *Hist. nat.* vii. 2 and viii. 30–1.

hi Agriofagite, quia carnes solas ferarum comedunt;[c] [28]et Cenopedes,[d] qui uno fulti pede auram currendi celeritate uincunt, et in terra positi umbram toti reliquo corpori pedis erecta planta faciunt. Sunt et alii absque capite, quibus oculi sunt in humeris, pro naso et ore duo[e] foramina in pectore; setas gerunt ut pecudes.[29] Sunt alii iuxta fontem Gangis fluuii qui solo cuiusdam pomi odore uiuunt, qui si longius eunt poma secum ferunt, quia si prauum et corruptum aerem traherent, statim morerentur.

Sunt et in India tam uasti serpentes quod presertim ceruos deuorant, ipsumque occeanum transuadant. In India est bestia ceneocrota, cuius corpus asini, clunes[f][30] cerui, pectus et crura leonis, pedes equini, ingens cornu bisulcum, uastus yatus, aures equine;[g] loco dentium os solidum, os pene humanum.[h] Illic est bestia eale, cuius corpus equi, maxilla apri, cauda elefantis, cubitalia cornua,[i][31] quorum unum post tergum respicit,[j] cum alio pugnat, unum tenet obtusum,[32] aliud ad certamen uibrat; nigro colore horrenda, in aqua et terra equaliter ualet. Illic sunt fului tauri, | f. 19r uersis setis horrendi, grande caput habentes; oris rictus ab aure patet ad aurem. Profecto cornua uicissim ad pugnam producunt uel deponunt; omne telum missile duro tergo[k] repellunt, qui si capti fuerint nulla possunt arte domari. Illic quoque manticora belua est, faciem habens hominis, triplicem in dentibus ordinem, corpus leonis, caudam scorpionis, oculos glaucos, sanguinei coloris, uocem sibili serpentini, humanas carnes in esu[l] habet, fingens discrimina uocum,[33] uelocior cursu quam ales uolatu. Illic sunt boues tricornes, pedes equinos habentes. Illic est monoceros, cuius corpus equi, caput cerui, pedes elefantis, cauda suis; unum cornu habet in media fronte, quatuor pedum longitudine protensum, splendens et mire acutum.

[c] ex quibus . . . comedunt] *supplied by author N;* hi Agriofagite . . . comedunt] *om. β*
[d] senopedes *Q;* Scenopodę *Honorius, for* Sciapodes
[e] et ore duo *Honorius;* duo in ore *MSS*
[f] clunes *Honorius;* cornua *MSS*
[g] aures equine] usque ad aures *Honorius*
[h] os pene humanum (hominis *C*)] vox pene hominis *Honorius*
[i] cornua *C and Honorius;* genua *Aβ, supplied by author N*
[j] reflectit *Honorius*
[k] tergo *supplied by author N*
[l] usu *Honorius*

[28–28] et Cenopedes . . . domari non potest (p. 190)] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 11–12 (12–13) (ed. Flint pp. 54–5 = *PL* clxxii. 124–5).

[29] Cf. *Otia*, iii. 75.

[30] Honorius' *clunes* (cf. Pliny, *Hist. nat.* viii. 30. 72) is corrupted to *cornua* ('horns') in the MSS of Gervase; but the creature's horn is mentioned below.

[31] The author supplied the word *genua* in an attempt to correct a scribal muddle. However, even this creature could hardly have had knees a cubit long, and with the body of a horse it would in any case have needed four; in *C* the correct *cornua* was substituted.

[32] Gervase's *obtusum* (lit. 'blunt') is derived from Honorius; Pliny (*Hist. nat.* viii. 30. 73)

number Polyphemus belonged; these are also called Agriophagitae because they only eat the flesh of wild beasts. [28]There are the Sciapodes too, who have only one foot to stand on, but can run so fast that they beat the wind; when they are lying on the ground they use the up-turned sole of this foot as a sun-shade for the whole of the rest of their body. There are also some creatures with no head: their eyes are set in their shoulders, and they have two holes in their chest to serve as a nose and mouth; they have rough hair like animals.[29] There are others near the source of the river Ganges who live just on the fragrance of a particular kind of apple. If they travel any distance they take some of these apples with them, because if they were to breathe bad, unhealthy air they would die at once.

Also in India there are snakes so huge that their diet consists chiefly of stags; they even cross the ocean. The animal called a leucrocota is found in India: it has the body of an ass, the haunches[30] of a stag, the chest and legs of a lion, horses' hooves, a huge forked horn, a wide-open mouth, horses' ears, a solid bone in place of teeth, and a face that is nearly human. The animal known as a yale also lives there: it has the body of a horse, a boar's jaw, an elephant's tail, and horns[31] a cubit long. One of these horns points behind its back, while the creature fights with the other; it keeps one out of action,[32] while it brandishes the other ready for combat. It is a dreadful black colour, and is equally at home in water or on land. Tawny bulls are found there, whose hair stands on end in a horrible manner; they have a huge head, and their mouth gapes in a grin from ear to ear. They alternately extend their horns for battle and retract them; any missile bounces off their tough hide, and if they are ever captured no wiles can tame them. The beast called the manticore is found in India too: it has a human face, a triple row of teeth, a lion's body, a scorpion's tail, and blazing eyes; it is the colour of blood, and has a voice like a snake's hiss, producing distinct notes;[33] it feeds on human flesh, and can run faster than a bird can fly. There are three-horned oxen there, with horses' hooves. The unicorn is found there, a creature with the body of a horse, the head of a stag, the feet of an elephant, and the tail of a pig; in the middle of its forehead it has a single horn, projecting to a length of four feet, gleaming and wonderfully sharp. This beast is very fierce, and has a

says that the horns are alternately *infesta aut obliqua* ('presented to the attack or sloped backward').

[33] Cf. e.g. Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 646. The phrase 'humanas carnes in esu habet' is misplaced in Gervase's text; cf. Honorius: 'vox sibilis serpentium fingens discrimina vocum, velocior cursu quam avis volatu, humanas carnes habens in usu.'

Hec[m] ferocissima diros[n] habet mugitus; omne quod obstat cornu transuerberat; capta perimi potest, domari non potest.[28] Hanc rinocerotem dicunt, de qua in figura Pauli legitur in Iob: 'Numquid rinoceros seruiet mihi?'[34]

[35]In Gange fluuio[o] Indiam influente sunt anguille tricenorum pedum longe. Illic sunt quidam[p] uermes ad instar cancri, bina habentes brachia sex cubitorum longa, quibus elefantes corripiunt et undis inmergunt.[35] Illic sunt cocodrilli, corporibus asperi et magni; in aqua potentissimi omniaque[q] sub aqua domantes, ad terram ducti sua uirtute priuantur.

Indicum mare gignit testudines, de quarum testis homines capacia sibi faciunt hospitia.[36]

In India magnes lapis gignitur, qui rapit ferrum. Illic gignitur adamas lapis, qui solo yrcino sanguine frangitur.[37]

[38]Gignit quoque India tincti coloris homines, elefantes ingentes, dracones, sitacum[r] auem, ebenum[s] quoque lignum, non facile igne domandum, cinnamomum et calamum aromaticum; ebore quoque habundat. Lapides habet preciosos, crisopassos[t] et carbunculos ignitos,[u] margaritas et uniones.[38]

[39]India monte Ymabo Caucasoque distinguitur a Scithia superiore, que sub uulturno a dextra orientis parte, qua occeanus Sericus tenditur, usque ad mare Caspium, deinde a meridie usque ad Caucasi iugum deducta est. Huic subiacet Yrcania ad occasum, pariter habens gentes multas propter terrarum sterilitatem late uagantes, quarum quidam agros excolunt, quidam portentuosi ac truces carnibus humanis uescuntur et eorum sanguinem bibunt.[39]

De Scitya[v]

[40]Scithie terre plereque sunt habitabiles, plereque steriles.[41] Nam dum in plerisque locis auro ac gemmis affluunt,[w] propter grifforum[x]

[m] bestia *add. after* hec *Honorius* [n] diros *ACI and Honorius;* duros *N;* duos *XQ*
[o] fluuio *supplied by author N; om. Honorius* [p] quidam *om. β* [q] omnia que *N*
[r] *sic N* for psittacum [s] chenum *N* [t] chrysoprasos *Isidore* [u] ignitos *MSS;* lychnites *Isidore* [v] De Scitya *supplied by author N;* De Scithia et Yrcania *XQ*
[w] affluant *Isidore* [x] grifforum *supplied by author N*

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[34] Cf. Job 39: 9: 'Numquid volet rhinoceros servire tibi?' The unicorn is also known as the white rhinoceros.

[35–35] In Gange . . . et undis inmergunt] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 12 (13) (ed. Flint p. 55 = *PL* clxxii. 125).

[36] Cf. ibid.; Pliny, *Hist. nat.* ix. 12. 35.

[37] Cf. ibid.; for the loadstone, see *Otia*, iii. 1, n. 1; for the diamond, cf. Pliny, *Hist. nat.*

terrible bellow; it transfixes anything that stands in its way with its horn; if it is captured it can be killed, but not tamed.[28] They call it a rhinoceros, and it is used in Job as a type of Paul: 'Will the rhinoceros serve me?'[34]

[35]In the river Ganges flowing through India there are eels three hundred feet long. There are also worms there which are like crabs: they have two pincers six cubits long, with which they seize elephants and drown them underwater.[35] Crocodiles are found there, with big, rough bodies; in the water they are extremely powerful and overcome everything they meet beneath its surface, but if they are brought to the land they are deprived of of their strength.

The Indian Sea produces tortoises, from whose shells the people make roomy shelters for themselves.[36]

The loadstone, which attracts iron, is found in India, as is the diamond, which can only be cut with goat's blood.[37]

[38]India also produces people with coloured skin, and huge elephants, dragons, and the parrot-bird; it produces the ebon-tree, whose wood does not readily succumb to fire, and cinnamon and sweet calamus; it is also rich in ivory. It contains precious stones: the chrysopastus and the fiery carbuncle, and pearls of all sizes.[38]

[39]India is divided from Upper Scythia by the Imavus and Caucasus mountains. From its right-hand side in the east, where the Seric Ocean extends, Upper Scythia stretches south-east as far as the Caspian Sea; then it comes as far south as the Caucasus range. Hyrcania adjoins it to the west, a land likewise containing many tribes of a nomadic habit on account of the barrenness of the land. Some of them cultivate fields, while others, monstrous savages, feed on human flesh and drink their blood.[39]

Scythia

[40]Much of Scythia's territory is habitable, but there is also much that lies empty.[41] For while in many regions it is rich in gold and gems, people rarely reach those parts because of the enormous griffins there.

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xxxvii. 15. 59; Augustine, *Civ.* xxi. 4 (*CSEL* xl (2). 519 = *PL* xli. 713); Isidore, *Etym.* xii. 1. 14, xvi. 13. 2.

[38–38] Gignit . . . margaritas et uniones] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 6–7.

[39–39] India . . . eorum sanguinem bibunt] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 31–32; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 47.

[40–40] Scithie . . . Fasidem, atque Araxim (p. 192)] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 32.

[41] Cf. Isidore: 'Scythiae plures terrae sunt locupletes, inhabitabiles tamen plures' ('The majority of Scythia's territory is rich, but the majority is also uninhabitable').

immanitatem accessus hominum illuc rarus est. Smaragdos optimas mittit Scithia, cristallos purissimos. Flumina habet maxima Moscorum,[y] Fasidem, atque Araxim.[40] Inter montana et occeanum Sericum, sicut sub uulturno protenditur, Scithia superior appellatur, deserta et harenosa.

Scithie inferiori[z] subiacet [42]Yrcania, dicta a silua Ircania que Scithie subiacet, in qua nascuntur bestie tigrides, panthere, ac pardi.[42] Nascuntur et ibidem mulieres dentes aprinos habentes, capillos usque ad talos, in lumbis caudas[a] boum, alte stature, specioso corpore quasi marmore candido, pedes camelinos habentes.[43] Inter montem Caucasum et flumen Scithie Rasidem uel, ut alii dicunt, Fasidem, et mare Yrcanie, quod ab ostio Fasidis mari Caspio immergitur, Yrcania est, [44]in qua sunt aues quarum penne splendent per noctes.[44]

iv. *De meridiana parce Asie*

Nunc ad meridianam partem totius Asie transeamus, septentrionalem partem posterius designaturi. [1]Ab Indo ergo flumine quod est ab oriente, usque ad flumen Tigrim[a] quod est ad occasum, sunt regiones iste: Arachosia,[b] Parthya,[c] Assiria, Persida, et Media, situ terrarum montuosa et aspera.[d] Hee a septentrione habent montem Caucasum, a meridie mare Rubrum et sinum Persicum, in medio sui flumina precipua Ydaspin et Arbin. In his sunt gentes triginta due; sed generaliter Parthia dicitur (quamuis scripture sancte uniuersam sepe Mediam uocent).[1]

[2]Dicitur autem Parthia a Parthis, uenientibus a Sichia. Est in ea regio Arcusia,[e] ab oppido Arcusa[f] dicta. Est et in ea Assiria, ab Assur, filio Sem, qui primus eam incoluit,[2] uel ab Assuero rege, iungiturque Perside, Caldee, et Babilonie maiori. In hac est Susa, ciuitas regis Assueri, de qua in Hester[3] legitur.[g] [4]Est et in ea Media, a Medo rege

[y] Moschorum *Isidore;* hoscorum (hos eorum *X*) *MSS* [z] inferioris *N*
[a] cauda *N*

[a] Tigrum *N* [b] Archosia *N* [c] Parthya *supplied by author N*
[d] montuoso et aspero *Orosius* [e] Arensia *N*, Aracusia *I and Honorius*
[f] Aracusa *I and Honorius* [g] uel ab Assuero . . . legitur] *supplied by author N;* In hac . . . legitur *om. I*

[42–42] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 33. [43] Cf. *Otia*, iii. 77.
[44–44] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 18 (19) (ed. Flint p. 58 = *PL* clxxii. 127).

The finest emeralds and the purest crystal come from Scythia. It contains these great rivers: the Moschorus, the Phasis, and the Araxes.[40] Between the mountains and the Seric Ocean, where it stretches to the south-east, it is called Upper Scythia; this is a sandy, desert region.

Hyrcania lies next to Lower Scythia. [42]It takes its name from the Hyrcanian Forest which connects it with Scythia. Wild beasts live there: tigers, panthers, and leopards.[42] There are also women living there who have boars' tusks, hair down to their ankles, and cows' tails at the base of their spines; they are tall in stature, and their bodies are as fair as white marble; they have camels' hooves.[43] Hyrcania is situated between Mount Caucasus, the Scythian river Rhasis or, as others call it, Phasis, and the Hyrcanian Sea, which forms a link between the mouth of the Phasis and the Caspian Sea. [44]There are birds in that land whose feathers are luminous at night.[44]

4. *The Southern Part of Asia*

Let us now go on to the southern part of the whole region of Asia, leaving the northern part to be described afterwards. [1]Between the river Indus, then, in the east, and the river Tigris in the west, lie the following regions: Arachosia, Parthia, Assyria, Persia, and Media; this is an area of rough, mountainous terrain. These regions have the Caucasus Mountains to the north, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf to the south. The principal rivers flowing through the area are the Hydaspes and the Arbis. Thirty-two peoples inhabit these regions, but the name Parthia is used of the whole area (though the holy scriptures often call it all Media).[1]

[2]The name Parthia is derived from the Parthians, who came from Scythia. The region of Arachosia, named after the town of Arachosa, is in this area. So too is Assyria, which takes its name from Asshur, son of Shem, who first lived there,[2] or else from King Ahasuerus; its neighbours are Persia, Chaldaea, and Greater Babylonia. Susa is here, the city of King Ahasuerus, which we read about in Esther.[3] [4]Also in

[1–1] Ab Indo . . . sepe Mediam uocent)] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 17–19; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 8.

[2–2] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 13 (14) (ed. Flint p. 55 = *PL* clxxii. 125); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 9–10.

[3] i.e. Shushan in the A.V.; see Esther 1: 2, 2: 5, etc. It was in fact in Persia; cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 12. [4–4] Est et . . . decrescit, et deficit (p. 194)] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.

dicta, qui ciuitatem construens Mediam eam nominauit, de qua regio nomen accepit.[5] In hac primum orta est ars magica. Est et in ea Persida, que piridem lapidem mittit, sic dictum quia manum prementis urit,[6] et sine litteris non potest apprehendi,[7] cuius candor cum luna crescit, decrescit, et deficit.[4] Est[h] in Persida ciuitas magna Suenis,[8] et ciuitas Cordula et Beroca et Niospolis.[i] Est et in Persida Straga fluuius, qui ex uehementia niuium adeo stringitur et congelascit[j] ut more saxi uiabilem se prebeat; quem Alexander, agnitus a Dario cum fugeret, cum esset haut[k] minus stadii ⟨mensura⟩,[l] transuadauit.[m] [9] Sunt autem in Persida duodecim prouincie quas Simon Cananeus et Iudas Zelotes conuerterunt.[n] [10]

[11]Parthia, ut diximus, ab Indo flumine usque ad Mesopotamiam f. 19v tendit, | regionesque suas inuicem sibi coniunctas ab Indo flumine ceptas Tigride claudit.[11] In capite Parthie[o] ciuitas est Albenia, in medio Heccomolia, subtus Mediam ad occidentem sunt ciuitates Aspacora et Herbathanis[12] Parthorum.

[13]A flumine Tigri usque ad flumen Eufraten est Mesopotamia, a duobus fluuiis sic Grece dicta, quia in medio duorum fluminum est constituta,[13] Tigris ab oriente et Eufratis ab occidente. Incipit autem a septentrione inter montem Taurum et Caucasum.[14] In hac est uersus septentrionem ciuitas Niniue, itinere trium dierum, a Nino primo rege Assiriorum constructa et sic nominata.[15] In ea super Tigrim[p] est Edissa,[16] metropolis Mesopotamie, equiuoca illi que est in India,[q] prope Eufraten Augusta, et[r] Carras ciuitas in medio.

[h] et *add. after* Est *ACβ*
[i] Est in Persida ciuitas . . . Niospolis] *supplied by author N;* et ciuitas Cordula . . . Niospolis] *om.β;* Diospolis *C*, Diaspolis *A*
[j] congelescit *N*
[k] aut *altered to* haut *and glossed by author* id est non *N*
[l] mensura *Julius Valerius; om. MSS*
[m] stransuadauit *N*
[n] Sunt autem in . . . conuerterunt] *supplied by author N*
[o] Parthie *supplied by author N*
[p] Tigrum *N*
[q] equiuoca . . . India] *supplied by author N; om. β*
[r] Augusta et *om. β*

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[5] A case of haplography has caused confusion here. The text of Honorius reads: 'de qua et regio nomen mutuavit. In ea etiam Persida, a Perseo rege dicta, qui civitatem Persepolim aedificavit, de qua et regio nomen accepit. In hac primum orta est ars magica. Persida lapidem piritem mittit . . .' ('from which the region also borrowed its name. Also in [Parthia] is Persia, named after King Perseus, who built the city of Persepolis, from which the region too took its name. It was here that the art of magic first arose. The pyrites stone comes from Persia . . .').

[6] The name pyrites is derived from πῦρ (fire); cf. Pliny, *Hist. nat.* xxxvi. 30. 137–8; Solinus, *Collect.* xxxvii. 16; Augustine, *Civ.* xxi. 5 (*CSEL* xl (2). 522 = *PL* xli. 715); Isidore, *Etym.* xvi. 4. 5.

[7] The phrase 'sine litteris non potest apprehendi' is an imaginative corruption of *synelitem* in Honorius, which is in turn a corruption of *selenitem*, 'selenite' (cf. *Otia*, iii. 6).

Parthia is Media, named after King Medus, who built a city and called it Media; the region then took its name from the city.[5] It was here that the art of magic first arose. Persia, too, is in Parthia. The pyrites stone, so called because it burns the hand of anyone who touches it, comes from Persia;[6] it can only be held by people of learning,[7] and its lustre waxes, wanes and fails with the moon.[4] Persia contains the great city of Suanir,[8] and the cities of Cordula, Beroca, and Niospolis. Also in Persia is the river Stranga, which becomes so compressed and icy from the force of the snows that it is as solid as rock underfoot; Alexander crossed it, even though it was at least a stade wide, when he was fleeing from Darius after having been recognized by him.[9] There are twelve provinces in Persia, which Simon the Canaanite and Jude the Zealot converted.[10]

[11]Parthia, as we have said, stretches from the river Indus to Mesopotamia; its regions form a continuous chain, beginning at the river Indus and ending at the Tigris.[11] At the top of Parthia is the city of Albenia, in the middle is Heccomolia, and below Media to the west are the Parthian cities of Aspacora and Herbathanis.[12]

[13]Between the river Tigris and the river Euphrates lies Mesopotamia. Its name, which is Greek, comes from its two rivers: for it lies in between two rivers,[13] the Tigris to the east and the Euphrates to the west. It begins in the north between the Taurus and Caucasus Mountains.[14] In Mesopotamia, towards the north, is the city of Nineveh; this city, which takes three days to cross, was built by Ninus, the first king of the Assyrians, and takes its name from him.[15] Also in Mesopotamia, on the Tigris, is Edessa,[16] the chief city of Mesopotamia; it bears the same name as the city of Edessa in India. Near the Euphrates is Augusta, while the city of Carrhae is in central Mesopotamia.

[8] Cf. Pseudo-Abdias, l3v and l5r; *Otia*, ii. 22, at n. 7.

[9] Cf. Julius Valerius, ii. 26–7. Alexander rode across the Stranga and entered Darius' camp disguised as a messenger; on being recognized he fled back to the river, and when the ice gave way, swam to safety.

[10] Cf. Pseudo-Abdias, l3r; *Otia*, ii. 22, nn. 6 and 7. For Simon the Canaanite, see Matt. 10: 4 and Mark 3: 18; it is also this Simon, not Jude (with whom he is traditionally associated), who is called Zelotes in the N.T. (Luke 6: 15; Acts 1: 13).

[11–11] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 8.

[12] Possibly Ecbatana.

[13–13] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 14 (15) (ed. Flint pp. 55–6 = *PL* clxxii. 125).

[14] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 13; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 20.

[15] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 39 (*PL* cxcviii. 1090); Jonah 3: 3; *Otia*, Preface, n. 8, and i. 20, at n. 37.

[16] Edessa (Urfa) is actually on a tributary of the Euphrates.

[17]Babilonia uero ad meridiem succedit,[17] a ciuitate Babilone sic dicta,[18] que et Sannaar[s] nominatur,[19] cuius fundator Nembroth gigas, reparatrix Semiramis,[20] quondam Nini regis uxor, uirum animo, habitu feminam gerens.[21] [22]Babilon autem campi planicie undique[t] conspicua, natura loci latissima,[u] castrorum facie menibus paribus per quadrum disposita. Murorum eius uix relatu credibilis firmitas ac magnitudo, id est, latitudine cubitorum quinquaginta, altitudine quater tanta; ceterum ambitus eius quadringentis octoginta stadiis circumducitur. Murus coctili latere atque interfuso bitumine compactus; fossa extrinsecus late patens uice amnis circumfluit. A fronte murorum centum porte eree. Ipsa autem latitudo, in consummatione pinnarum[v] utroque latere, habitaculis defensorum eque dispositis, media intercapedine sui obuias sibi[w] quadrigas capit. Domus intrinsecus quatergemine[x] habitationis minaci proceritate terribiles.[y] [22] [23]Fluuio Eufrate per medium eius currente irrigatur. Arcis quatuor milium passuum altitudo describitur.[23] [z]Hec, ut aiunt, Abathanis dicta quondam, nunc deserta, distat a Baldac quatuor ferme mansionibus. Cuius prouincie contigue sunt Media et Parthia, et transcurso Eufrate occurrit Anthiochia, que est iuxta Mesopotamiam Sirie, que Mesopotamia minor appellatur.[z]

De Caldea, Arabia, et Siria[a]

Post Babiloniam succedit [24]Caldea, in qua primum inuenta est astronomia. Nouissime succedit Arabia, que et Saba dicitur, a Saba filio Cus. In hac thus colligitur. In hac mons Syna, qui et Oreb, in quo lex Moysi data legitur; iuxta quem[b] urbs Madian fuit, in qua Ietro sacerdos mansit.[24] Porro inter mare Rubrum ubi Taprobanem insulam claudit ad caput Indie uersus euroaustrum, et sinum Persicum qui a mari Rubro similiter cingitur uersus austrum, est Alexandria ciuitas, et Cazoras, et Hectesifon.[25] Nabathea quoque,

[s] Sennaar *IQ* [t] undique *om. XQ* [u] latissima *MSS;* laetissima *Orosius* [v] piuarum *N* [w] obuias sibi *MSS;* citas *Orosius* [x] quatrigenne *N* [y] terribiles *MSS;* mirabiles *Orosius* [z–z] Hec . . . Mesopotamia minor appellatur] *supplied by author N* [a] De . .. Siria] *supplied by author N;* De Caldea Arabia Syria (et *X*) Egipto et Ethiopia *XQ* [b] quem *Honorius;* quam *MSS*

[17–17] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 21.

[18] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.

[19] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 38, Additio 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1089).

[20] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.

[21] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 4. 4; see *Otia*, i. 20, n. 81.

[22–22] Babilon . . . minaci proceritate terribiles] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, ii. 6. 8–10; Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xv. 1. 4.

[23–23] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; i.e. the tower of Babel.

[17]Next to Mesopotomia to the south is Babylonia.[17] Babylonia takes its name from the city of Babylon,[18] which is also known as Shinar.[19] The founder of this city was the giant Nimrod; it was subsequently restored by Semiramis,[20] formerly King Ninus' wife, who showed herself a man in spirit though a woman in dress.[21] [22]Babylon was clearly visible from all sides, being situated on a flat plain; the nature of its site was wide open, and it was laid out on the plan of a camp, with walls of equal length forming a square. The description of the strength and size of its walls almost defies belief: their width was fifty cubits, their height four times that, while the circumference of the city was 480 stades. The wall was constructed of baked bricks cemented with bitumen, and a moat as wide as a river ran round the outside. Breaking the façade of the walls were a hundred bronze gates. And the walls, topped with battlements on either side, with turrets for defenders evenly spaced out along them, were wide enough to provide a central space in which four-horse chariots could pass in opposite directions. The houses inside the walls had eight storeys and loomed fearfully tall.[22] [23]The city was supplied with water by the river Euphrates which ran through the middle of it. The citadel is said to have been four miles high.[23] Babylon, which was once, so they say, called Abathanis, is now abandoned; it is about four days' journey from Baghdad. Its neighbouring provinces are Media and Parthia, while on the other side of the Euphrates one comes to Antioch, which is next to Syrian Mesopotamia, known as Lesser Mesopotamia.

Chaldaea, Arabia, and Syria

Next below Babylonia comes [24]Chaldaea, where astronomy was first invented. Lastly comes Arabia, also called Sheba, after Seba, son of Cush. Frankincense is produced here. This is where Mount Sinai is, which is also called Horeb; one reads that it was on this mountain that the law was given to Moses. Nearby is the city of Midian, where the priest Jethro lived.[24] Further on, between the Red Sea where it bounds the island of Taprobane off the tip of India towards the south-east, and the Persian Gulf which is likewise bounded by the Red Sea to the south, there lies the city of Alexandria; also Cazoras, and Hectesiphon.[25] Nabataea, a region inhabited by Saracens, also

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[24–24] Caldea . . . Ietro sacerdos mansit] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 21; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 13–15.

[25] Possibly Ctesiphon, though it was not in Arabia.

regio Sarasenorum, ab Eufrate consurgens, sic[c] in Rubrum mare porrigitur.[26] In his locis nascuntur honagri cornua boum habentes, serpentes quoque habentes capita bina, quorum oculi de nocte sicut lucerna[d] lucent;[27] et sunt confinia ostia fluminis Indici,[e] ubi se Rubro mari infundit.

Ad hec [28]Caldee ad austrum coniungitur, ut diximus, Arabia, que Nabathee regioni supponitur uersus occidentem,[29] inter duos Rubri maris sinus posita, sinum Persicum ab euroaustro, et sinum Arabicum ab austro uel notho respiciens. Hec Arabia dicta est quasi 'sacra', quia sit regio turifera, odores creans; unde a Grecis *eudemon*, hoc est beata, nominatur. In huius saltibus mirra prouenit et cinnamomum. In ea fenix nascitur,[28] de quo Ouidius:

> Vna est que reparat seseque reseminat ales:
> Assirii fenica uocant; non fruge nec herbis
> Sed turis lacrimis et suco uiuit amomi.[30]

In hac sardonix nascitur.[31] In hac ciuitas[f] est Egea, in qua Cosma et Damianus orti sunt.[32] Est et ciuitas Philadelphia,[g] cuius equiuoca est in[h] Grecia.[i] Ibi dudum [33]plurime gentes habitauerunt uiginti octo,[j] Moabite, Amonite, Ydumei, Madianite, et Amalechite, qui sunt Saraceni. Hec terra angusto[k] tractu orientem uersus extenditur ad sinum Persicum.[33]

[34]A flumine Eufrate quod est ab oriente, usque ad mare nostrum quod est ab occasu, deinde a septentrione, id est ciuitate[l] Dacusa, que in confinio Capadocie et Armenie sita est, haud[m] procul[n] ubi nascitur Eufrates, usque[o] ad Egiptum et extremum sinum Arabicum, qui[p] ad meridiem longo angustoque[q] sulco saxis insulisque creberrimo a

[c] et *add. before* sic *MSS* [d] *sic MSS for* lucerne [e] *sic MSS for* Indi [f] ciuitate *N* [g] Filapia *N* [h] in *om. N* [i] In hac ciuitas . . . Grecia] *supplied by author N*; Est et ciuitas . . . Grecia] *om. β* [j] xxviiii^to *N* [k] augusto *N* [l] a *add. before* ciuitate *AC and Orosius* [m] aut *N* [n] a loco *add. after* procul *Orosius* [o] usque *Orosius*; qui *MSS* [p] est *add. after* qui *MSS* [q] augustoque *N*

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[26] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 26; Isidore adds: 'et est pars Arabiae.' The Nabataeans were an Arabian people, centred on Petra, to the south-east of Palestine; cf. nn. 29 and 61–3 below.

[27] Cf. *Letter of Pharasmanes to Hadrian*, para. xi; Isidore, *Etym.* xii. 4. 20; and see *Otia*, iii. 72, n. 2.

[28–28] Caldee . . . In ea fenix nascitur] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 21; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 15.

[29] The Sinai Peninsula was regarded as part of Arabia, but the great bulk of the country in fact lay to the east of Nabataea; Gervase seems to have imagined Nabataea further to the east than it actually was (cf. pp. 204–5 below).

extends to the Red Sea from the Euphrates, where it begins.[26] In these parts there live onagers which have bulls' horns, and two-headed snakes whose eyes shine like lamps at night.[27] The mouth of the river Indus, where it empties into the Red Sea, is in this region.

Arabia, which lies to the west[29] of the region of Nabataea, also [28]borders on Chaldaea, as we have said, lying to the south of it; it is situated between the two gulfs of the Red Sea, facing the Persian Gulf to the south-east, and the Arabian Gulf to the south. It is called Arabia, which means 'sacred', on account of its being a frankincense-producing region, exuding sweet fragrances; for this reason it is called *εὐδαίμων*, that is, 'blessed', by the Greeks. In its woodlands myrrh and cinnamon are found. It is the home of the phoenix,[28] of which Ovid wrote:

> One bird there is, which renews and regenerates itself:
> The Assyrians call it the phoenix. It lives, not on seeds or green food,
> But on drops of frankincense and the juice of amomum.[30]

The sardonyx is found in Arabia.[31] Here also is the city of Egaea, where Cosmas and Damian were born.[32] The city of Philadelphia is here too, though there is another city of the same name in Greece. In the past [33]a large number of peoples dwelt in Arabia, twenty-eight in fact, including the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Idumaeans, the Midianites, and the Amalekites, these last being Saracens. This land extends eastwards in a narrow strip leading to the Persian Gulf.[33]

[34]Syria stretches from the river Euphrates in the east as far as our sea in the west. In the north it begins at the city of Dagusa, which is situated on the border of Cappadocia and Armenia, not far from where the Euphrates rises, and it stretches as far south as Egypt and the top of the Arabian Gulf, which extends westwards in a long, narrow gully, crowded with rocks and islands, from the Red Sea, that

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[30] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* xv. 392–4; in the text of Ovid the first line reads: 'Vna est, quae reparet seque ipsa reseminet, ales.' Gervase quotes these lines again in *Otia*, iii. 79.

[31] Cf. Isidore, loc. cit.

[32] The brothers Cosmas and Damian, according to tradition, were born in Arabia but went to live at Egaea, or Aegae, in Cilicia, where they practised medicine without charging fees. They were beheaded in the persecution of Diocletian, and buried at Cyrrhus in Syria. Their story is told by e.g. Gregory of Tours, *Liber miraculorum*, xcviii (*PL* lxxi. 791).

[33–33] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 21–2; Isidore, loc. cit.; Honorius, loc. cit.

[34–34] A flumine . . . gentes sunt duodecim (p. 200)] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 23–4; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 16; *Otia*, ii. 22, pp. 492–3. The derivation of the name Syria from Shuah, son of Keturah, is taken from Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 62 (*PL* cxcviii. 1108).

Rubro mari, id est ab[r] occeano, occasum uersus extenditur, Syria (a Sinin,[s] filio Ceture)[t] generaliter nominatur, habens maximas prouincias Commerganam,[u] Feniceam, et Palestinam, absque[v] Saracenis[w] quorum gentes sunt duodecim.[34]

[35]In capite Sirie superioris Capadocia[x] est, que habet ab oriente Armeniam, ab occasu Asiam minorem, ab aquilone Themiscirios campos et mare Cimmericum, a meridie Taurum montem, cui subiacent[y] Cilicia et Ysauria usque ad Cilicinum sinum, qui spectat[z] contra insulam Ciprum.[35] Capadocie urbs maxima est Cesarea. Illic ciuitas Cucussa et ciuitas Reatis.[a]

[36]Est autem dicta Siria a Siro rege. Sirie inferioris capud est Damascus, a Damasco, filio Eliezer procuratoris et[b] liberto Abrahe constructa.[36] Illic Ebron, que et Cariatharbe ciuitas, propter sepulturam quatuor patriarcharum sic dicta.[37] Illic Dabir que Cariatsefer, id est ciuitas litterarum,[c] quia habundat[d] scriptoribus.[e] [38] Ibi Anthiocia, ab Antiocho rege nominata, [39]olim Reblata dicta.[39]

[40]Est et in Siria Commengana prouincia. Est et Fenicea, a Fenice filio Agenoris sic dicta,[40] qui frater Cadmi a Thebis[f] Egipti fugiens terram inhabitauit.[g] [41] In hac Tirus et Sidon. In hac mons Libanus, ad cuius radices[42] [h]oriuntur Albana et Farfar fluens[i] iuxta Anthiochiam, diuiditque Libanus Ydumeam et Feniceam, cum Bosra[j] sit in finibus Ydumee et Arabie.[43] Est autem Ydumea terra Damascena in qua mansit Esau, qui dicitur Edom, id est fuluus, quia fuit[k] lenticula fulua pro qua uendidit primogenita.[44] Porro metropolis Ydumee Teman,

[r] ab *om. N* [s] Surin *XQ*, Surra *I* [t] filio Ceture *supplied by author N;* a Sinin filio Ceture *om. Orosius* [u] Commagenam *I and Orosius* [v] adque *N* [w] et Nabathaeis *add. after* Saracenis *Orosius* [x] Capadocie *NA* [y] subiacet *Orosius and Isidore* [z] (ex *expunged*)pectat *N* [a] Capadocie urbs maxima . . . Reatis] *supplied by author N;* Illic ciuitas Cucussa . . . Reatis] *om. β* [b] et *supplied by author*(?) *N* [c] uel librorum *add. after* litterarum *XQ* [d] habundabat *ACQI* [e] Illic Dabir que . . . scriptoribus] *supplied by author N* [f] a Thebis] athelus *N* [g] qui frater Cadmi . . . inhabitauit] *supplied by author N* [h–h] oriuntur . . . unde Baldat Suites (*p. 202*)] *supplied by author N* [i] fluentes *Comestor* [j] Bosra *Comestor;* ipse *MSS* [k] quia fuit *XQ;* quia *NAI;* a *C;* quia . . . est *Comestor*

[35–35] In capite . . . contra insulam Ciprum] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 25; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 37.

[36–36] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 15 (16) (ed. Flint p. 56 = *PL* clxxii. 126); Isidore, *Etym.* xv. 1. 15; Gen. 15: 2 (where the Vulgate text reads: 'filius procuratoris domus meae iste Damascus Eliezer'); Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 48 (*PL* cxcviii. 1095).

[37] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 45, and Additio 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1093). The Comestor explains that *Cariatharbe* means 'the city of four': 'Arbe enim *quatuor*, Cariath *civitas*, ibi enim sepultus est Adam maximus, et Abram, Isaac, et Jacob cum uxoribus suis' ('for *arba* means "four" and *kirjath* "city", since the great Adam was buried there, and Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob with their wives'). Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, and Jacob and Leah were

is, the ocean. This whole area is called Syria after Shuah, son of Keturah. Its largest provinces are Commagene, Phoenicia, and Palestine, not counting the Saracen areas: there are twelve Saracen tribes in Syria.[34]

[35]At the top of Upper Syria lies Cappadocia, which has Armenia to the east, Asia Minor to the west, the Plains of Themiscyra and the Cimmerian Sea to the north, and the Taurus Mountains to the south. Beneath these mountains lie Cilicia and Isauria, leading down to the Cilician Gulf, which looks across at the island of Cyprus.[35] The main city of Cappadocia is Caesarea. This region also contains the cities of Cucussa and Reatis.

[36]Syria is named after King Syrus. The capital of Lower Syria is Damascus, built by Abraham's freedman Damascus, the son of his steward Eliezer.[36] Hebron is situated in Lower Syria; this city is also called Kirjath-arba, because of the four patriarchs who are buried there.[37] There too is Debir, called Kirjath-sepher, that is, the City of Letters, because it is the home of many writers.[38] Antioch is in Syria; [39]it was originally called Reblata,[39] but was renamed after King Antiochus.

[40]The province of Commagene is also in Syria. There too is Phoenicia, so-called after Phoenix, son of Agenor[40] and brother of Cadmus, who settled in the land when he fled from Thebes in Egypt.[41] Tyre and Sidon are situated in Phoenicia, as is Mount Lebanon.[42] The Abana, and the Pharpar which flows past Antioch, have their springs in the foothills of Mount Lebanon. Lebanon divides Idumaea from Phoenicia, while Bozrah is on the border of Idumaea and Arabia.[43] Now Idumaea is the country of Damascus in which Esau dwelt; for Esau is also called Edom, that is, 'red', because the lentil stew for which he sold his birthright was red.[44] The chief

all buried in the cave of Machpelah at Hebron, which Abraham bought when Sarah died (Gen. 23; 49: 29–31); tradition asserted that Adam and Eve had also been buried there (cf. e.g. Isidore, *Etym.* xv. 1. 24; Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1039 (= ed. Boeren, c. 8, p. 9); Comestor, *Gen.*, cc. 24 and 59 (*PL* cxcviii. 1075 and 1106); *Otia*, i. 19, n. 7).

[38] Cf. Comestor, *Jos.*, c. 14 (*PL* cxcviii. 1269).

[39–39] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit., where the phrase is applied to Damascus. Reblata (=Riblah) was a town on the Orontes, about half-way between Antioch and Damascus.

[40–40] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.

[41] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 18.

[42] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.

[43] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 85, Additio 2 (*PL* cxcviii. 1124); 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 5: 12. The crusaders identified the Pharpar with the Orontes.

[44] i.e. the name Idumaea comes from Edom, meaning 'red'; cf. Gen. 25: 25 and 30; Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 68 (*PL* cxcviii. 1111).

unde Elifat Themanites, in qua Suit, unde Baldat Suites.[h] [45] Oritur[l] f. 20ʳ Iordanis fluuius ex concursu | duorum fluminum, Ior uersus occidentem, Dan uersus orientem, in quorum medio Parica[m] ciuitas sita est.[46] Exhinc Neapolis. Exhinc [47]Palestina, a Palestin ciuitate, que nunc Ascalon dicitur.[47] [n]In Palestina urbs est[o] Eleutheropolis et Gaza et Maiuma, Gaze emporium, id est locus negociationis, qui uulgo Fundigus nominatur. Sane Palestinos Filesteos dicunt, et alii Allofillos nominant.[n] [48]

[49]Est et in Siria[50] Iudea, a Iuda filio Iacob, ex cuius tribu reges sunt uocati.[p] [49] Est et in Siria Mesopotamia (cuius caput est Edissa, ciuitas regis Adgari,[51] sub qua ciuitas Aram),[q] [52]a *moys* quod est aqua, et *potaneos* quod est medium, quia in medio aquarum est; sicut Aquileia, quasi aquis ligata,[52] et in confinio ciuitatis Arelatensis Meduaga, quasi in medio aque Rodani sita.

[53]Est et in Siria Cananea, a Canaan filio Cham.[53] In hac est Corozai. [54]In hac Ierusalem, quam Sem filius[r] Noe construens Salem nominauit; sed Iebus filius Canaam eam inhabitauit, unde Dauid ipsam Ierusalem, quasi Iebus Salem, dixit. Quam Salomon auro et gemmis et edificiis ornauit, unde[s] Ierusalem quasi Ierusalomoniam appellamus.[54] Habet et alia plura nomina, unde egregius uersificator:

Solima Luza Bethel Ierosolima Iebus Elia,
  Vrbs sacra Ierusalem dicitur atque Salem.[55]

[l] Sed et de Libano *add. before* oritur *Cβ* [m] Panea *Q*, Paneas *I* [n–n] In Palestina . . . alli Allofillos nominant] *supplied by author N* [o] est *om. N* [p] sunt uocati *MSS;* erant nuncupati *Honorius* [q] cuius caput est . . . Aram] *supplied by author N;* sub qua ciuitas Aram *om. β;* Mesopotamia autem dicitur *add. after* Aram *C* [r] filii *N* [s] unde *ed.;* uel *MSS*

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[45] Cf. Job 2: 11 etc.; Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 85, Additio 2 (*PL* cxcviii. 1124).

[46] Cf. *Otia*, iii. 52.

[47–47] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 15 (16) (ed. Flint p. 56 = *PL* clxxii. 126); Isidore, *Etym.* xvi. 3. 19; and see the following note.

[48] On the identity of the Palestinians and the Philistines, see Gen. 21: 33 (32) ('Palaestinorum' in the Vulgate); Jerome, *In Isaiam*, v. 14. chaps. 29 and 31 (*CCSL* lxxiii. 173–4 =*PL* xxiv. 165–6); Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 58. For the name *Allophyli* (= ἀλλόφυλοι, 'of another race') applied to the Philistines, see Ps. 55 (56): 1; cf. Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 20 and 58; xv. 1. 17.

[49–49] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 20.

[50] Gervase has substituted *Siria* for *ea* in the text of Honorius. Honorius' *ea* actually refers to Palestine, but since the name Palestine is derived from the Greek *Συρία Παλαιστίνη* (Syria of the Philistines, i.e. Southern Syria), the two names are virtually interchangeable in referring to Southern Syria. However, as Gervase is about to mention

city of Idumaea is Teman, birthplace of Eliphaz the Temanite; here too lies Shuah, birthplace of Bildad the Shuhite.[45] The river Jordan begins where two streams flow together, the Jor from the west, and the Dan from the east. Between these two streams lies the city of Paneas.[46] Next comes Neapolis. Then there is [47]Palestine, named after the city of the Philistines, which is now called Ascalon.[47] Palestine contains the city of Eleutheropolis; also Gaza, and Maiuma, Gaza's emporium or trading place, commonly known as Fundigus. The Palestinians are also called the Philistines; others call them the Allophyli.[48]

[49]Also in Syria[50] is Judaea, named after Judah, son of Jacob, from whose tribe the kings were appointed.[49] Mesopotamia is in Syria too. Its capital is Edessa, the city of King Abgar;[51] below Edessa is the city of Haran. [52]The name Mesopotamia comes from *moys*, which means 'water', and *potaneos*, which means 'middle', because it has water on either side. Similarly Aquileia means 'bound by water' (*aquis ligata*),[52] and Meduaga (near the city of Arles) means situated 'in the middle of the water' (*in medio aque*) of the Rhône.

[53]Also in Syria is Canaan, named after Canaan, son of Ham.[53] Chorazin is in Canaan, as is [54]Jerusalem, which Shem, son of Noah, built and called Salem; but Canaan's son, the Jebusite, lived there, and so David called it Jerusalem, for Jebus Salem. Solomon adorned the city with gold, gems, and fine buildings, and so we call it Jerusalem, for Hierosolomonia.[54] It has many other names too, which prompted the eminent versifier to write:

Solima, Luz, Bethel, Hierosolima, Jebus, Aelia,
Jerusalem, and Salem: all are names of the holy city.[55]

(Lesser) Mesopotamia as forming part of (Northern) Syria, the name Palestine would have been inappropriate here; note that he fails to adjust the text accordingly two paragraphs further on, where Honorius says: 'Est et in Palaestina . . .'.

[51] Cf. *Otia*, iii. 23.

[52–52] A confused version of Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 42 (*PL* cxcviii. 1091): 'Mesopotamia vero a circumfluentibus aquis, nomen accepit. Meso enim *medium*, potamos *aqua*, sicut Aquilegia dicitur, quasi *aquis* ligata' ('Mesopotamia received its name from the waters flowing round it. For μεσο means "middle", and ποταμός "water" [actually "river"]; similarly the name Aquileia means "bound by water"').

[53–53] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.

[54–54] In hac . . . quasi Ierusalomoniam appellamus] Cf. ibid. In Honorius the last sentence reads: 'Quam Salomon . . . auro et gemmis decoravit, Ierosolimam quasi Ierusalemonam appellavit' ('Solomon adorned the city with gold and gems, and called it Jerosolima, as if from Jerusalemona'). This passage is derived from Isidore, *Etym.* xv. 1. 5.

[55] This 'eminent versifier', possibly a contemporary of Gervase's, has not been identified.

Salem inquam a Salem filio Arfaxat;[56] Luza quasi nux uel amigdalus, quia inuenta est in eius fundatione;[t] Bethel, id est domus Dei.[u] [57] Hec a Babiloniis subuersa et a[v] Zorobabel reedificata, a Tito et Vaspasiano funditus diruta, postmodum ab Elio Adriano est reparata, ideoque Elia dicta.[58]

[59]Est et in Palestina regio[w] Samaria, a ciuitate Samaria, que nunc est Sebasta, nuncupata. In hac est Galilea, in qua est ciuitas Nazareth, iuxta montem Tabor sita. In hac est Pentapolis regio, a[x] quinque ciuitatibus dicta, ubi Sodoma et Gomorra. In hac sunt Saraceni, a Sara[y] dicti, ⟨qui⟩[z] et Agareni ab Agar, et Ysmaelite ab Ysmaele.[59] [a]Mortua enim Sarra Abraham duxit Agar, que et Cetura uocabatur, cuius filii a nomine libere se Sarracenos dixerunt, obtinentes Traconitidem, Fenicem, et Arabiam usque ad mare Rubrum primo.[a] [60] In hac dicunt esse Nabatheos, a Nabaioch filio Ismaelis nuncupatos, quorum gentes sunt duodecim,[61] quamuis Nabatheos in finibus Arabie dixerimus esse locatos.[62] Sed alia fortassis est illa regio eiusdem tamen nominis, secundum illud Ouidii:

> Eurus ad auroram Nabateaque regna tenebat,[b] [63]

de qua in superiore capituli huius parte diximus.

In Siria quoque est Alexandria que Ciprum respicit; est et ciuitas Sileutia, est et Tarsus, est et Lauditia, inter Anthiochiam et Alexandriam protense.[c] [64] Vt autem descendit Iordanis fluuius inter Bethsaidam ab oriente et Tiberiadem ab occidente, gurgitem facit qui mare Tiberiadis appellatur. Quo transito, ab oriente preterit terminos

[t] Sic (sicut *X*) in fundatione Mediolani inuenta est sus semilanifer, unde Sidonius: Rura paludicole tempnis populosa Ravenne | et que lanigero de sue nomen habent *add. after* fundatione *XQ* (*cf. Sidonius Apollinaris, Epistolae, vii. 17. 2, ll. 19-20; Isidore, Etym. xv. 1. 57*) [u] Luza quasi nux . . . Dei] *supplied by author N* [v] a *om. Nβ* [w] regio *Honorius and Isidore;* regione *MSS* [x] a *supplied by author N* [y] Sara *supplied by author N* [z] qui *Honorius; om. MSS* [a–a] Mortua . . . mare Rubrum primo] *supplied by author N* [b] tenebat] recessit *CI* [c] protensa *XQ*

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[56] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 41 (*PL* cxcviii. 1090); Gen. 10: 24.

[57] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 73 (*PL* cxcviii. 1115); Gen. 28: 19. The town of Luz/Bethel was about 14 miles north of Jerusalem.

[58] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit. Having been destroyed by the Babylonians under Nebuchadnezzar in 587 BC, Jerusalem was resettled by the exiles who returned with Zerubbabel after 537 BC (see e.g. 1 Esd. (Ezra) 2: 2). The city was substantially destroyed again by the Romans under Titus and Vespasian in 70 AD. In the insurrection of Bar Cochba (AD 132–5) it was a centre of resistance, but fell to Hadrian in 135; he then founded a Roman colony on the site with the name of Aelia Capitolina.

[59–59] Est et . . . Ysmaelite ab Ysmaele] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 16 (17) (ed.

The name Salem comes from Salah, son of Arphaxad;[56] Luz means a 'nut-' or 'almond-tree', because one was discovered when the city's foundations were being laid; Bethel means 'house of God'.[57] This city was destroyed by the Babylonians, and rebuilt by Zerubbabel; it was then razed to the ground by Titus and Vespasian, and afterwards restored by Aelius Hadrian: that is why it came to be called Aelia.[58]

[59]Palestine also contains the region of Samaria, which takes its name from the city of Samaria, now Sebaste. Galilee, too, is in Palestine. The city of Nazareth is situated in Galilee, near Mount Tabor. Palestine also includes the region of the Pentapolis, so-called from its five cities, among which were Sodom and Gomorrah. There are Saracens in Palestine. The Saracens took their name from Sarah; they are also called Hagarenes after Hagar, and Ishmaelites after Ishmael.[59] For on Sarah's death Abraham married Hagar, who was also called Keturah, and her children called themselves Saracens after the name of his free wife; in the first instance they took possession of Trachonitis, Phoenicia, and Arabia as far as the Red Sea.[60] They say that the Nabataeans live in Palestine; they take their name from Nebaioth, son of Ishmael, and are divided into twelve tribes.[61] However, we said above that the Nabataeans are located in the territory of Arabia.[62] Perhaps that Nabataea, which we spoke of in the earlier part of this chapter, is another region with the same name. It would be the one referred to in Ovid's line:

> Eurus withdrew to the dawn and the realms of Nabataea.[63]

Also in Syria is the city of Alexandria which faces Cyprus; there, too, are the cities of Seleucia, Tarsus, and Laodicea, stretched out between Antioch and Alexandria.[64] As the river Jordan flows down between Bethsaida to the east and Tiberias to the west, it forms a lake which is called the Sea of Tiberias. After crossing this, it passes to the east of the territory of Bethlehem and Jericho, and flows into the

Flint pp. 56–7 = *PL* clxxii. 126); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 22–4; ix. 2. 6. On the Pentapolis, see *Otia*, i. 12, n. 10.

[60] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 62 (*PL* cxcviii. 1108); Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 57.

[61] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 7, xiv. 3. 26.

[62] See above, pp. 196–9, nn. 26 and 29.

[63] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* i. 61. The last word of this line is *recessit* in the text of Ovid; this would seem to be a memory slip on Gervase's part (corrected in *C* and *I*), since he quoted the line correctly in i. 7.

[64] There was an Alexandria (also called Alexandretta) on the coast of Syria north of Antioch. Seleucia Pieria was the port of Antioch; Syrian Laodicea was a coastal town south-west of Antioch; Tarsus was in Cilicia, which was included by the Romans in the province of Syria.

Bethleem et Ierico, marique Mortuo inuoluitur, [65]quod Mortuum dicitur quia nil uiuum gignit, et mare Diaboli,[65] propter peccata Sodome.[d] Hoc autem mare circumstant ab austro ciuitas Petra, ciuitas Botris, ciuitas Filadelfia, et finitur hoc mare in ciuitate Engaddi, que est ciuitas Palmarum.[e][66]

[67]Palestina ergo regio a uico Arfa usque ad uicum Iuliaden in longum protenditur, cuius latitudo porrigitur a monte Libano usque ad lacum Tyberiadis. In eius autem medio Iudea uelut umbilicus terre.[67] Est et in confinio Palestine, respiciens[f] Sodomam, uallis Mambre, in qua facta est promissio de Isaac et risus Sare et uisio trium angelorum.[g][68] [69]Mambre enim, Escol, et Auel[h] fratres fuerunt, confederati Abrahe. A primo dicitur uallis Mambre, in qua mansit Abraham iuxta terebintum uel quercum, cuius radices adhuc apparent. Hanc[i] Iosefus[70] uocat ylicem *Agygnin*.[j] Hec arbor usque ad tempus Theodosii[71] durauit, ex qua est ista succreta que est modo, arida et medicinalis,[69] cuius semen si tuleris, equus tuus non infundetur;[72] ex qua corrigiate fiunt, quibus si tactus fuerit homo uel equus, contra tortiones uentris quas uulgo trencatas nominant proderit.

[k]Porro iuxta uallem uel montem Manbre est [73]Ebron, olim Acheron, metropolis Filistinorum et habitaculum gigantum, sita in agro in quo plasmatus fuit Adam. Hec iuxta uallem Lacrimarum posita, in qua Adam centum annis luxit Abel; a qua secundo miliario est sepultura Loch. In Ebron uenerunt exploratores.[74] Illic regnauit Dauid septem annis.[75] Decimo miliario ab Ebron est lacus Asfaltidis, qui mare Mortuum dicitur. Supra lacum in accubitu Iudee Segor, una

[d] et mare Diaboli . . . Sodome] *supplied by author N* [e] et finitur hoc . . . palmarum] *supplied by author N* [f] repiciens *N* [g] in qua facta . . . angelorum] *supplied by author N* [h] Anes *C;* Aner *Comestor* [i] Hanc *supplied by author N* [j] agygym *β;* Agyga, vel Ogig, vel Dirpsi *Comestor* [k–k] Porro . . . Seniceam (*sic*) diuidit Libanus (*p. 208*)] *supplied by author N*

[65–65] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1040 (= ed. Boeren, c. 10, p. 10); Isidore, *Etym.* xiii. 19. 3; Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 44, Additio 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1093).

[66] Cf. Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 3 (*PL* cxcviii. 1273); the meaning of En-gedi is actually 'fountain for goats'.

[67–67] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 20–21; Josephus, *Bell.* iii. 52–7. In Isidore these are stated as being the boundaries of Judaea, not of Palestine as a whole; Josephus correctly gives them as the boundaries of Batanaea and Trachonitis, north-east of Judaea. In both, Jerusalem is said to be at the centre of Judaea, not Judaea at the centre of the earth; it was, however, an established belief that Jerusalem was the *umbilicus terre* (cf. *Otia*, i. 10, n. 25).

[68] Cf. Gen. 18.

[69–69] Mambre . . . arida et medicinalis] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 45, and Additio 2 (*PL*

Dead Sea. [65]This sea is called the Dead Sea because it supports no life; or the Devil's Sea,[65] on account of the sins of Sodom. Around this sea to the south are the cities of Petra, Bozrah, and Philadelphia; the sea ends at the town of En-gedi, which means 'City of Palms'.[66]

[67]The region of Palestine, then, extends lengthways from the village of Arpha to the village of Julias, while its width stretches from Mount Lebanon to the Sea of Tiberias. Judaea, the navel, as it were, of the earth, occupies the centre of it.[67] Also within the territory of Palestine, facing Sodom, is the valley of Mamre, the scene of the promise concerning Isaac, the laughter of Sarah, and the vision of the three angels.[68] [69]Mamre, Eshcol, and Aner were brothers, confederate with Abraham. It was called the valley of Mamre after the first of them, and Abraham dwelt there beside a terebinth or an oak tree, the roots of which are still to be seen. Josephus[70] calls this oak *Ogyges.* This tree remained alive up until the time of Theodosius,[71] and from it there sprang a shoot which grew into the tree which is there now. Though this tree is withered, it has medicinal properties.[69] If you take a seed from it, your horse will not suffer from the flux;[72] and straps are made from it, contact with which will be beneficial to a person or a horse as a remedy for the stomach cramps which are commonly called *tranchées*, or griping pains.

To continue, near the valley or hill of Mamre is [73]Hebron, formerly Acheron, the chief city of the Philistines and the abode of giants; it is situated on the plain where Adam was formed. Hebron lies near the Vale of Tears, where Adam mourned for Abel for a hundred years; two miles from it is the burial-place of Lot. The spies came to Hebron,[74] and David reigned there for seven years.[75] Ten miles from Hebron is Lake Asphaltites, which is called the Dead Sea. By the

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cxcviii. 1093–4); Jerome, *De situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum* (*PL* xxiii. 907 and 936); Gen. 14: 13.

[70] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 186.

[71] i.e. the emperor Theodosius I (379–95).

[72] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1040 (= ed. Boeren, c. 9, p. 10); Theoderic, *Libellus de locis sanctis*, c. 34 (ed. M. L. and W. Bulst, p. 40). For *infusio* as an ailment of horses, see *Dict. of Med. Latin from British Sources*, s.v.; Du Cange, s.v.

[73–73] Ebron . . . Feniceam diuidit Libanus (p. 208)] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1039–40 (= ed. Boeren, cc. 7–12 and 24–5, pp. 9–11, 18, and 56). This borrowing from Fretellus' *Liber locorum sanctorum terrae Jerusalem* was added by the author in the margin of *N*. The same work served as the source of the long passage which forms the bulk of *Otia*, ii. 24 in most MSS, though it is not found in *N* (see Appendix ii. 2); see also *Otia*, iii. 117 and 119.

[74] Cf. Num. 13: 22.

[75] Cf. 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 2: 11.

de quinque ciuitatibus, que precibus Loch saluata est, et nunc oppidum Palme dicitur.[76] Lacus Asfaltidis Iudeam diuidit et Arabiam, que tempore filiorum Israel solitudo erat, in qua fuerunt[l] quadraginta annis. In Arabia sunt quadraginta mansiones, et mons Or, in quo sepultus est Aaron.[77] Arabia iungitur Ydumee, que terra est Damasci, et sub Siria; caput enim Sirie Damascus. Ydumeam quoque et Feniceam[m] diuidit Libanus.[k] [73]

[78]Hee superius dicte regiones, ab oriente incipientes, recta linea ad Mediterraneum mare protenduntur. Quibus uersus austrum Egiptus connectitur, in qua sunt uiginti quatuor gentes. Egiptus uero a Rubro mari, [79]cui imminet urbs Ahila,[n] [79] surgit et terminum suum uersus occidentem in Libia figit. Hec prius Euxia dicta, postea uocata est Egiptus ab Egipto, fratre Danai.[o] Hec fluuio Nilo undique cincta, in modum Δ[p] (delte littere) est[q] formata, centum milibus uillarum inclita. Hanc nubes non obscurant, pluuie non irrigant, sed Nilus fecundat, eam inundans. In hac est prouincia Thebaida, a ciuitate Thebe nominata, quam Cadmus[r] Agenoris filius ueniens in Egiptum edificauit, et Thebas ad instar illius quam in Boecia construxerat nominauit,[80] et inde nomen regio cepit. In hac beatus Mauricius principabatur,[s] et ob hoc legio[t] Tebeorum[81] nuncupatur.[78] [u]Est in Thebaide ciuitas Aulona.

[82]Est eciam quedam solitudo que Sur dicta est, inter Cades et Barad extendens desertum usque mare Rubrum et Egipti confinia.[u] [82] [83]Huic adiacet maxima solitudo, in qua olim multitudo[v] sanctorum monachorum habitabat.[83] Illic Paulus, primus heremita, ad radices montis saxei, in[w] spelunca quam aperto desuper celo patulis diffusa ramis uetus palma contexerat, fonte enascente, eandemque quam genuerat aquam terra sorbente, uitam transegit, alite coruo dimidium panem ad cotidianam eius refectionem nutu diuino ministrante.[84] In

[l] fuerant *N* [m] Seniceam *N* [n] cui imminet urbs Ahila (Aila *β*) *supplied by author N; om. Honorius* [o] fratre Danai *supplied by author N* [p] Δ *supplied by author* (?) *N* [q] est *supplied by author N* [r] Cadimus *N* [s] principatur *N* [t] regio *N* [u–u] Est . . . et Egipti confinia] *supplied by author N; om. Honorius;* Est . . . Aulona] *om. β* [v] maxima *add. before* multitudo *N* [w] in *I; om. NACXQ*

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[76] Cf. Gen. 19: 17–22; *Otia*, i. 12, n. 10. The precise location of the Pentapolis is not known; here Zoar seems to be identified with En-gedi, on the western shore of the Dead Sea (cf. n. 66 above). [77] Cf. Num. 33: 38.

[78–78] Hee . . . legio Tebeorum nuncupatur] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 17 (18) (ed. Flint p. 57 = *PL* clxxii. 126–7).

[79–79] Cf. Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*, x. 5 (ed. Bastiaensen, p. 94 = *PL* xxiii. 35, c. 18). Aila, or Aelana, was a port of the Roman period, successor of the biblical Elath, and now Aqaba.

[80] Cadmus, son of Agenor, king of Tyre, was believed to have founded both the Boeotian and the Egyptian cities of Thebes; elsewhere, however, he is said to have founded the Egyptian city first (e.g. Isidore, *Etym.* xv. 1. 46).

lake, where Judaea slopes down to it, is Zoar, one of the five cities; it was saved by Lot's prayers, and is now called Palm Town.[76] Lake Asphaltites divides Judaea from Arabia. In the time of the children of Israel Arabia was a desert, where they spent forty years. There are forty camping-places in Arabia; and Mount Hor is there, where Aaron is buried.[77] Arabia borders on Idumaea, which is the territory of Damascus, under Syrian rule; for Damascus is the capital of Syria. Lebanon divides Idumaea from Phoenicia.[73]

[78]These regions of which we have been speaking extend in a straight line, beginning from the east, to the Mediterranean Sea. On their southern border lies Egypt, a country containing twenty-four peoples. Egypt starts at the Red Sea, [79]where it is overlooked by the city of Aila,[79] and fixes its western border in Libya. It was called Euxia in an earlier period, but then came to be called Egypt after Aegyptus, brother of Danaus. It is bounded on every side by the river Nile, and is shaped like the letter delta (Δ); it is famous for its hundred thousand farms. Clouds never darken it, nor does rainfall water it, but the Nile renders it fertile by flooding it. It contains the province of the Thebaid, named after the city of Thebes, which Cadmus, son of Agenor, built when he came to Egypt, naming it Thebes after the city he had built in Boeotia;[80] and the region took its name from the city. The blessed Maurice held command here, and that is how the Theban legion[81] got its name.[78] The city of Aulona lies in the Thebaid.

[82]There is also a certain wilderness which is called Shur, whose sands stretch from between Kadesh and Barath as far as the Red Sea and the confines of Egypt.[82] [83]Next to this is a very large desert, in which a multitude of holy monks once lived.[83] It was there that Paul, the first hermit, spent his life, in a cave at the base of a rocky mountain. An ancient palm tree had extended its spreading branches to protect the cave from the open sky above; and a spring rose in that spot, whose water was absorbed back into the earth from which it had issued. By divine will a crow served him with half a loaf for his daily sustenance.[84] There is an area of Egypt which is called the Bucolia,

[81] On the Theban Legion, see *Otia*, iii. 35, n. 10.

[82–82] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 65 (*PL* cxcviii. 1109).

[83–83] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 17 (18) (ed. Flint p. 57 = *PL* clxxii. 127).

[84] Cf. Jerome, *Vita S. Pauli primi eremitae*, cc. 5 and 10 (*PL* xxiii. 21 and 25); cf. *Otia*, i. 18 and, for a similar story, iii. 31.

Egipto sunt loca que uocantur Bucolia, eo quod ibi barbara feroxque sit natio.[x] [85] In ea quoque montium solitudine sanctissimus Antonius centenarius celestem uitam agebat in terris, de quo beatissimus Athanasius ait: 'Perfecta siquidem uia est ad uirtutem Antonius scire quis fuerit.'[86]

f. 20v | [y]Sane quanto itinere a Palestina ad hec Egipti loca ueniatur, Ierronimus in *Vita Ylarionis* ait. Hic[z] enim a Gaza urbe Palestine ueniens ad solitudinem, que septimo miliario a Maiuma, Gaze emporio, per litus euntibus ad leuam flectitur,[87] [88]uale dicens fratribus, uenit Vitellium,[89] exhinc Pelusium,[90] exhinc ad heremum Licinos,[91] post hec ad castrum Tohaston,[a] [92] et sic ad Babilonem Egipti,[93] exhinc ad castrum Affroditon[94] quod tribus miliaribus distat a solitudine Antonii;[88] exhinc Alexandriam et heremum Oosam[b] iuxta Brutium,[95] exhinc ad maritimam[c] urbem Libie Paretonium.[y] [96]

Porro [97]Cambises[98] rex Egiptum superans, ciuitatem condidit cui nomen Babilon imposuit, que nunc regni illius caput est et uocatur Menfis.[d] In hac etiam uictor Alexander ciuitatem sui nominis construxit,[97] cum per uarias regiones duodecim sui nominis urbes edificasset. Est autem hec Alexandria inter octo[e] Nili ostia et Libiam sita, super mare nostrum.

Sane Egiptus nunc superior est, nunc inferior. [99]Egiptus inferior ab oriente habet Siriam et[f] Palestinam,[100] ab occasu Libiam, a septentrione mare nostrum, a meridie montem qui Climax dicitur et Egiptum superiorem et fluuium[g] Nilum, qui de littore incipientis[h] maris[i] Rubri uidetur emergere in loco qui dicitur Mossilonen portus,[j]

[x] In Egipto sunt . . . natio] *supplied by author N* [y–y] Sane . . . urbem Libie Paretonium] *supplied by author N* [z] hinc *XQ* [a] Thoaston *β* [b] Oasim *and Honorius Jerome* [c] miarutimam *N* [d] et uocatur Menfis *om. β* [e] .vii. *I* (*presumably a scribal correction*) [f] et *om. Orosius* [g] fluuuum *N* [h] incipiens *XQ* [i] mari *N* [j] Mossylon emporium *Orosius*

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[85] Cf. Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*, xxxi. 2 (ed. Bastiaensen, p. 138 = *PL* xxiii. 51, c. 43). The Bucolia ('Pastures') were a marshy district in the Nile Delta; see K. Sethe, 'Boukoloi', *RE* iii (1898), 1013.

[86] Cf. Wisd. 15: 3. St Athanasius (*c*.296–373), bishop of Alexandria from 328 until his death, knew St Antony personally; his *Vita Antonii* was largely responsible for Antony's immense popularity in the Middle Ages; cf. Otia, i. 9, n. 12, i. 18, and iii. 93, nn. 14 and 15.

[87] Cf. Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*, ii. 7 (ed. Bastiaensen, p. 76 = *PL* xxiii. 29, c. 2).

[88–88] uale . . . a solitudine Antonii] Cf. ibid. xx. 8–13 (ed. Bastiaensen, pp. 117–18 = *PL* xxiii. 45–6, c. 30).

[89] A village near Gaza, variously spelt Betheliam, Betilium, Betulium, Vetulium, and Bethelium in MSS of Jerome.

[90] A fortress east of the Nile Delta, guarding the approach to Egypt.

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because a fierce, barbarous people lives there.[85] Also in that mountainous desert St Antony lived a heavenly life on earth to the age of over a hundred. The blessed Athanasius said of him: 'Knowing who Antony was is without doubt a perfect path to virtue.'[86]

In Jerome's *Life of Hilarion* he describes the route by which one travels from Palestine to this area of Egypt. Hilarion journeyed from the Palestinian city of Gaza to the desert which leads off to the left seven miles along the coast road from Maiuma, Gaza's emporium.[87] [88]Bidding farewell to the brothers there, he came to Bethelia,[89] then to Pelusium,[90] and then to the desert of Lycos.[91] From there he journeyed on to the fortress of Thaubastum,[92] and so to the Egyptian city of Babylon;[93] then to the town of Aphroditon,[94] which is three miles from Antony's desert abode.[88] He travelled from there to Alexandria and the desert Oasis near Bruchium,[95] and then to the maritime city of Paraetonium in Libya.[96]

[97]Now when King Cambyses[98] conquered Egypt, he founded a city to which he gave the name of Babylon. It is now the capital of that kingdom, and is called Memphis. The victorious Alexander also built a city in Egypt, naming it after himself;[97] he had in fact already built twelve cities named after himself in different regions. The Alexandria he built here is situated between Libya and the eight mouths of the Nile, on the shore of our sea.

Egypt is actually divided into Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt. [99]Lower Egypt has Syria and Palestine[100] to the east, Libya to the west, our sea to the north, and to the south the mountain which is called Climax, Upper Egypt, and the river Nile. The Nile seems to emerge from the shore where the Red Sea begins, at a place which is called Mossylon Emporium; it then flows some way to the west until

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[91] A town on the edge of the Thebaid, which appears as Lycos or Lychnos in MSS of Jerome.

[92] Thaubastum, Thebatum, or Theubatum in MSS of Jerome.

[93] Across the Nile from Memphis; see below, at n. 97.

[94] On the Nile, to the south of Babylon.

[95] Cf. Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*, xxiii. 1–2 and 7 (ed. Bastiaensen, p. 123 = *PL* xxiii. 47–8, cc. 33–4). Gervase's 'heremum Oosam' is derived from: 'inde ad interiorem Oasim eremum transiturus' ('intending to cross the desert from there (sc. Alexandria) to the interior Oasis'); this oasis is identified by Bastiaensen (p. 309) as El Wahat. Bruchium was near Alexandria (not, as Gervase implies, near Oasis).

[96] Cf. ibid. xxiv. 2 (ed. Bastiaensen, p. 124 = *PL* xxiii. 48, c. 34).

[97–97] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 17 (18) (ed. Flint p. 57 = *PL* clxxii. 127).

[98] Cambyses, son of Cyrus the Great, king of Persia 529–522, conquered Egypt in 525 BC; it remained under Persian rule until it was conquered by Alexander the Great in 332.

[99–99] Egiptus . . . in medio sui (p. 212)] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 27–8.

[100] Orosius here has simply *Syriam Palaestinam;* cf. n. 50 above.

deinde ad occasum diu[k] profluens facit insulam nomine Meroen[101] in medio sui,[99] inter quam et[l] ortum[102] Nili sunt ciuitates hee: ciuitas Solis quam Eliopolin dicunt, in cuius territorio Ioseph dedit pascua fratribus suis terram Gessen;[m] [103] ciuitas Polis; ciuitas Ramasse. Porro [104]in[n] insula Meroe, in capite Ethiopie, est locus in quo umbra absumitur in estate. Illic ebenus habundat. Iuxta est ciuitas Siene, in qua puteus a philosophis factus est, sexaginta cubitorum altus, in cuius fundo[o] splendet sol recto gradu in mense Iunio.[104] [p]Dicitur autem Meroe ciuitas a nomine sororis Cambisis[q] regis, cum prius Saba Regia diceretur. In hac inclusit Moises Ethiopes et pro eius deditione duxit Ethiopissam Tarbin, filiam regis Ethiopum.[p] [105]

[106]Nouissime Nilus ad septentrionem inflexus, tempestiuis auctus incrementis rigat plana Egipti. Hunc aliquanti auctores ferunt haud[r] procul ab Atlante fontem habere et continuo arenis immergi, inde interiecto breui spatio uastissimo lacu exundare, atque hinc occeano tenus orientem uersus per Ethiopica deserta delabi, rursum[s] inflexum ad sinistram ad Egiptum descendere. Quod quidem uerum est esse huiusmodi[t] fluuium magnum qui tali ortu talique cursu fit,[u] et re uera omnia Nili monstra gignit;[v] quem utique prope fontem barbari ⟨Dara⟩[w] nominant, ceteri uero accole Nuhul uocant. Sed hic in regione gentium que[x] Libia Egiptie uocatur,[y] [107] haud[z] procul ab illo fluuio quem in littore maris Rubri prorumpere diximus, immenso lacu acceptus absumitur; nisi[a] forte occulto meatu in alueum eius qui ab oriente descendit eructuat.[106] [b]Ferunt autem Nilum in septem capita diuisum, quorum quinque ciuitates Egipti totidem subterfluunt, scilicet Nitriam, Thebaidem,[108] Menfin, hoc est Babiloniam[c] minorem, cuius munitio Caire dicitur, et Alexandriam. Alia duo

[k] diu *supplied by author N* [l] et *supplied by author* (?) *N* [m] quam Eliopolin dicunt . . . Gessen] *supplied by author N* [n] in *om. NCX* [o] fundum *Honorius* [p–p] Dicitur . . . filiam regis Ethiopum] *supplied by author N* [q] Icomboisis *N* [r] aut *N* [s] rursusque *Orosius* [t] huius *N* [u] sit *X and Orosius* [v] gignat *Orosius* [w] Dara *Orosius; om. MSS* [x] gentiumque *N* [y] Libia Egiptie (Egiptia *I*) uocatur *NACQI; om. X;* Libyoaegyptiae uocantur *Orosius* [z] aut *N* [a] nisi *C and Orosius;* ubi *NAβ* [b–b] Ferunt . . . et ciuitas Tafnis (*p. 214*)] *supplied by author N;* et ciuitas Tafnis *om. β* [c] Babilonem *C* (*presumably a scribal correction*)

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[101] The island of Meroe, or Merve, at the sixth cataract of the Nile, was the ancient royal city of Ethiopia.

[102] The cities that are named are in Lower Egypt, between Meroe and the mouth, not the source, of the Nile.

[103] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 98 (*PL* cxcviii. 1134); Gen. 46: 28—47: 6.

[104–104] in insula . . . in mense Iunio] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 35 (36) (ed. Flint p. 66 = *PL* clxxii. 132). Syene was the southernmost place in Egypt, on the border of Ethiopia; for its lack of shadows, cf. *Otia*, i. 10, n. 26.

it forms an island, called Meroe,[101] in the middle of its stream.[99] Between this island and the beginning[102] of the Nile are the following cities: the City of the Sun which they call Heliopolis, in whose territory is the land of Goshen which Joseph gave to his brothers for pasture;[103] the city of Polis; and the city of Rameses. Now [104]on the island of Meroe, at the top of Ethiopia, there is a place where there are no shadows in summer. The ebon-tree abounds there. Nearby is the city of Syene, where a well has been dug by philosophers to a depth of sixty cubits; in the month of June the sun shines down in a straight line to be reflected in the bottom of it.[104] The city of Meroe takes its name from the sister of King Cambyses, though it was originally called Saba Regia. Moses confined the Ethiopians inside it, and in exchange for its surrender he married the Ethiopian Tharbis, daughter of the king of Ethiopia.[105]

[106]In its final stages the Nile turns northwards and, swollen by seasonal flood-waters, irrigates the plains of Egypt. Some authors say that the Nile has its source not far from Atlas but that it immediately sinks into the sand. Then a little distance further on it gushes up again into a vast lake. From here it glides eastwards through the Ethiopian desert-lands down to the ocean, where it turns left again and descends to Egypt. It is certainly true that there is a great river of this kind which has such a source, and follows such a course, and indeed produces all the monsters of the Nile; the barbarians near its source call it the Dara, while other local peoples call it the Nuhul. But this river is taken and swallowed up in an immense lake in the region which is called Libyo-Egypt,[107] not far from that other river which we have described as rising on the shore of the Red Sea; unless perhaps it pours through an underground channel into the bed of that one which comes down from the east.[106] They say that the Nile divides into seven channels, five of which flow past the same number of Egyptian cities, namely Nitria, Thebais,[108] Memphis, that is, Lesser Babylon, whose stronghold is called Cairo, and Alexandria. The other two

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[105] For Moses and Tharbis, see Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 6 (*PL* cxcviii. 1144); Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 238–53; the legend is also found in the Talmudic literature (see L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1947), v. 409–10). Gervase draws on it again in *Otia*, iii. 111.

[106–106] Nouissime . . . oriente descendit eructuat] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 28–33.

[107] The text of Orosius reads: 'in regione gentium, quae Libyoaegyptiae uocantur' ('in the region of the peoples who are called Libyo-Egyptians'; cf. Pomponius Mela, i. 4. 3; Pliny, *Hist. nat.* v. 8. 43.

[108] Possibly Tanis; or Thebes, but Thebes is in Upper Egypt.

capita ad deserta late spaciata uagantur. Est autem in Egipto urbs Ennocha, cuius uiculus Facidia,[109] et ciuitas Tafnis.[b]

[110]Egiptus superior in orientem per longum extenditur; cui est a septentrione sinus Arabicus, a meridie occeanus; ab occasu ex inferiore Egipto incipit, ad orientem Rubro mari terminatur. Ibi sunt uiginti quatuor gentes,[110] inter quas sunt Madianite, a Madian filio Ceture.[d]

Sane inter duo Nili capita (quorum alterum ab oriente in littore Rubri maris est, alterum uero ab occidente[e] ubi montem qui Climax dicitur prospectat) est [111]Ethiopia, montuosa, arenosa, atque deserta.[111] [112]Ethiopes autem a filio Cham, qui Chus dicitur, sunt nuncupati: Chus enim Ebraica lingua Ethiops interpretatur. Hii quondam ab Indo flumine consurgentes, iuxta Egiptum inter Nilum[f] et occeanum, in meridie sub ipso solis ardore insederunt, quorum tres sunt populi: Hesperi, Garamantes, et Indi. Hesperi sunt occidentales, Gamarantes[g] Tripolitani, Indi orientales.[112] Interpretatur autem Ethiopia 'tenebre'. Sunt[h] ab India ad Ethiopiam .cxxvii. prouintie, ut legitur in[i] Hester.[113] [114]Ethiopia a solis uicinitate populum torret;[j] est enim illic[k] iugis estas. Quicquid ergo eius est[l] sub meridie aridum[m] est; circa occiduum montuosa, in medio arenosa, ad orientem deserta. Cuius situs ab occiduo Adlantis montis, ab oriente usque in Egipti partes porrigitur; a meridie occeano, a septentrione Nilo clauditur.[114] [115]Sane in eius quasi medio mons est Climax, maximus et altissimus et in longum ad Rubri maris faciem protensus. Ibi sunt honesti homines, tenentes Rubri maris imperium. Ibi nascuntur mulieres barbas habentes usque ad mamillas; pelliculis pro uestimentis utuntur; equos habent, uenatrices sunt, tigrides pro canibus habent;[n] leopardos nutriunt, omnia genera bestiarum illic nascentium interficiunt.[115]

[d] inter quas sunt . . . Ceture] *supplied by author N* [e] occidentim *N* [f] linum *N* [g] Garamante *N* [h] Suntque *XQ* [i] libro *add. after* in *XQ* [j] terret *N* [k] illic *om. N;* ibi *Isidore* [l] est *supplied by author N* [m] meridie aridum] meridiano cardine *Isidore* [n] uenatrices . . . habent] *supplied by author N*

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[109] Facidia was a quarter of the city of Rhinocorura (now El Arish); see Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*, ix. 1 (ed. Bastiaensen, p. 90 = *PL* xxiii. 35, c. 15).

[110–110] Egiptus . . . uiginti quatuor gentes] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 34.

[111–111] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 5. 14. Isidore and Honorius (*De imagine mundi*, i. 32 (33), ed. Flint p. 64 = *PL* clxxii. 131) both include Ethiopia in their accounts of Africa, not Asia; cf. also *Otia*, ii. 2, *De Affrica*, and ii. 11. The country does not, however, correspond to the modern Ethiopia: the Greeks used the term *Αἰθίοψ* ('Burnt-face') of any southern peoples, and the name *Aethiopia* then came to be applied to the ancient kingdom of Nubia, between the second and sixth cataracts of the Nile.

[112–112] Ethiopes . . . Tripolitani, Indi orientales] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 127–8.

[113] Cf. Esther 1: 1.

[114–114] Ethiopia . . . septentrione Nilo clauditur] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 5. 14.

[115–115] Sane . . . illic nascentium interficiunt] Cf. *Letter of Pharasmanes to Hadrian*, paras. xviii–xxi (Faral, p. 209); *Otia*, iii. 72, n. 1. Gervase draws on paragraphs xx and xxi again in *Otia*, iii. 76.

channels meander towards the wide expanse of desert. Egypt further contains the city of Rhinocorura with its suburb of Facidia,[109] and the city of Tahpanhes.

[110]Upper Egypt stretches lengthways to the east. To the north it has the Arabian Gulf, to the south the ocean; to the west it starts from Lower Egypt, and to the east it is bounded by the Red Sea. There are twenty-four peoples in this country,[110] including the Midianites, named after Midian, son of Keturah.

Between the two sources of the Nile (one of which is in the east, on the shore of the Red Sea, while the other is in the west, looking towards the mountain called Climax) is [111]Ethiopia, a mountainous, sandy, desert-land.[111] [112]The Ethiopians are named after the son of Ham called Cush: for Cush means Ethiopian in the Hebrew tongue. These people migrated long ago from the river Indus, and settled next to Egypt in the south, between the Nile and the ocean, right under the heat of the sun. They are divided into three tribes: the Hesperi, the Garamantes, and the Indi. The Hesperi live in the west, the Garamantes in the region of Tripolis, and the Indi in the east.[112] The word Ethiopia means 'darkness'. There are, as one reads in Esther, 127 provinces between India and Ethiopia.[113] [114]Ethiopia scorches its people because of the sun's proximity; indeed it is always summer there. The whole of the southern part of the country is arid; in the west it is mountainous, in the middle sandy, and to the east a wilderness. Its territory extends from Mount Atlas in the west to the land of Egypt in the east; its southern border is the ocean, and its northern one the Nile.[114] [115]More or less in the middle of it is Mount Climax, an immensely big and high mountain, which stretches lengthways as far as the shore of the Red Sea. There are virtuous people here, who hold sway over the Red Sea. Women are found here who have beards down to their breasts; they use animal-skins for their clothing; they keep horses, and go out hunting, using tigers instead of dogs; they breed leopards, and kill every kind of beast which lives there.[115]

Porro inter mare Rubrum et occeanum plaga torrida est, propter calorem nobis incognita, in cuius finibus antipodes esse dicuntur.[116] Sane ab ortu Nili, qui est super ripam Rubri maris, usque ad sinum Arabitum ab oriente, est in umbilico quodam maris uia[o] filiorum Israel, per quam transierunt ad interiora deserta Arabica, que sunt inter montes qui respiciunt mare Mortuum a septentrione et mare Rubrum ab austro.

De urbibus Asie cathedralibus[p]

Quia uero plerasque ciuitates omisimus nominare que sunt in Palestina, Galilea, in[q] Arabia et Siria Sobal et Mirmidonia (que est minor Armenia, a Mirmidone dicta),[r] ipsas repetimus quas diximus ut addamus, ostendentes quod dextera Domini, que fecit uirtutem,[117] ciuitates illas olim flaminum et archiflaminum paganorum, istas fecit esse catedrales episcoporum.

[118]Iuxta ergo traditiones ueterum que apud Palestinos et Grecos non modicam habent firmitatem, Ierosolimitana ecclesia usque ad tempora Iustiniani Augusti episcopum habuit nulla uel modica dignitatis prerogatiua gaudentem. Eius uero tempore, ob reuerentiam sancte resurrectionis, in sinodo Constantinopolitana[119] datus est illi
f. 21r locus inter patriarcas, tempore Vigilii[s] pape, ab Eu|ticio Constantinopolitano et Apollinari Alexandrino et dompno Anthioceno. Subtraxerunt ergo domino Antioceno Cesariensem et Citopolitanum metropolitanos, Alexandrino uero Rablessem (qui est Patrensem) et

[o] uia] una *N* [p] cathedralibus *supplied by author N* [q] in *NAI*; et *XQ*; *om. C* [r] et minor idonia (*sic*) . . . dicta] *supplied by author N* [s] Vigilii *QI*; iugilii *altered to* iuli *N;* iulii *AX*

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[116] Here Gervase uses the word *antipodes* of the supposed inhabitants of the far south; it could also designate people who lived on the other side of the world, as in *Otia*, iii. 45. The belief in such people had been ridiculed by Lactantius (*Institutiones divinae*, iii. 24, *CSEL* xix. 254 = *PL* vi. 425–8) and Augustine (*Civ.* xvi. 9, *CSEL* xl (2). 142 = *PL* xli. 487), and was considered heretical in Gervase's time. In *Otia*, iii. 45, however, Gervase recounts a story which 'proves' the existence of antipodeans. See A. Rainaud, *Le continent austral* (Paris, 1893); G. Boffito, 'La leggenda degli antipodi', *Miscellanea di studi critici in onore di A. Graf* (Bergamo, 1903), pp. 583–601; Wright, *Geographical Lore*, pp. 157–61; Stahl, *Commentary*, p. 204 n.; W. D. McCready, 'Isidore, the Antipodeans, and the shape of the earth', *Isis*, lxxxvii (1996), 108–27.

[117] Cf. Ps. 117 (118): 16 (15).

[118–118] Iuxta . . . ergo ordo talis (p. 218)] Here Gervase begins his presentation of material from the *Provinciale Romanum* (see above, p. xlvi). The bishoprics of Asia are listed towards the end of the *Provinciale*. First of all the suffragans and metropolitans subject to the patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch are named (*PR* 637–63, ed. Weidenbach, p. 273). Then comes an account of the Second Council of Constantinople, which Gervase paraphrases here (*PR* 'Sinodus', ed. Weidenbach, p. 273; see following

Between the Red Sea and the ocean lies the torrid zone, unknown to us on account of its heat; the antipodeans are said to live in this region.[116] Now between the source of the Nile on the edge of the Red Sea and the Arabian Gulf to the east, the route of the children of Israel passes through the middle of the sea. By this route they crossed over to the desert which forms the interior of Arabia, lying between the mountains which overlook the Dead Sea in the north, and those which overlook the Red Sea in the south.

The Cathedral Cities of Asia

Since we have omitted to name many of the cities in Palestine, Galilee, Arabia, Syria Sobal, and Myrmidonia (that is, Lesser Armenia, called Myrmidonia after Myrmidone), we are going to repeat the ones we have mentioned, in order that we may augment the list, showing how the right hand of the Lord, which has done valiantly,[117] has taken the cities which once belonged to the priests and high priests of the pagans, and made them the cathedral cities of bishops.

[118]So then, according to ancient traditions of no little authority among the Palestinians and the Greeks, up to the time of the emperor Justinian the church of Jerusalem had a bishop who enjoyed little or no prerogative of rank. But in the time of Justinian, out of reverence for the holy resurrection, the bishop of Jerusalem was granted a place among the patriarchs. It was conferred at the Council of Constantinople[119] by Eutychius of Constantinople, Apollinaris of Alexandria, and the archbishop of Antioch, in the time of Pope Vigilius. They took the provinces of Caesarea and Scythopolis from the archbishop of Antioch, and from the archbishop of Alexandria they took those of

note). There follow lists of the bishoprics subject to the four metropolitans transferred to Jerusalem by the Council (*PR* 664–743, ed. Weidenbach, pp. 273–4), then the bishoprics immediately subject to Jerusalem (*PR* 744–68, ed. Weidenbach, pp. 274–5), and finally those subject to the metropolitans in the patriarchate of Antioch (*PR* 769–884). Gervase has altered the order, placing the two patriarchates after the metropolitans and suffragans of Jerusalem. The confusion is compounded by discrepancies between the lists in the *Provinciale*; Tyre, for instance, is included (correctly) in the list of metropolitans subject to Jerusalem (p. 273), but subsequently appears again as the first see of Antioch (p. 275).

[119] A long-standing struggle for pre-eminence between the bishops of Jerusalem and Caesarea was settled in favour of Jerusalem in 451 at the Council of Chalcedon, when Maximus of Antioch consented to cede the three provinces of Palestine to Jerusalem. This was only confirmed by Justinian (527–65), who convened the Second Council of Constantinople in 553, at which Pope Vigilius (537–55) was present. The terms *concilium* and σύνοδος are synonymous, and Gervase uses them interchangeably.

Beterensem[120] (ubi modo non est arciepiscopus). Item subtraxerunt eis quosdam episcopos et quosdam de nouo creauerunt usque ad uiginti quinque, quorum urbium numerum et nomina subiungemus, computatis prius metropolitanis et eorum suffraganeis. Est ergo ordo talis,[118] ut ex archiuis domini pape collegi.

[121]In Palestina prima sedes[t] [122] Cesarea maritima (que et Palestina et Acaron dicitur),[u] quam edificauit Herodes. Sub hac sunt episcopatus hii: Dosa,[v] Antipatrida, Iamnas (id est Assur), Nicopolis,[123] Onus, Sorucis,[124] Rasias,[125] Regium Liuas, Gadaron, Azotus Paralis[126] (hoc est Palmerium), Azotus Tipum, Escosamon, Estision, Tucomias,[w] Toxus, Salinum, Constinatius.

In Galilea secunda sedes Scitopolis, sed hodie translata est sedes apud Nazaret, ob uenerationem annuntiationis dominice et natiuitatem Beate Virginis. Sub[x] hac sunt episcopatus nouem:[y] Capitoliados,[z] Miru, Gadarum, Pelonuillis,[a] [127] Ippus, Tetracomias, Climagaulas, Comanas, Tiberias.

In Arabia sedes tercia Moabitis, id est Petra Deserti, unde Petratonis. Sub hac sunt episcopatus duodecim: Augustopolis, Amidila, Karach,[128] Ierapolis [b](hec est Alepa,[c] a *iera*, quod est sacrum, quia ibi sunt multi martires; illic agri aquis calidis irrigantur, ut *Pandectis*, 'De aqua cotidiana', l. .i., c. idem),[b] [129] Memfidos,[d] Elucis, Zota, Virosam, Pentaconia, Mamapson, Mitrocomias,[e] Satium Ieraticon.

In Siria Sobal quarta sedes Beterra Arabie,[f] cuius sunt suffraganei:[g] Adrason, Dias, Medauon, Ierasson, Neui, Filadelfias, Ierapolis, Esius, Neapolis, Filippolis, Fenustus, Dionisias, Constantianis,[130] Triconias, Cinofados,[h] Saltum, Votaneos, Exaconias, Euaconias,[i] [131] Comis,

[t] Temprus *add. after* sedes *Nβ* [u] et Acaron (Caron *N*) dicitur *om. PR*
[v] Doza *Aβ;* Bora *PR* [w] Tricomias *C and PR* [x] Sub *supplied by author N*
[y] IX *PR;* octo *MSS* [z] Capitaliodos *N* [a] Pelomullis *Cβ* [b-b] hec est . . . c. idem] *supplied by author N;* illic agri aquis . . . c. idem] *om. β* [c] *sic β;* Halapa *N* [d] Menifidos *N* [e] Mitrocoimas *N* [f] Beterra Arabie *β;* Beteira Arabie *expunged N* [g] cuius sunt (sunt *om. X*) suffraganei *XQ; om. NACI*
[h] Canofados *PR* [i] Eliaconias *β;* Enacomias *PR*

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[120] Probably Beirut.

[121-121] In Palestina . . . uertice uero episcopatus (p. 220)] Cf. *PR* 664–768 (ed. Weidenbach, pp. 273–5). Here and in the following instances *sedes* is used unusually, to mean metropolitan seat rather than plain bishopric.

[122] i.e. of those transferred to Jerusalem by the Second Council of Constantinople (see nn. 118 and 119 above).

[123] i.e the biblical Emmaus.

[124] i.e. the biblical Sorek.

[125] After Raphia the *Provinciale* has *Regium Apatos* and *Regium Jericho* (672–3).

Rables (that is, Petra) and Beteira[120] (where there is now no archbishop). They also took some dioceses from them both, and created some new ones, making up the number to twenty-five. We shall now give the number and names of the cities of these bishops, enumerating first the metropolitan bishops and their suffragans. The list, then, is as follows,[118] just as I copied it from the archives of the lord pope.

[121]The first metropolitan see[122] is Caesarea Maritime (also called Palestine or Acaron) in Palestine; Herod built this city. The following bishoprics are subject to it: Dora, Antipatris, Jamnia (that is, Assur), Nicopolis,[123] Onus, Sorucis,[124] Raphia,[125] Livias, Gadara, Azotus Paralius[126] (that is, Palmerium), Azotus itself, Estomason, Estision, Tricomias, Toxus, Saltum, and Constantinianum.

The second see was formerly Scythopolis in Galilee, but it has been translated in our time to Nazareth, out of veneration for the annunciation of the Lord and the nativity of the Blessed Virgin. There are nine bishoprics subject to it: Capitolias, Miru, Gadara, Pellonuillis,[127] Hippus, Tetracomias, Climagaulas, Comanas, and Tiberias.

The third see is Moab in Arabia, that is, Rock (*Petra*) of the Desert, and so Petra. There are twelve bishoprics subject to it: Augustopolis, Arindilla, Charachmoba,[128] Hierapolis (that is, Aleppo, from ἱερά, which means 'holy', because there are many martyrs there; the fields there are watered by hot springs, according to the *Pandects*, 'De acqua cottidiana', the first law, and the first section),[129] Memphis, Elucis, Zora, Virosam, Pentacomias, Mampsis, Mitrocomias, and Saltum Hieraticon.

The fourth see is the Arab city of Beteira in Syria Sobal. Its bishoprics are Adrason, Dias, Medauon, Hierasson, Nevi, Philadelphia, Hierapolis, Esius, Neapolis, Philippopolis, Phenustus, Dionysias, Constantianis,[130] Tricomias, Cinofados, Saltum, Votaneos, Hexacomias, Enacomias,[131] Comis, Mahdescon, Comocoreatas,

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[126] i.e. 'Azotus-on-Sea', the Greek name for the coastal settlement near Azotus (= Ashdod).

[127] Possibly Pella, a city of the Decapolis. In the *Provinciale*, *Pelon* and *Villis* appear as separate places (688–9).

[128] i.e. the biblical Kir-haraseth.

[129] Cf. *Digest*, xliii. 20. 13. This parenthesis represents a marginal supplement by the author to the material from the *Provinciale*.

[130] After Constantianis the *Provinciale* has *Pentacomas* (722).

[131] After Enacomias the *Provinciale* has *Comogonias*, *Comogeros*, and *Comostanus* (729–31).

Mahdescon, Comocoxatas, Comis Captio,[j] Comis Vluanos,[k] Comis Pirgoarechon, Comis Potius, Comis Anaton, Comis Neotis, Climaanatos, Queuismon, Comis Anotas,[l] Comis Traconos, Comis Vesdamos.

Suffraganeorum prima[132] Lidda, que hodie[m] uocatur Sanctus Georgius,[n] Ioppe (id est Iafe), Ascalon,[133] Gaza, Mermias,[o] [134] Procontionopolis,[p] Ebron (id est sanctus Abraam),[135] Bergebetum[q] (id est Bersabee),[r] Neapolis (id est Sichen), Sebasten, Iericontus, Tiberiadis, Diocesarea, Legionum, Capitolina,[s] Mauronensis, Gedara, Nazaret (ubi est archiepiscopus), Tabor (in transfiguratione),[136] Caraca (id est Caralis), Petra, Hadroga, Affra, Helis, Faram, Helenopolis, mons Sina (ubi in pede montis est abbatia,[t] [137] in uertice uero episcopatus).[121]

[138]Habet ergo Ierosolimitanus patriarcha suffraganeos istos sibi: Ebronensem, Lidensem, Ascalonensem (qui et Bethleem). [139]Tirus tot Deo reddidit martires, quorum solius Dei sciencia numerum colligit; hec Origenem tumulatum celat.[u] Archiespiscopus Tirensis, nobilissimus Fenicum,[139] hos habet suffraganeos: Aconensem[140] (quem Nizibiensem dicunt), Sidoniensem, Bericensem, Pancensem[v] (que ciuitas nunc Belinas dicitur). Archiepiscopus Cesaree hunc habet suffraganeum: Sebastensem (que nunc Samaria).[w] [141] Archiepiscopus Nazaret habet suffraganeum Tiberiadensem.[138]

[142]In patriarcatu Anthioceno sunt centum quinquaginta tres

[j] Conus captio *N;* Comiscapron *PR* [k] Conus uluanos *N;* Comis uiluanos *PR* [l] *sic β;* Conus anothas *N;* Comis ariothas *PR* [m] prima Lidda, que hodie *misplaced in next column N* [n] Georgius *misplaced in next column N* [o] Meymas *PR* [p] Piocli cianopolis *PR* [q] Begeberin *PR* [r] Bersabee *supplied by author N* [s] Beteira Arabie *mistakenly inserted after* Capitolina *by author N* [t] ablatia *N* [u] Tirus tot Deo . . . celat] *This sentence was written by the author in the margin of N, and keyed into the text in the middle of the following sentence, after* Sidoniensem*; it appears at this point in A. The order followed here is that of C. The sentence is omitted in X and I, and is written in the margin of Q* [v] Paneensem *PR* [w] dicitur *add. after* Samaria *CXQ*

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[132] i.e. of the patriarch of Jerusalem.

[133] i.e. the biblical Ashkelon or Askelon.

[134] Possibly Maiuma.

[135] Because Abraham was buried there (Gen. 25: 9–10; 35: 27). In the *Provinciale* Hebron follows Mount Sinai below (*PR* 768).

[136] The 'high mountain' on which Jesus was transfigured is not named in the gospels (Matt. 17: 1 and parallels), but was traditionally identified with Mount Tabor, near Nazareth; cf. Appendix ii. 2, at n. 47.

[137] i.e. the monastery of St Catherine.

[138–138] Habet . . . habet suffraganeum Tiberiadensem] Cf. *PR* 637–49 (ed. Weidenbach, p. 273). Here Gervase returns to the beginning of the lists of the bishoprics of Asia in the

Comis Captio, Comis Julianos, Comis Pirgoarethon, Comis Petius, Comis Anathon, Comis Neotis, Climaanatos, Quevismon, Comis Anothas, Comis Traconos, and Comis Vesdamos.

The first of the suffragans[132] is Lydda, which in our day is called St George; then there is Joppa (that is, Jaffa), Ascalon,[133] Gaza, Mermias,[134] Diocletianopolis, Hebron (that is, St Abraham),[135] Bergeberin (that is, Beer-sheba), Neapolis (that is, Shechem), Sebaste, Jericho, Tiberias, Diocaesarea, Legions, Capitolina, Maurona, Gedara, Nazareth (where the archbishop is), Tabor (as in the Transfiguration),[136] Caraca (that is, Caralis), Petra, Hadroga, Affra, Helis, Faram, Helenopolis, and Mount Sinai (where there is an abbey at the foot of the mountain,[137] while the cathedral is on the summit).[121]

[138]The patriarch of Jerusalem, then, has the following bishops as his personal suffragans: Hebron, Lydda, and Ascalon (or Bethlehem). [139]Tyre has given God so many martyrs that the knowledge of God alone can reckon up the number; this city contains Origen's tomb. The archbishop of Tyre, the highest-ranking of the Phoenician bishops,[139] has the following suffragans: the bishops of Acre[140] (also called Nisibis), Sidon, Beirut, and Paneas (the city which is now called Belinas). The archbishop of Caesarea has one suffragan: the bishop of Sebaste (which is now Samaria).[141] The archbishop of Nazareth has the bishop of Tiberias as his suffragan.[138]

[142]In the patriarchate of Antioch there are a hundred and fifty-three

Provinciale. The information given here reflects the organization of the church in the kingdom established by the crusaders: 'the patriarch of Jerusalem was the spiritual head, with four archbishops dependent on him as follows: Caesarea with the suffragan of Samaria; Tyre with the bishoprics of Acre, Paneas, Sidon, and Beirut; Tiberias with Nazareth; and Montreal or Petra with the bishopric of Jericho and the convent of Sinai. [Petra appears in the *Provinciale* (650), but is omitted by Gervase.] Hebron, Lydda, and Bethlehem were dioceses immediately subject to Jerusalem. Antioch was a separate patriarchate with the three archbishoprics of Tarsus, Edessa, and Apamea' (H. Daniel-Rops, *History of the Church of Christ*, iii, 'Cathedral and Crusade', transl. J. Warrington (London, 1957), 448).

[139–139] Tirus . . . Tirensis, nobilissimus Fenicum] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1041 (= ed. Boeren, c. 25, p. 18); Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 79, Additio 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1578); Appendix ii. 2, n. 9. Gervase has inserted this borrowing from Fretellus, somewhat awkwardly, into the material from the *Provinciale.*

[140] Acre was the medieval and European name of Ptolemais, successor of the biblical Accho.

[141] Samaria was also the original name of this city, founded by Omri as the capital of the northern kingdom of Israel; when Herod rebuilt it he called it Sebaste, but the name Samaria was restored in the medieval kingdom.

[142–142] In patriarcatu . . . Eliopolitanus), Coricensem, Mamistensem (p. 222)] Cf. *PR* 651–63 (ed. Weidenbach, p. 273).

catedrales, ad instar illius euuangelii: 'Impletum est[x] rete magnis piscibus centum quinquaginta tribus.'[143] Hii sunt eius episcopi: Laodicensis, Cabilensis,[y] [144] Anteradensis, Tripolitanensis, Bibliensis (qui Gibilet dicitur). Hos autem habet archiepiscopos: Tharsensem, Edessenum (qui[z] nunc dicitur Rages Medorum),[145] Afamensem: hic habet suffraganeum Valamensem. Item archiepiscopum Calupensem[a] (qui et Eliopolitanus), Coricensem,[b] Mamistensem[142] (qui et Manustanus dicitur); hii carent suffraganeis, propter[c] destructionem terre sancte.

[146]Hec sane ordinatio sub apostolica sede Anthiochie[d] Chatolicorum metropolitanorum, archiepiscoporum, et episcoporum. Catholicus Ymniopolis[e] (que est Baldac); Catholicus Aui[f] (qui est Persidis).

Sedes prima Temprus.[g] Sub hac sede sunt episcopatus tredecim: Porfireon (que est Caifas),[147] Archis Tholomahidis (que est Acon), Sidon, Sarepta (id est Sarfent),[148] Biblium (id est Gibilet), Botrion (id est Butrini), Orchosia (id est Sartais), Arados, Antarados (id est f. 21v Tortosa), | Paneas (que Belinas dicitur), Arachy (id est Marecha),[h] Tripolis, Berutus (id est Baruth).

Secunda sedes Tharsis. Huius sunt episcopatus Sebastes, Mallos, Thina, Carichos, Poderados.

Sedes tercia in Armenia Edessa (id est Rages).[i] Huius sunt episcopatus decem: Virchy, Constancia, Carron,[149] Marcopolis, Vatuon,[j] Codmaron, Ymeria, Querquentia, Tapsaron,[150] Collimicrios.

Sedes quarta Apunia[k] (id est Albara). Huius sunt episcopatus septem: Epifania, Sileucoualla (id est Seleucia), Larissa, Valanea, Mariani, Raphania,[l] Arachusa.

Sedes quinta Ierapolis (id est Malbeth). Huius sunt episcopatus octo: Zeuma, Sueton,[m] Varualus, Meocesarea, Pera, Orimon, Dolici, Europi.[151]

In Arabia sedes sexta, Bostra[152] (id est Suffelech).[n] Huius sunt episcopatus undeuiginti: Gerason, Filadelfia, Adiaon,[o] Midaon, Austadon, Belraidon, Zeroxina,[p] Herei, Yeni, Eneuii,[q] Constancia,

[x] est *om.* β [y] Gabulensem *PR* [z] que *ACXQ* [a] Tulupensis *PR*
[b] Corizensis *PR* [c] propter *supplied by author N* [d] Archiochie *N* [e] *sic*
β; Yuinopolis *N;* Yrinopolis *PR* [f] Ani *PR* [g] Tyrus *PR* [h] Arecli seu
Maroclea *PR* [i] Reges *N* [j] Varnon *PR* [k] Apamia *PR*
[l] Saphania *N* [m] Surron *PR* [n] Busseleth *PR* [o] Adraon *PR*
[p] Zoroyma *PR* [q] Eutimy *PR*

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[143] Cf. John 21: 11.

[144] Probably Gabala.

cathedrals, reflecting the gospel verse: 'The net was full of big fish, a hundred and fifty three of them.'[143] The following are the patriarch's suffragans: Laodicea, Cabila,[144] Anteras, Tripolis, and Byblus (called Gebal). Further, he has the following archbishops: Tarsus, Edessa (now called Rages of the Medes),[145] and Apamea; this last has the bishop of Balaneae as a suffragan. There are also the archbishoprics of Tulupa (or Heliopolis), Corizus, and Mamistra[142] (also called Manusta); these have no suffragans, on account of the ravaging of the Holy Land.

[146]The following is a list of the Catholic metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops subject to the apostolic see of Antioch. There is a Catholic metropolitan at Irinopolis (that is, Baghdad), and another at Ani (that is, Persis).

The first see is Tyre. Under its jurisdiction are thirteen bishoprics: Porphyrion (or Caiphas),[147] Archis Ptolemaidis (or Acre), Sidon, Sarepta (that is, Sarphent),[148] Byblus (that is, Gebal), Botrion (that is, Butrin), Orthosia (that is, Sarchais), Aras, Antaras (that is, Tortosa), Paneas (which is called Belinas), Arachi (that is, Marecha), Tripolis, and Berytus (that is, Beirut).

The second see is Tarsus. Its bishoprics are Sebaste, Mallos, Thina, Coricos, and Poderas.

The third see is Edessa (that is, Rages) in Armenia. It has ten bishoprics: Virchi, Constantia, Carrhae,[149] Marcopolis, Vatuon, Codmaron, Ymeria, Querquentia, Tapsaron,[150] and Collimicrios.

The fourth see is Apamea (that is, Albara). It has seven bishoprics: Epiphania, Seleucovalla (that is, Seleucia), Larissa, Balaneae, Mariani, Raphania, and Arethusa.

The fifth see is Hierapolis (that is, Baalbek). It has eight bishoprics: Zeugma, Sueton, Varvalus, Neocaesarea, Pera, Orimon, Dolici, and Europus.[151]

The sixth see is Bostra[152] (that is, Busseleth) in Arabia. It has nineteen bishoprics: Gerasa, Philadelphia, Adiaon, Midaon, Austadon, Belraidon, Zeroxina, Herei, Yeni, Enevii, Constantia, Paramboli,

[145] As in Tobias 1: 16. Edessa was its usual medieval name; the *Provinciale* says only: 'qui alio nomine dicitur Ragesmedorum'.

[146–146] Hec . . . Hardini, Surraquini (p. 224)] Cf. *PR* 769–884 (ed. Weidenbach, pp. 275–6).

[147] Now Haifa.

[148] Sarepta is the Greek name of the biblical Zarephath, now Sarafand.

[149] i.e. the ancient Haran.

[150] Possibly Thapsacus.

[151] i.e. Carchemish.

[152] Also called Bozrah, or Bosora.

Paramboli, Dionisia, Comathoi, Marimopolis, Philipolis, Crisopolis, Nerlon,[r] Lorea.

In Armenia sedes septima Anauarza. Huius sunt episcopatus nouem: Epifania, Alexandros (id est Parua Alexandria), Iemopolis, Cambisopolis, Flamas,[s] Rossos, Castaualli, Eguas, Sisia.[t]

Sedes octaua Seleutia.[u] Huius episcopatus sunt uiginti quatuor: Claudiopolis, Diocesarea, Oropi, Dalixandos, Semla,[v] Kelendreis, Anemori, Titopolis, Lamos, Antiochia Parua, Nephelia, Kistra, Semelita,[w] Yotapi, Philadelfia Parua, Ironopolis, Germanicopolis, Moddy,[x] Dometiopolis, Sbidy, Zinopolis, Adrason, Miloi, Neapolis.

Sedes nona in Siria Damascus. Huius sunt episcopatus decem: Alby,[y] Panipon,[z] Laoditia, Euxia,[a] Bonochora,[b] Yabrada, Danaby, Karothea, Hardini, Surraquini.[146]

v. *De distinctione maioris Asie ad partem septemptrionalem*

[1]Quia meridianam partem Asie maioris usque ad terminos minoris Asie distinximus, superest ut ab oriente ad septentrionem pars que restat expediatur.[1] Mons ergo Caucasus, monti Ymabo iunctus, diuidit Indiam a Scithia superiore et inferiore et Yrcania. [2]Mons uero Caucasus inter Colchos,[a] qui sunt[b] super mare Cimmericum, et Albanos, qui sunt ultra mare Caspium, a septentrione primum attollitur. Cuius quidem usque in ultimum orientem unum uidetur iugum,[3] sed multa sunt nomina; et multi hoc ipsum iugum Tauri montis credi uolunt, quia re uera Parchoatras, mons Armenie inter Taurum et Caucasum medius, continuare[c] Taurum cum Caucaso putatur; sed hoc ita non esse discernit fluuius Eufrates qui, radice Parcoatre montis effusus, tendens in meridiem, ipsum ad sinistram, Taurum excludit [d](qui nunc Aman, nunc Taurus dicitur, et interpretatur *amanus*, id est 'deus uigiliarum', qui est diabolus; et est mons Capadocium, et est alius mons Silicie[e] Amanum similiter dictus)[d][4] ad dexteram. Itaque ipse[f] Caucasus inter Colchos[g] et Albanos, ubi et

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[r] Neylon *PR* [s] Flauias *PR* [t] Silla *β* [u] Seleutia *om. β* [v] Senila *Q*, Seuila *PR* [w] Seleminta *PR* [x] Mobda *PR* [y] Ably *PR* [z] Parampon *β* [a] Euria *A*; Curia *PR* [b] Konokota *PR*

[a] Colchos *Orosius;* Olcos *NCQI* [b] sunt *om. N* [c] continuare] continuate *N* [d–d] qui . . . Amanum similiter dictus] *om. β and Orosius;* et est alius . . . dictus] *om. C;* mons Capadocium . . . dictus] *supplied by author N* [e] *sic A;* Sicilie *N* [f] ipse *supplied by author N* [g] Colchos *Orosius;* Olcos *NCQ*

Dionysia, Comathoi, Marimopolis, Philippopolis, Chrysopolis, Neylon, and Lorea.

The seventh see is Anavarza in Armenia. It has nine bishoprics: Epiphania, Alexandros (that is, Little Alexandria), Irinopolis, Cambysopolis, Flavias, Rossus, Castavalli, Egaea, and Sisia.

The eighth see is Seleucia. It has twenty-four bishoprics: Claudiopolis, Diocaesarea, Oropi, Dalixandos, Sevila, Celenderis, Anemurium, Titopolis, Lamus, Little Antioch, Nephelia, Cestrus, Semelita, Yotapi, Little Philadelphia, Hermopolis, Germanicopolis, Moddi, Dometiopolis, Sbidi, Zinopolis, Adrason, Miloi, and Neapolis.

The ninth see is Damascus in Syria. It has ten bishoprics: Albi, Panipon, Laodicea, Euria, Bonochora, Yabrada, Danabi, Karothea, Hardini, and Surraquini.[146]

5. *The Regions of the Northern Part of Greater Asia*

[1]Since we have completed our account of the southern part of Greater Asia up to the borders of Asia Minor, it remains for the part that is left, from the east to the north, to be described.[1] Mount Caucasus, then, forming a chain with Mount Imavus, divides India from Upper and Lower Scythia and Hyrcania. [2]The Caucasus range first soars up in the north, between the Colchi, who live by the Cimmerian Sea, and the Albani, who live beyond the Caspian Sea. It forms an apparently unbroken chain all along to its eastern end,[3] but it has many names; and many would have it that the chain actually belongs to Mount Taurus, because it is believed that Parcohatras, a mountain in Armenia in between Taurus and Caucasus, in fact links the two. But the river Euphrates establishes that this is not the case: rising at the foot of Mount Parcohatras, it then flows southwards, and keeps the Caucasus chain to its left, and Taurus to its right. (This latter is called either Amanus or Taurus; its name means *amanus*, that is, 'the god of watching', who is the devil. It is a mountain of Cappadocia; there is another mountain likewise called Amanus in Cilicia.)[4] The Caucasus proper, then, is the mountain range between the Colchi and

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[1–1] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 35.

[2–2] Mons . . . montes Acroceraunti dicuntur (p. 226)] Cf. ibid. i. 2. 36–40.

[3] See *Otia*, ii. 3, n. 7.

[4] The Amanus Mountains, on the border of Cilicia and Syria, and extending into Cappadocia, are linked to the eastern end of the Taurus range.

portas habet, mons Caucasus dicitur. A portis Caspiis usque ad Armenias Pilas, uel usque ad fontem Tigridis fluminis,[h] inter f. 22r Armeniam | et Iberiam, montes Acrocerauni dicuntur.[2] Porro Acroceraunii dicuntur propter altitudinem et fulminum ictus;[i] Grece enim fulmen[j] *ceraunos* dicitur.[5] Vel *acros* ignis, *ceraunia*[k] summitas, propter ardentes summitates ex ictu frequentium fulminum.[l][6] Sane [7]a fonte Tigridis usque ad Carras ciuitatem, inter Massagetas et Parthos, mons est Ariobarzanes.[m] A Carris[n] ciuitate usque ad oppidum Cadippi, inter Bactrianos et Yrcanos, mons est Memarmali,[o] ubi amomum nascitur; a quo proximum iugum Parthau dicitur. Ab opido Cathippi usque ad uicum Saphrim, inter Dahas,[p] Sacaraucas, et Partienas, mons est Oscobares, ubi Ganges oritur et laser nascitur.[q] A fonte fluminis Gangis usque ad fontes[r] fluminis[s] Ortorogorre qui sunt[t] a septentrione, ubi sunt montani Paropanisade, mons est[u] Taurus. A fontibus Ortorogorre usque ad ciuitatem Ortorogorre, inter Chunos,[v] Scithas, et Gandaridas, mons est Caucasus. Vltimus autem, inter Eoas[w] et Passiadras, mons Ymabus[x] uel Ymauus,[y] b littera mutata in u,[z] ubi flumen Chrysorhoas[a] et promontorium Samara orientali excipiuntur[b] occeano. Igitur a monte Ymauo, hoc est[c] ab imo Caucaso et dextra parte orientis, ubi occeanus Sericus tenditur, usque ad promontorium Boreum et flumen Boreum (unde dicuntur Yperborei montes),[d] inde tenus Scithico mari quod est a septentrione, usque ad mare Caspium quod est ab occasu, et usque ad extentum Caucasi iugum quod est ad meridiem, Yrcanorum et Scitharum gentes sunt quadraginta tres,[e] propter terrarum infecundam diffusionem late oberrantes.[7]

Porro [8]Armenia regio sita est inter Taurum et Caucasum, a Capadocia usque ad mare Caspium protensa, ab euro[f] habens montes Acroceraunos, ex quibus collibus Tigris oritur. In his quoque montibus archa post diluuium sedisse perhibetur,[8] in monte

[h] fluminis] fluuius *N* [i] fulminum ictus *QI*; fluminum iactus *NACX*; fulminum iactus (ictus *MS C*) *Isidore* [j] fulmen *QI*; flumen *NACX* [k] cerania *N* [l] fulminum *correcting* fluminum *N*, fulminum *AQI*; fluminum *CX* [m] Ariobarzanes *Orosius*; Cariobarzanes *MSS* [n] Carris *I and Orosius*; Carras *NC* [o] Memarmali *supplied by author N*; Momarmali *β* [p] Dahas *Orosius*; duas *MSS* [q] oritur (*correcting* nascitur) et laser nascitur *supplied by author N* [r] fontes *Orosius*; fontem *MSS* [s] fulminis *N* [t] est *XQ* [u] est *supplied by author N*; *om. Orosius* [v] Chunos *Orosius*; hyrcos *NA*, Yrcos *CI*, yrcinos *Q*, Yrcanos *X* [w] Eoas *Orosius*; eoos *NC*; eos *Aβ* [x] Ysmabus *N* [y] Ysmauus *N* [z] Ymabus uel Ymauus . . . in u] Imauus *Orosius* [a] Chrysorhoas *Orosius*; Criscitoas (- toras *X*) *MSS* [b] excipiuntur *supplied by author N* [c] est *supplied by author N* [d] unde dicuntur Yperborei montes *om. Orosius* [e] xlii *Orosius* [f] ab euro] a septentrione *Isidore*

the Albani; it affords passes in that region. The mountains from the Caspian passes to the Armenian Gates, or right to the source of the river Tigris, between Armenia and Iberia, are called the Acroceraunian mountains.[2] They acquired this name because of their height and their susceptibility to lightning strikes; for the Greek word for lightning is κεραυνός.[5] Alternatively the name may be derived from ἄκρος meaning 'fire' and κεραυνία meaning 'summit', on account of their summits being on fire as a result of being struck so often by lightning.[6] Then [7]from the source of the Tigris to the city of Carrhae, between the Massagetae and the Parthians, comes the Ariobarzanes range. From the city of Carrhae to the town of Cathippus, between the Bactrians and the Hyrcanians, is the Memarmalian range, where the balsam-shrub grows; the mountain next to this range is called Parthau. From the town of Cathippus to the village of Saphri, between the Dahae, the Sacae, and the Parthians, is the Oscobares range, where the Ganges rises, and the asafoetida-plant grows. From the source of the river Ganges to the springs of the river Ottorogorra, which lie to the north where the Paropamasidae Mountains are, is the Taurus range. From the springs of the Ottorogorra to the city of Ottorogorra, between the Chuni, the Scythians, and the Gandaridae, is the Caucasus range. Last, between the Eoae and the Passyadrae, where the river Chrysorhoas and the promontory of Samara meet the eastern ocean, is Mount Imabus or, changing the letter b to a v, Imavus. So from Mount Imavus, that is, from the end of the Caucasus range and the right-hand side of the east, where the Seric Ocean extends, to the promontory of Boreum and the river Boreum (from which the Hyperborean Mountains take their name), and from there to the Scythian Sea in the north, to the Caspian Sea in the west, and the Caucasus chain stretched out to the south, forty-three tribes of Hyrcanians and Scythians live. They lead a far-ranging nomadic existence because of the vast tracts of barren land.[7]

Next, [8]the region of Armenia lies between Taurus and Caucasus, stretching from Cappadocia to the Caspian Sea. To the south-east it has the Acroceraunian Mountains, the hills in which the Tigris has its source. It is said that it was also in these mountains that the ark came to rest after the flood,[8] on the highest peak in the Taurus range,

[5] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 8. 6.

[6] Isidore's etymology is correct; ἄκρον means summit.

[7–7] a fonte . . . diffusionem late oberrantes] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 41–7.

[8–8] Armenia . . . diluuium sedisse perhibetur] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 35.

qui[g] est altissimus Tauri[h] montis et[i] Ararath publice uocatur. Est autem Ararath regio in Armenia campestris, per quam Araxes fluit, incredibilis ubertatis, ad radices Tauri montis.[j] [9]Est autem duplex Armenia, superior et inferior,[9] in quarum altera metropolis est Tharsus, secunda scilicet sedes Anthiocene sedis apostolice; in altera uero Armenia metropolis est Anauarza, que septima sedes est Anthiocene sedis apostolice, ut proximo titulo distinximus. Est et in Armenia minore ciuitas Nicopolis.[k]

Enimuero inter[l] fluuium Araxem[m] Armenie in mare Caspium decurrentem et montem Taurum, a septentrione Amazonum gentes sunt, [10]femine ut uiri preliantes,[10] sic dicte quia simul sine uiris manent.[11] Has fertur primus Liber pater in exercitum duxisse, unde et ipse in muliebri corpore depingitur.[n] [12] Hee mamillarum unam prescindunt ne ipsius fluxu sagittarum et arcuum prepediatur extentio; masculos exponunt, feminas nutriunt; quotiens ad coitum se exponunt, flumen transuadant, et concipientes ad se redeunt, sub armis et sagittis pariendi tempus expectantes. Huiusmodi[o] uiragines in partibus Constantinopolitanis Latini Cumanas nominant. [13]His coabitant Massagete (quasi graues, id est fortes), et Colchi et Sarmathe; Seres quoque e uicino sunt, sic dicti a Seres opido orientis, a quo regio Serica et mare Sericum et gens et uestis nomen accepit;[13] cuius singulare non memini me legisse preter quam in Sydonio, ubi ait:

> Ergo ubi se mediam solio dedit (scilicet Roma) aduolat omnis
> Terra simul; fert queque suos prouincia fructus,

et post pauca,

> Ser uellera, thura Sabeus.[p] [14]

[g] que *N* [h] auri *N* [i] est altissimus Tauri montis et *om. β* [j] Est autem Ararath . . . montis] *om. β* [k] Est est in Armenia . . . Nicopolis] *om. β* [l] inter *supplied by author N* [m] *sic I;* Ararim *NAQ* [n] Has fertur primus . . . depingitur] *supplied by author N* [o] huius *NCX* [p] De his legitur in epistola Alexandri ad Aristotilem, mense augusto per feruentes sole arenas et egentia humoribus loca, profectus sum in Bactriacem et ad abditos Seres, quod genus hominum foliis arborum decerpendo lanuginem ex siluestri uellere uestes detexunt *add. after* Sabeus *XQ* (*cf. Epistola Alexandri, ed. Boer, p. 7*)

[9–9] Cf. loc. cit.

[10–10] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 18 (19) (ed. Flint p. 58 = *PL* clxxii. 127).

[11] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 64. This etymology is based on the Greek *ἅμα ζῶν* ('living together').

[12] Cf. Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 7, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1277); Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 234. In the first of Dionysus' many military exploits, he invited certain Amazons to march with him against the Titans and restore King Ammon to the kingdom from which he had been expelled.

commonly called Ararat. Ararat is also an area of flat land in Armenia, at the foot of Mount Taurus; the Araxes flows through it, and it is a region of incredible richness. [9]Armenia consists in fact of two parts, Upper and Lower Armenia.[9] The chief city in one of its parts is Tarsus, the second of the sees subject to the apostolic see of Antioch; in the other part of Armenia the chief city is Anavarza, which is the seventh of the sees subject to the apostolic see of Antioch, as we noted in the last chapter. There is also Lesser Armenia, containing the city of Nicopolis.

Now the tribes of the Amazons are found in the north, between the Araxes, the river of Armenia which flows down into the Caspian Sea, and Mount Taurus. [10]These are women who go into battle like men;[10] they are called Amazons because they live together without men.[11] It is said that Father Liber first led them onto the battle-field, and in consequence he himself is represented with a woman's body.[12] These women cut off one of their breasts, lest its movement should hinder them when they draw back an arrow on the bow-string; they expose their male babies, but rear the female ones; whenever they are ready to offer themselves for sexual intercourse, they cross the river, but once they have conceived they return to their own land, where they await the time of childbirth under arms, with arrows at the ready. There are some women warriors of this kind in the territory of Constantinople, whom the Latins call the Cumanae. [13]The Amazons' neighbours are the Massagetae (whose name means hefty or strong), the Colchi, and the Sarmatae. Also in that vicinity are the Seres, so-called after the eastern town of Seres; this town has given its name to the Seric region, the Seric Sea, the people, and the fabric [*uestis Serica* being silk].[13] I do not recall ever having come across the singular form of this word, except in Sidonius, where he says:

> So when she (that is, Rome) ensconced herself on a throne in
> their midst,
> Every country immediately rushed to her feet; each province
> Brought her its own produce,

and a few words further on:

> The Serian brought soft silk, the Sabaean frankincense.[14]

[13–13] His . . . uestis nomen accepit] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 18 (19) (ed. Flint p. 58 = *PL* clxxii. 127). The words in parentheses are taken from Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 63: 'Et dicti Massagetae quasi graves, id est fortes Getae.'

[14] Cf. Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmina*, 5, ll. 40–3: 'Ergo ut se mediam solio dedit, advolat

[15]Post hanc est Bactria,[q] a Bactrio[r] amne uocata. Exhinc Hyrcania, dehinc Scithia, post hanc Armenia, cui iungitur ad austrum Hyberia; illi uero Capadocia, a ciuitate eiusdem nominis sic dicta: in hac eque de uento concipiunt, sed fetus non amplius triennio uiuunt;[15] quod et in ultimis Yspanie finibus euenire dicunt.

Nunc ad mare Caspium redeamus, quod [16]sub aquilonari plaga ab occeano oritur, cuius utraque circa occeanum littora loca[s] deserta incultaque habent.[t] Inde meridiem uersus per longas angustias tenditur; dehinc per longa spacia dilatatum[u] Caucasi montis radicibus terminatur. Itaque a[v] mari Caspio quod est ad orientem, per ora[w] [17] occeani septentrionalis, usque ad Tanaim fluuium et Meotides[x] paludes que sunt ad occasum, per littus Cimerici maris quod est ab affrico, usque ad caput et portas Caucasi que sunt ad meridiem, gentes sunt triginta quatuor. Sed generaliter regio proxima Albania, ulterior uero sub mari et monte Caspio Amazonum nominatur.[16] Dicitur autem Albania ab albedine, quia illic[y] gentes albo crine nascuntur.[18] [z]Hi se posteros Iasonis dicunt, in quorum occulis est[a] glauca macula pro pupilla, unde plus nocte quam die uident. Hi iuncti Amazonis[b] in Asiatica Scithia habitant.[z] [19] Illic ingentes canes sunt tanteque feritatis ut premant tauros et leones perimant.[20]

f. 22v Porro citra Rifeos montes ad aquilo|nem sunt Yperborei, apud quos axis torquetur. Gens illa sub aeris clementia continua sanitate uiget, in nemoribus habitat, fructuque arborum uescens, satiata uiuendi tedio mortem fertur accersire.[21]

[q] Bactriam *N* [r] Bactro *Honorius* [s] litora et loca *Orosius* [t] habentur *Orosius* [u] delatatum *N* [v] Itaque a *Orosius;* ibique *MSS* [w] oram *Orosius* [x] Meteodides *N* [y] ibi *XQ;* hic *I* [z–z] Hi . . . Asiatica Scithia habitant] *supplied by author N; om. β* [a] est *C; om. NA* [b] Anazonis *N*

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omnis | Terra simul. tum quaeque suos provincia fructus | Exposuit: fert Indus ebur, Chaldaeus amomum, | Assyrius gemmas, Ser vellera, tura Sabaeus', etc.

[15–15] Post . . . amplius triennio uiuunt] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 18 (19) (ed. Flint p. 58 = *PL* clxxii. 127).

[16–16] sub aquilonari . . . Caspio Amazonum nominatur] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 48–50.

[15]Next to this land is Bactria, named after the river Bactrus; then comes Hyrcania, then Scythia; next to Scythia is Armenia. Iberia lies on the southern border of Armenia, and it in turn borders on Cappadocia, so called after the city of the same name. There are mares in Cappadocia which are impregnated by the wind, but their progeny do not live for more than three years.[15] They say that the same thing happens in the remotest parts of Spain.

Let us now return to the Caspian Sea. [16]This sea starts from the ocean in the north-eastern region; its coasts on both sides in the ocean's vicinity afford only barren, uncultivated terrain. From there the sea extends towards the south through a long, narrow channel; it then spreads out over a wide expanse, ending at the foot of Mount Caucasus. And so, from the Caspian Sea in the east, along the edge[17] of the northern ocean as far as the river Don and Lake Maeotis in the west, round the shore of the Cimmerian Sea to the south-west, to the peaks and passes of Caucasus in the south, there live thirty-four tribes. However, the general name for the nearest part of this area is Albania, while the region beyond it, up to the sea and the Caspian Mountains, is known as the land of the Amazons.[16] Albania takes its name from *albedo* (whiteness), because the people of that country are born with white hair.[18] They call themselves descendants of Jason. They have a bright spark in their eyes instead of a pupil, by means of which they can see more clearly by night than by day. They live in Asiatic Scythia next to the Amazons.[19] There are huge dogs there, of such ferocity that they overpower bulls and kill lions.[20]

Further, the Hyperboreans dwell on the near side of the Rhiphaean Mountains to the north-east. Their country lies on the axis on which the world turns. These people enjoy permanent good health because of the mildness of the air. They live in groves and feed on the fruit of the trees. It is said that when they have had enough of the weary business of living, they summon death to take them.[21]

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[17] The noun *ora* was often treated as n. pl. rather than f. sing. in medieval Latin; see also *Otia*, ii. 8, at n. 11; cf. Paul the Deacon, *HL* ii. 17 (ed. Waitz, p. 83); Isidore, *Etym.* v. 29. 2.

[18] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 34; Honorius, loc. cit.

[19] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 65; Pliny, *Hist. nat.* vii. 2. 12. For other stories of remarkable eyesight, see Liebrecht, pp. 83–4.

[20] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 34.

[21] Cf. Pliny, *Hist. nat.* iv. 12. 89; Pomponius Mela, i. 2. 4, iii. 5. 1. The Hyperboreans were believed to throw themselves from a cliff when they reached old age; cf. the country where no one ever dies, mentioned in *Otia*, i. 14. For other ways of dealing with the problem of old age, see above, ii. 3, n. 23.

vi. *De distinctione*[a] *Asie minoris*

Explicuimus Asie maioris statum: nunc Asiam minorem terminemus. [1]Asia ergo minor, absque orientali parte que ad Capadociam Syriamque progreditur, undique circumdata est mari: a septentrione ponto Euxino, ab[b] occasu Elesponto (ubi ciuitas est Amasia)[c] atque Propontide, a meridie mari nostro[1] quod ab aquilone montem Taurum et terram Amazonum prospectat. [2] [d]Transito enim mari quod dicitur Brachium sancti Georgii, occurrit prima Grecia protensa ad Filadelfiam, ubi caput est Turchie et terra soldani Yconii. Terminus ergo[e] Turchie Pons Durilli, et ita ad Finamiliam, et inde ad Smirnam, et inde ad Yconium. Est et alia uia per Filadelfiam. A Constantinopoli ad Yconium sunt duodecim mansiones, exinde ad Antiochiam totidem. Terminus Turchie et Armenie superior[f] sanctus Godichus[g] et Eraclea,[h] inferior terminus castrum Salef et urbs Satalia, que sunt soldani. In Yconio ciuitas est Ysauria. Post Yconium Mirmidonia, post quam Capadocia, que capud est Sirie.[d] [2]

Sane [3]prima prouincia minoris Asie Bitinia est, primo Berica, secundo Migdonia, tercio a Bitinio rege Bitinia nuncupata; in qua est ciuitas eodem nomine dicta.[3] Bitinie portus est Acon, a quo Aconite. In ea est ciuitas Elionopolis.[i] In Asia est ciuitas Artane. [4]Est[j] et Nicomedia, a[k] Nicomede rege constructa. Est et Calcedonia, est et Nicea, a quibus concilium Calcedonense et sinodus Nicena magna.[4] Mare uero quod Niceam respicit dicunt quinquaginta passibus coartari.[5] Est et in ea Iuliopolis.

[6]Est et Bitinia maior, in qua est Smyrna[l] ciuitas, a Teseo

[a] distinctione] diffinitione *N* [b] ob *N* [c] ubi ciuitas est Amasia *supplied by author N; om. Orosius* [d–d] Transito . . . capud est Sirie] *supplied by author N; om.β* [e] ergo *N;* uero *AC* [f] superior *ed.;* superius *NAC* [g] Godrithus *A* [h] Craclea *N* [i] Elionpolis *N;* In ea est ciuitas Elionopolis *om. β* [j] Est *supplied by author N* [k] a *supplied by author N* [l] Sinirna *N*

[1–1] Asia . . . meridie mari nostro] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 26; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 38.

[2–2] Transito . . . capud est Sirie] Here and elsewhere in this chapter the author added supplementary material from an unidentified medieval source. The information in this source was evidently rather confused; here, for instance, Isauria was in fact the name of a province, while Iconium was a city. Pons Durilli is probably Dorylaeum; Satalia is Attalia, or Antalya (see *Otia*, ii. 12, n. 15).

[3–3] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 19 (20) (ed. Flint p. 58 = *PL* clxxii. 127); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 39.

[4–4] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, loc. cit.; Gervase has added the references to Chalcedon. The Fourth Ecumenical Council was held at Chalcedon in 451; the First

6. *The Various Regions of Asia Minor*

We have described the arrangement of Greater Asia: let us now define the regions of Asia Minor. [1]Asia Minor, then, on every side but the east where it leads into Cappadocia and Syria, is surrounded by sea: to the north by the Euxine Sea, to the west by the Hellespont (where the city of Amasia lies) and the Propontis, and to the south[1] by our sea, which looks towards Mount Taurus and the land of the the Amazons to the north. [2]After crossing the sea known as the Arm of St George, one finds oneself in the first province of Greece, which extends as far as Philadelphia. There Turkey begins, and the territory of the sultan of Iconium. Pons Durilli marks the Turkish border; travelling by this route one comes to Philomelium, then on to Smyrna, and so to Iconium. There is also another route which passes through Philadelphia. It is a twelve days' journey from Constantinople to Iconium, and the same again from Iconium to Antioch. St Godric and Heraclea are on Turkey's upper border with Armenia, while its lower border runs through the town of Salef and the city of Satalia, both belonging to the sultan. In Iconium is the city of Isauria. Beyond Iconium is Myrmidonia, and then Cappadocia, which is at the head of Syria.[2]

Now [3]the first province of Asia Minor is Bithynia; it was firstly called Bebrycia, secondly Mygdonia, and thirdly Bithynia after King Bithynus; it contains a city of the same name.[3] The port of Bithynia is Acon; the Aconitae take their name from this place. Bithynia also contains the city of Helenopolis. The city of Artane is situated in this part of Asia, [4]as is Nicomedia, built by King Nicomedes; also Chalcedon and Nicaea, which gave their names to the Council of Chalcedon and the great Synod of Nicaea.[4] They say that the sea which faces Nicaea is only fifty paces across.[5] Juliopolis is in Bithynia too.

[6]There is also Greater Bithynia, which contains the city of Smyrna,

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Ecumenical Council was held at Nicaea in 325. On the terms *concilium* and *synodus*, see above, ii. 4, n. 119.

[5] Nicaea was situated on a lake; however Isidore says (*Etym.* xiii. 16. 3), speaking of the Propontis: 'mox in quingentos passus coartatur, fitque Bosphorus Thracius' ('soon it narrows down to fifty paces, and becomes the Thracian Bosphorus'), so it may be the Bosphorus (known as the Arm of St George) that is meant here.

[6–6] Est . . . nomine Galathe dicuntur (p. 234)] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i.20 (21) (ed. Flint pp. 58–9 = *PL* clxxii. 127); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 40; see also Appendix i. 4 at n. 3. The first phrase in Honorius reads: 'Bithinia quoque dicitur Major Frigia' ('Bithynia is also called Greater Phrygia').

constructa. Huic iungitur Galacia, a Gallis dicta, quos Bitinius[m] rex in auxilium uocauit et post uictoriam eis terram diuisit. Primum Gallogreci dicti, quasi Galli Grecis admixti, nunc ex antiquo Gallorum nomine Galathe dicuntur.[6] Est autem in Galatia ciuitas Ancira.[n]

[7]Hanc sequitur Frigia, in qua Scicia ciuitas,[o] a filia Europe Frigia sic dicta, uel a Frigio, uel Friga, fratre Enee, qui illic primus regnauit.[p] Hec et Dardania, a Dardano,[q] filio regis Dardani,[r] sic appellata.[7] In hac est Laodicia, et Sardus, et [8]Efesus, in qua requieuit Iohannes euuangelista, ciuitas ab[s] Amasonibus constructa.[8] In hac est Egea, Pergamum, et Filadelfia. [9]In Asia est Troia, a Troio rege constructa. Hec et Ilium, ab Ilio rege.[9] Hec Romani fuit imperii, regni Britannie maioris, et regni Francorum exordium. Eius quippe excidia illorum fuerunt[t] exordia, ut in contextu regnorum inferius apparebit, ubi de istis tribus regnis, Deo duce, tractabitur.[10]

[11]Sane Troie adiacet[u] Licaonia et Caria, ubi fluit[v] Hermes[w] fluuius, aureis arenis famosus. Inde Lidia, a Lidio rege, fratre Turreni, dicta; in hac[x] est ciuitas Tiatira. Deinde Ysauria, ab aura qua undique perflatur dicta. Post hanc Cilicia, a ciuitate eiusdem nominis appellata, quam Cilix filius Agenoris edificauit. In hac est mons Amana,[y] qui et Taurus. In hac est ciuitas Tarsus, a Perseo constructa, Pauli apostoli inhabitatione gloriosa. Exinde Lisia et Pisidia[z] et Pamfilia.[11] [a]In Licia metropolis est Mirrea, sub qua urbs Pathera, natio sancti Nicholai;[12] et in Licia est Listrys, de qua in Actibus Apostolorum;[13] est et Darben; est et Samus.[14] In Pamfilia est ciuitas Pergen,[15] in Licia ciuitas Cersona.[a] [16]Exhinc Pontus, multarum gentium regio, a qua

[m] Bythinus *Honorius*
[n] Est autem in . . . Ancira] *supplied by author N; om. β and Honorius*
[o] in qua Scicia ciuitas *om. β and Honorius*
[p] uel a Frigio . . . regnauit] *supplied by author N; om. β and Honorius*
[q] a Dardano] adardano *altered to* ab ardano *N*
[r] filio regis Dardani (Dardania *N*)] Jovis filio *Honorius and Isidore*
[s] ab *om. N*
[t] sunt *XQ*
[u] adiacent *Honorius*
[v] fluit] fuerunt *N*
[w] Hermus *I and Isidore;* Hermi *Honorius*
[x] ha *N*
[y] Amara *β*
[z] Pisidia *ed.*; Psidia *Honorius;* Persida *NC;* Persidia *β*
[a–a] In Licia metropolis . . . Cersona] *supplied by author N;* et in Licia . . . Cersona] *transposed to end of chapter C; om. β*

[7–7] Hanc . . . Dardani, sic appellata] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.

[8–8] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 19 (20) (ed. Flint p. 58 = *PL* clxxii. 127).

[9–9] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 20 (21) (ed. Flint p. 59 = *PL* clxxii. 127); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 41.

[10] See *Otia*, ii. 14–18.

[11–11] Sane . . . Pisidia et Pamfilia] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 20 (21) (ed. Flint p. 59 = *PL* clxxii. 127–8); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 41–6.

[12] St Nicholas, more familiarly known as Santa Claus, was bishop of Myra in the fourth century.

built by Theseus. Adjoining Bithynia is Galatia, called after the Gauls whom King Bithynus summoned to his aid; they were victorious, and he subsequently shared his country with them. At first they were called Gallograeci, as being Gauls mixed with Greeks, but now they are called Galatians, from their old name of Galli.[6] The city of Ancyra is in Galatia.

[7]After Galatia comes Phrygia, which contains the city of Scicia. The country is named after Europa's daughter Phrygia, or else after Aeneas' brother Phrygius or Phrygas, who was the first ruler there. It is also called Dardania, after Dardanus, son of King Dardanus.[7] It contains Laodicea, Sardis, and Ephesus; [8]in Ephesus, a city built by the Amazons, John the Evangelist was laid to rest.[8] Egaea, Pergamum, and Philadelphia are in Phrygia. [9]Also in this part of Asia is Troy, built by King Tros; it is also called Ilium, after King Ilus.[9] The Roman empire, the kingdom of Great Britain, and the kingdom of the Franks all trace their origins to this city. Its destruction was their beginning, as will be made clear below in the section on the kingdoms, where these three kingdoms will be treated, under God's guidance.[10]

[11]Troy's neighbours are Lycaonia and Caria. The river Hermus, famous for its golden sands, flows through Caria. Then comes Lydia, named after King Lydius, brother of Tyrrhenus; there the city of Thyatira is found. Next comes Isauria, so-called from the breeze (*aura*) by which the whole country is fanned. After Isauria comes Cilicia, named after the city of the same name, which Cilix, son of Agenor, built. Mount Amanus, also called Taurus, is in Cilicia. There too is the city of Tarsus, which was built by Perseus; it enjoys renown because the apostle Paul lived there. Next come Lycia, Pisidia, and Pamphylia.[11] The chief city of Lycia is Myra; under Myra's jurisdiction is the city of Patara, birth-place of St Nicholas.[12] Also in Lycia is Lystra, which features in the Acts of the Apostles;[13] Derbe too is there, and Samos.[14] The city of Perga[15] is in Pamphylia, the city of Cersona in Lycia. [16]Then comes Pontus, the home of many

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[13] Acts 14: 6; 16: 1, 2. As stated in Acts, Lystra and Derbe were in Lycaonia.

[14] The Ionian island of Samos is mentioned in Acts 20: 15.

[15] Acts 13: 13–14; 14: 25.

[16–16] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 20 (21) (ed. Flint p. 59 = *PL* clxxii. 128); Gervase has added the phrase: 'uel antea ut alii perhibent'. Clement I, generally reckoned to have been Peter's third successor as bishop of Rome, was said to have been sentenced to hard labour in the Crimea and to have suffered martyrdom there; cf. *Otia*, ii. 23, at n. 74. The term Pontus was used both of the district of Asia Minor between Bithynia and Armenia, and of the region around the Black Sea (which was also called Pontus) in general.

mare Ponticum, ubi Ouidius et postea sanctus Clemens, uel antea ut alii perhibent, exilio relegantur.[16] [b]Illic est Thomis ciuitas, de qua Ouidius:

> Naso Thomitane nondum nouus incola terre,[17]

et ciuitas Gneocesarea.[b]

vii. *De Europa a parte septentrionis*[a]

Post decursam Asiam tam maiorem quam minorem, consequens est Europam describere, que [1]a septentrione incipiens, occidentali occeano terminatur, ubi apud Gades insulas Columpne uisuntur Herculis.[1] Ciuitates quoque specialius[b] Europe nominabimus, tum quia illarum certior est noticia, tum quia[c] frequentius in ipsa episcopatus et metropoles nominatim distinguuntur.

[2]A montibus ergo Rifeis ac Tanay fluuio Meotidisque paludibus, que sunt ad orientem, per latus[d] septentrionalis occeani usque ad Galliam Belgicam et flumen Renum, quod est ab occasu, deinde usque ad Danubium, quem et Istrum,[e] qui est a meridie, et ad orientem directus, mari Pontico excipitur. Ab oriente Alania est, in medio Dacia, ubi et Guthia.[f] Porro dicitur Europa ab Europa rege, uel ab Europa Agenoris filia.[2]

In hac uersus septentrionem sunt montes Rifei, a[g] perpetuo flatu sic dicti; nam *rifen* Grece Latine sonat 'impetus'.[3] Sane inter montes Rifeos et occeanum regio lata propter solis absentiam infesto frigore premitur ac glacie perpetua, ideoque terra hec inhabitabilis est. Illic circulus est septentrionalis, [4]a Grecis *arctos* dictus, et[h] septentrio a septem stellis.[i][4] In superiore Rifeorum montium capite fluuius

[b–b] Illic . . . et ciuitas Gneocesarea] *supplied by author N; om. I;* de qua Ouidius . . . Gneocesarea] *om. XQ*

[a] septentrionali *XQ* [b] specialius *supplied by author N* [c] quia] que *N*
[d] litus *Orosius* [e] uocant *add. after* Histrum *Orosius;* nominant *A;* dicimus *I*
[f] Gothia *I and Orosius* [g] a *supplied by author N* [h] et *supplied by author N*
[i] stellis] fellis *N*

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[17] Cf. Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, i. 1. 1. Tomi was a town in Moesia, on the west coast of the Black Sea.

[1–1] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 4 and 7; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 2.

[2–2] A montibus . . . Europa Agenoris filia] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 52–3; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 1–4; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 21–2 (22–3) (ed. Flint p. 59 =

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peoples; the Black Sea is called the Pontic Sea after this region. Ovid, and St Clement after him, or before as some claim, were sent into exile there.[16] The city of Tomi is found there, of which Ovid wrote:

> Naso, no recent dweller now in the land of Tomi.[17]

The city of Neocaesarea is also there.

7. *The Northern Part of Europe*

Now that we have completed our account of Asia, both greater Asia and Asia Minor, our next task is to describe Europe. Europe [1]begins in the north and ends at the western ocean, where the Pillars of Hercules are seen near the islands of Cadiz.[1] We shall give fuller lists of the cities of Europe than we did for those of Asia, partly because our knowledge of them is surer, and partly because Europe is more densely populated with bishoprics and archbishoprics known to us by name.

[2]So then, Europe starts from the Rhiphaean Mountains, the river Don, and Lake Maeotis in the east; it runs along the shore of the northern ocean as far as Gallia Belgica and the river Rhine in the west; it then comes down as far as the Danube in the south; this river, also called the Ister, flows eastwards, and empties into the Black Sea. In the east is Alania, and in the centre Dacia; Gothia is also in that region. Europe takes its name from King Europa, or from Europa, daughter of Agenor.[2]

In northern Europe are the Rhiphaean Mountains, so-called from the perpetual gale that blows there; for ῥιφή in Greek means *impetus* (blast) in Latin.[3] Between the Rhiphaean Mountains and the ocean there is a wide area which is held in the grip of relentless cold and perpetual ice, owing to the absence of the sun; this land is consequently uninhabitable. This is where the northern zone is, [4]called ἄρκτος by the Greeks; it is also called *septentrio* from its seven stars (*septem stellae*).[4] At the upper end of the Rhiphaean Mountains is the source of the river Lentulus, which flows into Lake Maeotis between

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PL clxxii. 128). Alania, Dacia, and Gothia were the provinces of Lower Scythia (see below).

[3] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 8. 8.

[4–4] Cf. ibid. iii. 71. 6.

Lentulus exurgens medius inter Alanum[j] [5] et fluuium Tanaim [6]Meotydes implet paludes; que longe post, inferius a fluuio Tanay (a Rifeis quoque montibus descendente, postquam preteriit aras ac terminos Alexandri in Roboscorum[k] finibus sitos), inmensa exundatione iuxta Theodosiam urbem Euxinum[l] pontum latius ingrediuntur.[6] Vnde usque ad Euxinum[m] pontum 'mare[n] dulce' uocatur ab indigenis. Sic ab Eusino descendit mare Ponticum ex opposito uersus occidentem,[o] unde et illud uulgare comparationis abusiuum prodiit: 'mare Ponticum dulcius est Adriatico.'[7] Exhinc a flumine Lentulo, et post hec a flumine Alano latius diffunduntur. [8]Est autem Tanays f. 23r fluuius a Tano rege | dictus.[8]

[9]A Tanay ergo fluuio prima Europe regio Scithia inferior nominatur, que a[p] Meotidis paludibus, inter Danubium et occeanum septentrionalem, usque ad Germaniam porrigitur; cuius, ut diximus, prima pars Alania, post eam Dacia et Guthia.[q] [9] Sane ex diuerso Dacie uersus septentrionem est Scatanauia, occeani insula, de qua Burgundiones tempore Tiberii imperatoris egressi dicuntur, sic Burgundiones apellati quia burgos singulares primi fecerunt ad inhabitandum.[10]

[11]Porro a Danubio usque ad Alpes ex quibus oritur est Germania superior, a germinando populos sic dicta. Hec uersus occasum Reno, uersus aquilonem Albio flumine terminatur;[11] qui et ipse de Alpibus oriens mare Ponticum ingreditur.[r] [12] Inter Germaniam et Meotides paludes ab oriente Wandalorum gens ferocissima habitat, inter quam et paludes Meotidas pereque Sarmate[s] habitant, a quibus mare Sarmaticum dicitur, quod a fluuio Sarmatico et Wandalo, flumine Wandalorum, et Danubio uersus orientem impletur.[13]

[j] *sic X;* Abanum *N,* Albanum *Q,* Albanos *I* [k] *sic β;* Toboscorum *N* [l] Exunnum *N* [m] Exinum *N* [n] mare *om. XQ* [o] Sic ab Eusino . . . occidentem] *supplied by author N* [p] a *om. β* [q] Gothia *I and Isidore* [r] *Item 3 of the Addenda is integrated at this point in X and Q* (*see Appendix i. 3*) [s] Sarmaate *N*

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[5] The names Lentulus and Alanus probably have their ultimate source in Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 93–4: Lentulus occurs there as a personal name, and the Alani are said to be so-called after the river Lanus.

[6–6] Meotydes . . . pontum latius ingrediuntur] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 5; see also *Otia*, ii. 2, n. 9, and ii. 1, n. 40.

[7] This saying is derived from a fragment of Sallust (*Historiae*, iii. 65). known through the grammarians; see Sallust, *Historiarum reliquiae*, ed. B. Maurenbrecher (Leipzig, 1891–3), ii. 139, where full references can be found. The point at issue is that it contains an improper use of language: Servius, commenting on *Aeneid*, xii. 143, observes that Sallust says that the Pontic Sea is sweeter than others 'cum nullum dulce sit' ('though no sea is sweet'; Servius, *Commentarii*, ii. 592); cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiii. 16. 4. *Εὔξεινος* (hospitable)

the Alanus[5] and the river Don. Much further on, below the river Don [6](which also flows down to it from the Rhiphaean Mountains, after passing the altars and boundary stones of Alexander situated in the territory of the Rhobasci), Lake Maeotis merges with the Euxine Sea near the city of Theodosia, sending a great stream right out into the sea.[6] As a result the sea as far as the Euxine is called 'the freshwater sea' by the local inhabitants. Now the Black Sea runs down to the west opposite the Euxine; hence arose the popular saying which makes a comparison in incorrect terms: 'The Black Sea is sweeter than the Adriatic.'[7] After receiving the waters of the Don, Lake Maeotis is further swelled by the river Lentulus, and later by the river Alanus. [8]Now the river Don (*Tanais*) is named after King Tanus.[8]

[9]The first region of Europe, beginning from the river Don, is called Lower Scythia. It stretches from Lake Maeotis up between the Danube and the northern ocean as far as Germany. The first part of Lower Scythia, as we have said, is Alania; then come Dacia and Gothia.[9] Then, opposite Dacia towards the north, there is Scandinavia, an island in the ocean. The Burgundians are said to have come from this island in the time of the emperor Tiberius. They got their name of *Burgundiones* from the fact that they were the first to build separate fortified towns (*burgi*) to live in.[10]

[11]From the Danube to its source in the Alps is Upper Germany, so-called from its engendering (*germinando*) of peoples. This country has the Rhine as its boundary to the west, and the river Elbe to the north;[11] like the Danube, this river rises in the Alps and flows into the Black Sea.[12] Between Germany and Lake Maeotis in the east lives the fierce tribe of the Vandals. Again, between the Vandals and Lake Maeotis live the Sarmatians. The Sarmatian Sea is named after them; this sea is fed by the river Sarmaticus, the river Vandal, which flows through the Vandals' territory, and the Danube to the east.[13]

was in fact an epithet of the Black Sea, but here and elsewhere Gervase (or his source) takes the Euxine and the Black Sea to be two separate seas (cf. n. 81 below).

[8–8] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiii. 21. 24; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 21 (22) (ed. Flint p. 59 = *PL* clxxii. 128).

[9–9] A Tanay . . . Dacia et Guthia] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 22 (23) (ed. Flint p. 59 = *PL* clxxii. 128); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 3.

[10] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 32. 11–12; Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 99, ix. 4. 28.

[11–11] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 23 (24) (ed. Flint p. 59 = *PL* clxxii. 128); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 4.

[12] The Elbe actually flows into the North Sea.

[13] The Sarmatians were a Slavic people, dwelling from the Vistula to the Don. The Black Sea was often called the Sarmatian Sea (e.g. Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iv. 10. 38; cf. *Otia*, ii. 2, n. 9). Kętrzyński identifies the river Vandal as the Vistula (or Wisla: 'Ze Studyów', p. 157;

[14]In regione Germanie superioris est Sueuia, a Sueuo monte dicta. Post hanc Alemania, a flumine Lemanno, unde Lucanus:

> tentoria fixa Lemanno.[14]

Legitur tamen in *Passione Tebeorum* quod lacus Gebennensis Lemannus dicatur,[15] quem Rodanus influit. [16]Illic et Rechia. In Sueuia[t] nascitur Danubius,[16] qui et Yster,[17] unde poeta:

> binominis Yster.[18]

Hic sexaginta precipuis fluminibus cingitur,[u] et septem ostiis ut Nilus diuisus mare Ponticum ingreditur;[19] [v]surgens[w] in Sueuia, ab Alpibus descendit per Bauariam et hinc per Austriam; exhinc per Hyniam, a qua Alpes ascendens[x][20] grande facit precipicium; exhinc terram Grabati[y] pertransit, diuisionem capiens aput Brandiz super Danubium.[z][21] Illinc uersus septentrionem sunt Cumani,[22] adorantes quicquid illis mane occurrit primo. Illic Gete et Coralli.[a][23] [24]A diuisione Danubii[b] usque Constantinopolim sunt uiginti quatuor diete uersus eurum. Primo enim occurrit desertum Bulgarie, quod est terra Blacti,[c][25] ubi uicus Rauanel et uicus Nifa. In fine deserti est[d] ciuitas Straliz,[26] caput Romanie. Exhinc Finipopulis,[27] post quam Andronopolis,[28] exinde[e] Constantinopolis; aput Constantinopolim est Brachium sancti Georgii, mare coartatum.[f] A quo ad Yconyum duodecim diete; et exinde ad Anthiochiam pereque duodecim.[g,v][24]

[t] Sueuia] hac *β and Honorius* [u] augetur *I and Honorius* [v–v] surgens . . . Anthiochiam pereque duodecim] *supplied by author N;* Dicunt alii quod Danubius, surgens a Sueuia, transit per Bauariam et postea per Austriam, exhinc per Huniam, et sic incidit Ystrum et Hister Tanaym. Tanais per quinque hostia Meotides paludes implet et sic cadit in mare. Alia duo hostia faciunt Brachium sancti Georgii *I* [w] enim *add. after* surgens *XQ* [x] descendens *A* [y] Gralitii *N* [z] exhinc terram . . . Danubium] et diuisus apud Brandiz terram Grabati pertransit *XQ* [a] Illic Gete et Coralli *om. XQ* [b] Danubie *N* [c] blaca *N* [d] est *om. XQ* [e] et inde *XQ* [f] aput Constantinopolim . . . coartatum] ubi mare coartatum dicitur Brachium sancti Georgii *XQ* [g] ad Ant. pereque duodecim] totidem ad Ant. *XQ*

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see below, n. 38), and points out that Gervase apparently believed that the Baltic Sea (into which the Vistula flows) and the Black Sea (into which the Danube flows) joined up somewhere in the far east. From the ninth century onwards, 'Vandals' was often used as a term for 'Wends' (i.e. Slavs); see e.g. Gerhard, *Miracula s. Udalrici*, c. 22 (*MGH SS*, iv. 423): 'quidam dux Vandalorum Misicho'.

[14–14] Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 94; Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 396. Honorius says that Alemannia and Raetia were both alternative names for Suevia (= Swabia). This is more or less right, though Raetia was south of Alemannia.

[15] Cf. Eucherius, *Passio*, p. 34. On the Theban Legion, see *Otia*, iii. 35, n. 10.

[16–16] Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 23 (24) (ed. Flint pp. 59–60 = *PL* clxxii. 128).

[14]In the region of Upper Germany is Suevia, called after Mount Suevus. Next comes Alemannia, named after the river Leman, as in Lucan's:

> tents pitched by Leman.[14]

In *The Passion of the Thebans*, however, one reads that Lake Geneva also has the name of Leman;[15] the Rhône flows into this lake. [16]Raetia is likewise in that region. In Suevia is the source of the Danube,[16] which is also called the Ister;[17] and so the poet calls it:

> the Ister with its two names.[18]

This river is joined by sixty principal tributaries, and enters the Black Sea divided, like the Nile, into seven mouths.[19] After rising in Suevia, it descends from the Alps through Bavaria, then Austria, and then Hunia; from there it climbs back into the Alps[20] and produces a great waterfall; after that it crosses the land of Croatia, and divides at Požarevac.[21] North of there are the Cumani,[22] who worship the first thing that meets them in the morning. The Getae and the Coralli live there.[23] [24]From the division of the Danube to Constantinople it is twenty-four days' journey to the south-east. First one comes to the wilderness of Bulgaria, which is the territory of Blactum,[25] where the villages of Rawanica and Niš are found. On the edge of the wilderness is the city of Straliz,[26] the capital of Romania. Then there is Philippopolis,[27] after which comes Adrianople,[28] and then Constantinople; alongside Constantinople is the narrow strait of the Arm of St George. From there to Iconium it is twelve days' journey; it takes another twelve to travel on from there to Antioch.[24]

[17] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 17.

[18] Cf. Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, i. 8. 11.

[19] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiii. 21. 28.

[20] Unless Gervase believed that rivers could flow uphill, his *ascendens* would seem to be a mistake; certainly the scribe of *A* thought so (see apparatus). The reference to a waterfall here may possibly suggest confusion with the Rhine.

[21] For the identity of the *terra Grabati* and *Brandiz*, see Kętrzyński, 'Ze Studyów', p. 153, nn. 7 and 8.

[22] The Cumani were the inhabitants of the region known in antiquity as Cumania Minor, now part of modern Hungary.

[23] The Getae and the Coralli are mentioned by Ovid (*Ex Ponto*, iv. 8. 83–4).

[24–24] A diuisione . . . Anthiochiam pereque duodecim] This passage seems to have been drawn from one of the many guides for pilgrims which were produced in the crusading era; cf. e.g. *Descriptio itineris in terram sanctam*, in *Corpus historicum medii aevi*, ed. J. G. Eckhart (Leipzig, 1723), ii. 1345–8, at col. 1345. The last sentence of this passage also occurs in the first paragraph of *Otia*, ii. 6, likewise as part of a marginal supplement.

[25] Possibly Belgrade.

[26] Now Sofia.

[27] Now Plovdiv.

[28] Now Edirne.

[29]Est et in Germania superiore Noricus, que et Bauaria,[29] inter quam et Vngariam uel Huniam est Austria, que uulgo dicitur Austerica. Post Austriam est Bauaria,[h] cui et[i] Austrie[j] iungitur Boemia, quam tangit a septentrione [30]Saxonia gens [k]ualida, et propter sui fortitudinem et robur quasi saxorum sic appellatur.[30] Inter Saxoniam et Vasfaliam[l] est Albis fluuius. Est autem Vasfalia cuius gentes Sueui[31] dicuntur.[k]

Porro [32]ab Albio flumine usque ad occeanum Germania inferior nuncupatur, in qua est Albia regio, que uersus aquilonem occeano terminatur. In hac est terra Danorum et Norucia,[32] sed terra Danorum proximior Germanie[m] Saxonice;[n] post Daniam Norucia, post Norueiam Russia uersus septentrionem, mari interposito, quod cum mari Britannico et glaciali uicissim[o] insulis intercurrentibus[p] continuatur; unde per mare de una ad aliam facilis sed longus est transitus.[33] In istis[q] occeani insulis girfalci ex altissimis rupibus in mare dependentibus[r] eliciuntur artificiose. Sed et in Germania inferiore est terra Marcomannorum, terra occeano a septentrione, montibus a meridie clausa. [34]Sunt autem habitantium omnium in Germania superiore et inferiore gentes quinquaginta quatuor.[34]

Nunc[s] quicquid Danubius a barbarico ad mare Mediterraneum secludit expediam.[35] Est itaque duplex Pannonia, superior et inferior. Superior respicit ab euro Moesiam, a circio ortum fluminis Danubii; inferior Pannonia Alpes continet a circio, et Alpibus, ut Lombardia, clauditur.[36]

Vocaturque regio illa Barbarica propter barbaras gentes ipsam inhabitantes.[37] Hanc asserunt Vngariam uel Huniam dici, unde

[h] inter quam et . . . Bauaria] *om.* *XQ* [i] cui et] cum *N* [j] que dicitur Ostelrica *add. after* Austrie *XQ* [k–k] ualida . . . gentes Sueui dicuntur] propter sui robur sic dicta, fortis enim et ualida quasi saxea *XQ*; Inter Saxoniam et . . . dicuntur] citra quod est Constantinopolis et ultra est prima Grecia et Asia minor, post quam maior Grecia que et Tarthia dicitur, ubi est Yconium, post quam Mirmidonia *I* [l] Vastaliam *N* [m] Germane *N* [n] Frisia (Fusia *Q*) in medio constituta *add. after* Saxonice *β* [o] in *add. after* uicissim *N* [p] uicissim . . . intercurrentibus] *supplied by author* *N* [q] istis *C*; istarum *NAβ* [r] dependentibus] deprehendentibus *N* [s] De Barbaria (Barbania *X*) et Romania et (et *om.* *X*) insulis Romanie *add. as title before* Nunc *XQ*

[29–29] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 23 (24) (ed. Flint p. 60 = *PL* clxxii. 128).

[30–30] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 100.

[31] The eastern boundary of Westphalia is and was normally taken to be the Weser, not the Elbe. Gervase's reference to Swabians is puzzling, but may reflect knowledge of the 'Saxon Swabians': see *Origo gentis Suevorum*, ed. H.-E. Lohmann and P. Hirsch, in *Widukindi monachi Corbeiensis rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri tres* (*MGH SRG*, lx (Hanover, 1935), 155–61).

[29]Noricus, also called Bavaria, is in Upper Germany too.[29] Between Noricus and Hungary or Hunia is Austria, which the people call Austerica. Next to Austria is Bavaria, and bordering on Bavaria and Austria is Bohemia. [30]The mighty Saxon race touches on Bohemia to the north; their name comes from their endurance and strength, in which they resemble rocks (*saxa*).[30] Between Saxony and Westphalia is the river Elbe. It is the tribes of Westphalia who are known as the Suevi.[31]

[32]The land between the river Elbe and the ocean is called Lower Germany. It contains the region of Albia, which is bounded by the ocean to the north. The land of the Danes is in this region, as is Norway.[32] The land of the Danes is the one nearer to Saxon Germany; beyond Denmark is Norway, and beyond Norway, across the sea to the north, lies Russia. This sea is linked to the British Sea and the ice-bound sea, with islands breaking its expanse in between. And so it is easy to cross the sea, going from one island to another, though the distance is long.[33] On these islands of the ocean gerfalcons are skilfully lured down from the highest cliffs overhanging the sea. Also in Lower Germany is the land of the Marcomanni, a land hemmed in by the ocean to the north and by mountains to the south. [34]In all there are fifty-four tribes living in Upper and Lower Germany.[34]

I shall now set down the territory which the Danube separates from the land of the barbarians, down to the Mediterranean Sea.[35] So then, Pannonia is a twofold country, consisting of Upper and Lower Pannonia. Upper Pannonia faces Moesia to the south-east, and the source of the river Danube to the north-west. Lower Pannonia has the Alps to the north-west; like Lombardy, it is closed in by the Alps.[36]

That region is called Barbarica on account of the barbarian tribes living in it.[37] They say that the part where the race of the Huns originated is called Hungary or Hunia. The precipice of the Danube

[32–32] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i.24 (25) (ed. Flint p. 60 = *PL* clxxii. 128).

[33] Gervase here displays non-traditional geographical knowledge, as noted by L. S. Chekin, 'Mappae Mundi and Scandinavia', *Scandinavian Studies*, lxv (1993), 493–4.

[34–34] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 53.

[35] Cf. ibid. i. 2. 54; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 5. Orosius goes on to list the countries to the south and west of the Danube; Gervase, however, describes only Pannonia, and then treats of 'Barbarica', the land to the north and east of the Danube.

[36] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 60; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 16.

[37] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 3.

Hunorum gens orta est, in qua est precipicium Danubii, qui exinde mare ingreditur.[t] Huic iungitur Bulgaria, quam Macedoniam dicunt inferiorem, et est in Europa, ex qua fuit Alexander,[u] inter mare Adriaticum et Alpes Vngarie, deinde Sclauonie[v] uersus orientem.

Porro inter Alpes Hunie et occeanum est Pollonia, sic dicta in eorum ydiomate, quasi Campania; que a Wandalo flumine suo terra dicitur, ut ab ipsis indigenis accepi,[w][38] Wandalorum. Polloniam in uno sui capite contingit Russia, que et Rutenia, de qua Lucanus:

> Soluuntur flaui longa statione Rutheni.[39]

In hac gens[x] Rutenorum, otio torpens, uenandi studio et crapularum tedio data, uix regionis sue terminos egreditur; sed cum[y] peregrinandi quempiam animus tangit, seruos suos, quorum apud eos[z] copia, ad id explendum mittit, pro labore itineris completi libertatis illi conferens retributionem. Inde est quod illi, mendicantes aliena subsidia, tam nudi quam miseri incedunt, ab omnibus conchristianis et gentilibus contempti; nullum inueniunt inimicum aut depredatorem, quasi de illis illud scriptum sit:

> Cantabit uacuus coram latrone uiator.[40]

Porro Rutenia ad orientem uersus Greciam porrigitur, centum ut dicunt dietis in longum extensa, cuius ad mare Norueie proxima ciuitas Chio. In capite uero quod est uersus Hyniam, ciuitas Galicia. Inter Polloniam et Russiam sunt duo fluuii quorum nomina sunt, secundum uulgaris illorum lingue interpretationem, Aper et Armilla.[41] Polloniam uero respicit quasi ab occasu ciuitas Russie Lodimiria. Inter Russiam et Greciam sunt Gete, Placti,[a] et Coralli, f. 23v paganorum | gens ferocissima, carnibus crudis utens pro cibis. Sed et

[t] in qua est . . . ingreditur] *supplied by author N* [u] quam Macedoniam dicunt . . . Alexander] *supplied by author N* [v] Sclauonie *supplied by author N* [w] ut ab ipsis indigenis accepi *supplied by author N* [x] gens *supplied by author N* [y] cum *supplied by author N* [z] est *add. after* eos *I* [a] Planti *XQ;* Planeti *I*

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[38] This phrase, written in the margin of *N*, provides valuable support for identifying the hand of the marginalia with that of the author, couched as it is in the first person. It also indicates that the information in this passage was derived from an oral source, from one or more natives of Poland; further confirmation of this is provided by the two references to the local language ('in eorum ydiomate' and 'secundum uulgaris illorum lingue interpretationem'), and by the specific details provided concerning Poland and Russia. Kętrzyński ('Ze Studyów') pointed to the significance of this passage, and argued that Gervase might have made the acquaintance of Vincent of Cracow, possibly in Bologna; this has been disputed (see Wilkinson, 'The *Otia Imperialia*', pp. 109–10, n. 30), but it remains clear that Gervase had either talked to people from Poland or visited the country himself.

is here, beyond which the river flows down to the sea. Bordering on Hungary is Bulgaria, which they call Lower Macedonia, where Alexander came from; it belongs to Europe, and lies between the Adriatic Sea and the Alps, first the Hungarian Alps and then the Slavonian Alps towards the east.

Between the Hungarian Alps and the ocean is Poland, the name Poland being the equivalent of Campania in their language. It is known as the land of the Vandals, from the river Vandal which runs through it; I learnt this from the inhabitants themselves.[38] Touching on Poland at one end is Russia, otherwise known as Ruthenia, to which Lucan refers:

> The fair-haired Ruthenians were freed from their long garrison-duty.[39]

The race of the Ruthenians lives here in an idle stupor; they give themselves up to their enthusiasm for hunting, and to disgusting drinking-bouts. They hardly ever go beyond the confines of their own region: rather, whenever the urge to travel comes upon one of them, he sends his slaves to satisfy it; they have a great many slaves. In return for the effort involved in making the journey, he bestows the reward of freedom on the slave. As a result those ex-slaves go about both naked and wretched, begging their sustenance from others, despised by all, fellow-Christians and heathens alike; no one they meet proves an enemy or a robber, as if it were of them that it was written:

> The traveller with nothing to lose
> Will sing in the face of the robber.[40]

Ruthenia stretches eastwards towards Greece, extending, so they say, a hundred days' journey in length. The Ruthenian city nearest to the Norwegian Sea is Kiev. At the end facing Hunia is the city of Galich. Between Poland and Russia there are two rivers whose names, interpreted from the local speech, are the Aper and the Armilla.[41] The Russian city of Vladimir lies opposite Poland, looking westwards. Between Russia and Greece are found the Getae, the Połowcy, and the Coralli, a very fierce tribe of pagans who live on raw flesh for inter Polloniam et Liuoniam[42] sunt pagani qui Iazuienses dicuntur. Exhinc uersus septentrionem est Liuonia gens paganorum probissima.

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[39] Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 402.

[40] Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 22.

[41] Identified by Kętrzyński ('Ze Studyów', p. 158) as the Wieprz and the Narev. The Wieprz at that time formed the boundary of the Cracow episcopate. The word *armilla* means 'armlet', and the Polish word for 'armlet' (*naramiennik*) resembles the name of the river Narev in East Poland.

Nunc[b] ad Barbaricam redeamus, [43]a qua ad mare nostrum Moesia est, a messium prouentu sic dicta, que ab oriente habet ostia fluminis Danubii, ab euro Traciam, a meridie Macedoniam, ab affrico Dalmatiam, ab occasu Ystriam, a circio Pannoniam, a septentrione Danubium.[43] In hac est ciuitas Dorostorum.[c]

[44]Tracia[d] habet ab oriente Proponditis sinum et ciuitatem Constantinopolim que Bizancium dicta est, a septentrione partem Dalmacie et sinum Euxini ponti, ab occasu et affrico sinum Macedonicum,[e] [45] a meridie Egeum mare. Hec habet Eberum[f] fluuium, dictaque est Tracia a Tyras, filio Iafet.[44] Porro Bisantium Pausanias rex Spartanorum condidit, et longo post tempore Constantinus adauxit.[46] In Tracia quoque ciuitas Gelduba[47] et Eraclea.[g]

[48]Macedonia[h] habet ab oriente Egeum mare, a borea Traciam, ab euro Euboiam et Macedonicum sinum, a meridie Acaiam, a fauonio montes Acroceraunie[49] in angustiis Adriatici sinus, qui montes sunt contra[i] Appuliam et Brundusium,[j] ab occasu Dalmatiam, a circio Dardaniam, a septentrione Moesiam.[48] Macedonie prima pars est Philippi,[k] ciuitas colonia.[l]

[50]Acaia[m] undique propemodum cincta est mari; nam ab oriente habet Mirtheum mare, ab euro Creticum mare, a meridie Ionicum mare, ab affrico et occasu Cefalinam et Cassiopam insulas, a septentrione sinum Corintium, ab aquilone angustum[n] terre dorsum quo Macedonie coniungitur, uel potius Attice; qui locus

[b] De Moesia (Meosia *X*) *add. as title before* Nunc *XQ*

[c] In hac est ciuitas Dorostorum (Borostorum *N*, Dorostrorum *C*) *om.* *β*

[d] De Tracia *add. as title before* Tracia *XQ*

[e] sinum Macedonicum] Macedoniam *Orosius*

[f] Ebron *I*, Hebrum *Honorius*

[g] In Tracia quoque . . . Eraclea] *om.* *β*

[h] De Macedonia *add. as title before* Macedonia *XQ*

[i] contra *Orosius;* inter *MSS*

[j] Brondusim *N*

[k] Philippi *ed.;* Philippis *AC*, Filippis *N*

[l] Macedonie prima pars . . . colonia] *om.* *β*

[m] De Acaya (Achaya *Q*) *add. as title before* Acaia *XQ*

[n] angustum *supplied by author N*

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[42] A Baltic territory, which was divided between Estonia and Latvia after the First World War.

[43–43] a qua . . . a septentrione Danubium] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 5; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 24 (25) (ed. Flint p. 60 = *PL* clxxii. 128); Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 55.

[44–44] Tracia . . . Tyras, filio Iafet] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 56; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 6; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 24 (26) [*sic*] (ed. Flint p. 60 = *PL* clxxii. 128); Gen. 10: 2; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 125.

their food. Between Poland and Livonia[42] are the pagans who are called the Jadźwingi. Beyond them to the north are the Livonians, a very virtuous tribe of pagans.

Let us now return to Barbarica. [43]Between Barbarica and our sea is Moesia, so-called from its rich yield of harvests (*messes*). To the east Moesia has the mouths of the river Danube, to the south-east Thrace, to the south Macedonia, to the south-west Dalmatia, to the west Istria, to the north-west Pannonia, and to the north the Danube.[43] It contains the city of Silistra.

[44]Thrace has the gulf of the Propontis to the east, and the city of Constantinople, formerly called Byzantium. To the north it has part of Dalmatia and a gulf of the Euxine Sea, to the west and the south-west the Macedonian Gulf,[45] and to the south the Aegean Sea. It contains the river Hebrus, and is called Thrace after Tiras, son of Japheth.[44] Pausanias, king of Sparta, founded Byzantium; a long time afterwards, Constantine enlarged it.[46] Also in Thrace are the cities of Gelduba[47] and Heraclea.

[48]Macedonia has the Aegean Sea to the east, Thrace to the north-east, Euboea and the Macedonian Gulf to the south-east, Achaea to the south, the Acroceraunian Mountains[49] to the south-west in the straits of the Adriatic Gulf (these mountains being opposite Apulia and Brindisi), Dalmatia to the west, Dardania to the north-west, and Moesia to the north.[48] The most important place in Macedonia is the colonial city of Philippi.

[50]Achaea is surrounded on nearly every side by sea; for it has the Myrtoan Sea to the east, the Cretan Sea to the south-east, the Ionian Sea to the south, the islands of Cephalenia and Cassiopa to the south-west and west, the Corinthian Gulf to the north, and to the north-east a narrow neck of land by which it is linked to Macedonia, or rather to

[45] The Macedonian Gulf has strayed into Gervase's account of Thrace from the account of Macedonia which follows; it is in fact the land of Macedonia which lies to the west and south-west of Thrace.

[46] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xv. 1. 42.

[47] Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *Martyrologium*, December (*PL* cx. 1186): 'in Thracia civitate Gildo (vulgo Gelduba)'.

[48–48] Macedonia . . . a septentrione Moesiam] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 57; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 13.

[49] *Acroceraunia* (properly n. pl., but here treated as f. sing.) was the name of a rocky promontory in Epirus, belonging to the *Ceraunii montes*; there is no connection with the *Acroceraunii montes* between Armenia and Iberia, mentioned in *Otia*, ii. 5.

[50–50] Acaia . . . longe ciuitatem Athenas (p. 248)] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 58; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 14.

Hystremos[o] uocatur, ubi est[p] Corinthus, habens in Attica ad boream non longe ciuitatem Athenas.[50]

[51]Dalmatia,[q] a Dalma[r] ciuitate sic dicta, habet ab oriente Macedoniam, ab aquilone Dardaniam, a septentrione Moesiam, ab occasu Ystriam et sinum Liburnicum et insulas Liburnicas, a meridie sinum Adriaticum.[51] [s]Sane in confinio Dalmacie atque Pannonie est oppidum Stridonis,[t] olim a Gothis euersum,[52] ex quo fuit oriundus karissimus[u] Ierominus, patre Eusebio natus. In Dalmacia est ciuitas Salona.[s]

[53]Porro generaliter nonnumquam Grecia, a Greco rege, olim terra Cechim[54] nominata, et est a Mediterraneo mari,[55] et uersus austrum in mare Magnum inmittitur; que et Illiricum nominatur, in quo Sicia ciuitas.[v] In Grecia[w] est Epirus, a Pirro Achillis filio sic dicta; in qua est fons in quo[x] faces accense extinguntur et iterum extincte accenduntur.[53] Cui simile legimus in Vianensi prouintia, ciuitate Gracionopoli, extra portam Tritoniam; ut et Augustinus scribit in libro *De*[y] *ciuitate Dei*.[56] Verum cum ad locum ueni, plus auditu celebrique memoria fides mihi facta est quam uisu.

[57]In Grecia quoque Cahonia est, a ciuitate eiusdem nominis sic dicta, quam Elenus frater Hectoris edificauit, et ob amorem fratris sui Chahonii[z] Cahoniam nominauit. Hec et Molosia, a ciuitate Molosa[a] dicta, quam Molosus filius Pirri construxit et nomine suo uocauit. Est et Allidia, a Lidio[b] rege, filio Deucalionis et Pirre, dicta; ipsa et Attica, ab Atti rege dicta. In hac Athene, a Cicrope[57] fugiente plagas Egipti constructe.[58] Ab Athenis uno miliario distat Academia uilla, frequente terre motu concussa. Hanc philosofi elegerunt ut timore terre motus a libidine abstinerent, et interpretatur *academia* 'tristicia populi', quia ibi Neptunus bello superatus nauigio fugit. In hac Plato docuit. Post

[o] *sic N for* Isthmos
[p] est *supplied by author N*
[q] De Dalmatia *add. as title before* Dalmatia *XQ*
[r] Dolma *N;* Delmi *Isidore*
[s–s] Sane . . . est ciuitas Salona] *supplied by author N;* In Dalmacia est ciuitas Salona *om. β*
[t] Tridonis *N*
[u] probatissimus *β*
[v] in quo Sicia (Scithia *A*, Scitia *C*) ciuitas *supplied by author N; om. β and Honorius*
[w] Grecia] hac *β*
[x] quo *supplied by author N*
[y] De *supplied by author N*
[z] Chaonis *I and Honorius*
[a] a ciuitate Molosa *supplied by author N*
[b] Alladia, ab Ellada *Honorius*

[51–51] Dalmatia . . . meridie sinum Adriaticum] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 25 (27) (ed. Flint p. 60 = *PL* clxxii. 128); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 8; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 59.

[52] Cf. Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, c. 135 (*PL* xxiii. 715).

[53–53] Porro . . . iterum extincte accenduntur] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 25 (27) (ed. Flint p. 60 = *PL* clxxii. 128–9); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 7.

Attica. This place is called the Isthmus; on it stands Corinth, with the city of Athens, in Attica, not far away to the north-east.[50]

[51]Dalmatia takes its name from the city of Delminium. It has Macedonia to the east, Dardania to the north-east, Moesia to the north, Istria, the Liburnian Gulf, and the Liburnian Islands to the west, and the Adriatic Gulf to the south.[51] On the border of Dalmatia and Pannonia is the town of Stridon, once destroyed by the Goths;[52] the inestimable Jerome, whose father was Eusebius, was born there. The city of Salonae is in Dalmatia.

[53]This whole area, once known as the land of Kittim,[54] is sometimes called Greece, after King Graecus. It begins at the Mediterranean Sea,[55] and projects southwards into the Great Sea. It is also called Illyricum; the city of Siscia is in Illyricum. Epirus is in Greece; this region is named after Pyrrhus, son of Achilles. There is a spring there in which burning torches are extinguished, but then if the extinguished torches are put back into the spring they are rekindled.[53] We read of a similar phenomenon in the province of Vienne, in the city of Grenoble, outside the Tritonian Gate; Augustine also writes of such a thing in his book *City of God*.[56] However, when I visited the place, I was given the evidence of hearsay and repeated telling rather than actually seeing it.

[57]Also in Greece is Chaonia, so-called after the city of the same name, which Helenus, brother of Hector, built, naming it Chaonia out of love for his brother Chaon. Here too is Molossia, called after the city of Molossa, which Molossus, son of Pyrrhus, built and named after himself. And Hellas is here, called after King Hellen, son of Deucalion and Pyrrha; it is also called Attica after King Attis. In this region is Athens, built by Cecrops[57] when he was fleeing from the plagues of Egypt.[58] One mile distant from Athens is the college of the Academy, which is shaken by frequent earthquakes. The philosophers selected this place in order that the fear of earthquakes might induce them to abstain from the pleasures of the flesh. The word ἀκαδήμεια means 'the sorrow of the people', because Neptune was conquered in battle there and fled by boat. Plato taught here. After his

[54] Cf. Gen. 10: 4; Isa. 23: 1.

[55] The Mediterranean is normally synonymous with the Great Sea (Isidore, *Etym.* xiii. 16. 1); here, however, it appears to refer to the Adriatic.

[56] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* xxi. 7 (*CSEL* xl (2). 529 = *PL* xli. 719).

[57–57] In Grecia . . . Athene, a Cecrope] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 25 (27) (ed. Flint p. 60 = *PL* clxxii. 129); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 9–10, xv. i. 44.

[58] Cf. *Otia*, i. 20, n. 69.

huius[c] obitum scola diuisa fuit in tres partes. Qui illic remanserunt Academici dicti sunt; qui Athenas pecierunt Stoyci, a *stoa*, porticu in qua studebant; qui ad uaria loca amore discendi se transferebant Perypatetici, quasi circumcalcantes positionem ueritatis.[59] [d]Dicuntur quoque Actei Athenienses, ab Acteo promontorio prope posito, ubi Augustus pugnauit contra Antonium et Cleopatram, quod bellum Atticum nominant.[d] [60]

In confinio Atheniensi [61]Boetia est, a boue dicta, quia Cadmus filius Agenoris illuc ueniens bouem reperit, quem diis immolans, Thebas construxit, et prouinciam Boetiam nominauit. Ex hac dicuntur Thebani, ex altera uero Thebey,[61] a Theba Iudeorum, Thebide,[e] ut in titulo *De Caldea, Arabia, Siria, et Egipto* prenotauimus.[62] Sic alias a Dania Danos, a Dacia Dacos nominant. [63]Eadem sane prouincia dicitur Aonia, a fonte Aon, musis consecrato. Ibi est et Pelopensis, a Pelope rege,[f] et a ciuitate eiusdem nominis sic dicta.[64] Ibi et Tessalia a Tessalo rege dicta.[g] Ibi Macedonia a rege Macedone, et Enachia ab Enacho[h] rege; in hac est mons Olimpus qui nubes excedit,[63] cuius ita quietus et purus aer esse probatur, quod si in eius cacumine littere scribantur in arena, reuoluto anno, recentes et immutate reperiuntur.[65] In Tessalonia Tessalonica ciuitas,[66] | f. 24r de qua Claudianus:

> murosque subibat,
> Tessalonica, tuos.[67]

Ibi Acaia ab Acaio rege,[68] in qua Patras, ciuitas sancti Andree.[i] [69] In hac, ut dixi, est Corinthus, a Corintho filio Horestis dicta.[70] Ibi et Arcadia, que et Siconia uel Sicionia dicta est a Siconio[j] rege.[71]

[c] huius *supplied by author N* [d–d] Dicuntur . . . bellum Atticum nominant] *supplied by author N* [e] a Theba Iudeorum Thebide (Thebite *ACβ*) *supplied by author N* [f] constructa *add. after* rege *MSS* [g] et a ciuitate . . . rege dicta] *supplied by author N*; Ibi et Tessalia . . . dicta] *om. X* [h] Emathia ab Ematho *Honorius* [i] in qua Patras . . . Andree] *supplied by author N; om. β* [j] Sitione *Honorius*

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[59] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* viii. 6. 6–13.

[60] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xv. 1. 61.

[61–61] Boetia . . . altera uero Thebey] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 11.

[62] See ii. 4, n. 80. The reference to the Jewish city of Thebes (i.e. Thebez; see Judg. 9: 50, 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 11: 21) was an afterthought here on the author's part; the following *ut*-clause applies only to the Greek and Egyptian cities, which are mentioned in ii. 4.

[63–63] Eadem . . . qui nubes excedit] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 25 (27) (ed. Flint p. 61 = *PL* clxxii. 129); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 11–13.

[64] In the first draft of the text here the name *Pelopensis* was taken only as that of a city, built ('constructa') by King Pelops; the author then added the words 'et a ciuitate eiusdem nominis sic dicta' etc. from Honorius, but failed to remove 'constructa' from the text (see apparatus).

[65] Cf. *Otia*, i. 11, n. 10.

[66] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 12. Honorius correctly places Thessalonica in Macedonia, but Isidore places it in Thessaly, which is presumably where Gervase meant by his 'Tessalonia'.

[67] Claudian, *In Rufinum*, ii. 279–80.

[68] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 14.

[69] According to tradition, St Andrew was crucified at Patras.

[70] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xv. 1. 45.

[71] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 15.

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death the school was divided into three parts. Those who remained there were called the Academics; those who repaired to Athens were called the Stoics, from the στοὰ or portico in which they studied; those who travelled from place to place in their love of learning were called the Peripatetics, the ones who, so to speak, tramped all around the position of truth.[59] The Athenians are also called Actaeans after the nearby promontory of Actium, where Augustus fought against Antony and Cleopatra in what is known as the Battle of Actium.[60]

Bordering on Athens is [61]Boeotia, so-called from *bos* (an ox), because when Cadmus, son of Agenor, came there he found an ox; he sacrificed it to the gods, then built Thebes, and named the territory Boeotia. The people from this city are called the *Thebani*, while the people of the other Thebes are called the *Thebaei*;[61] then there are the *Thebitae*, from the Jewish city of Thebes. We mentioned the cities of Thebes above, in the chapter *Chaldaea, Arabia, Syria, and Egypt*.[62] Similarly, to give another example, they call the people of Denmark (*Dania*) the Danes, and the people of Dacia the Dacians. [63]Aonia is another name for this same part of Greece; it comes from the spring Aon, sacred to the muses. Also in Greece is the Peloponnese, named after King Pelops and the city of the same name.[64] There too is Thessaly, named after King Thessalus. Macedonia is there, named after King Macedon, but also called Aemathia, after King Aemathus. Mount Olympus is in this land, a mountain which rises up above the clouds.[63] The following experiment proves how motionless and clear its air is: if letters are written in the sand on its summit, they are found a year later still fresh and undisturbed.[65] In Thessaly is the city of Thessalonica,[66] of which Claudian wrote:

> and he approached
> Your walls, Thessalonica.[67]

Achaea is another region of Greece, named after King Achaeus,[68] and containing Patras, the city of St Andrew.[69] Achaea also contains Corinth, which I have already mentioned, named after Corinthus, son of Orestes.[70] Another region of Greece is Arcadia, also called Siconia or Sicyonia after King Sicyon.[71] Now the Sicyonian kingdom began

Regnum uero Siconiorum ab anno uiginti quarto[k] Nacor, aui Abrahe, ortum est sub Aigaleo rege. Cucurrit autem usque in[l] annum septimum decimum Hely sacerdotis, per annos nongentos septaginta unum, usque[m] ad Eusippum per reges triginta unum. Post hec iudicauerunt Siconiam sacerdotes Carmi.[n]"[72] Siconia autem uel Sicionia regio est[o] Agileia, a rege Agileio dicta, eademque Arcas uel Arcadia,[p] prius Appia Pelopensis dicta.[73] Arcadia lapidem abestonem mittit, qui semel accensus extingui non potest.[74]

Dehinc est Pannonia superior usque ad Penninum[q] montem,[75] qui diuidit Pannoniam et Italiam et Aquileiam. [76]Versus aquilonem est Ystria, ab Ystro quem[r] influit Danubius.[76] [77]Pannonia, Noricus (qui pars est Illirici), et Rethia habent ab oriente Moesyam, a meridie Hystriam, ab affrico Alpes Penninas, ab occasu Galliam Belgicam, a circio Danubii fontem et limitem qui Germaniam a Gallia inter Danubium Galliamque secernit, a septentrione Danubium et Germaniam.[77]

Porro a Meotidis paludibus, a quibus mare Mediterraneum oritur, usque ad hoc mare nostrum, he sunt insule:[78] prima a septentrione ad occidentem [79]Abidos [s]insula in Europa super Ellespontum, periculoso et angusto mari separata, quinquaginta passibus, ut fertur, coartato. Dicitur autem *Abidos* Grece quod est[t] introitus Ellesponti, in qua Zerses pontem fecit et in Greciam transiuit.[s][79] Exhinc insula Samo,[u] quam a uulturno mare prospectat Euximum, [80]diciturque a Sama ciuitate, in Egeo mare sita, de qua fuit Sibilla et Pitagoras. In hac fictilia uasa sunt reperta.[80] Huic coeua insula Sestos, a circio mare Ponticum prospiciens, sicque he due insule duo maria hec particularia

[k] xxiiii$^{\text{or}}$ *N* [l] in *supplied by author N* [m] usque *supplied by author N*
[n] Carnii *Jerome* [o] est *supplied by author N* [p] Agileia, a rege . . . Arcadia] *om. β* [q] Penninem *N;* Appenninum *CXQ* [r] quam *I* [s–s] insula . . . in Greciam transiuit] *supplied by author N* [t] sit *AQ;* fit *XI* [u] Samos *I*

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[72] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica, PL* xxvii. 275, 281, and 285, though Jerome gives different figures. On Sicyon, see *Otia*, ii. 1, n. 11.

[73] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica, PL* xxvii. 111, 115, and 223; Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 15.

[74] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, loc. cit. and xvi. 4. 4; see also *Otia*, iii. 3, n. 1.

[75] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit. The Pennine Mountain is the Great St Bernard.

[76–76] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 17. The lower part of the Danube was called the Ister.

[77–77] Pannonia . . . Danubium et Germaniam] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 60; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 16.

[78] This list of islands contains many inaccuracies and difficulties: a good number of the places mentioned are not islands at all, and the description of their locations betrays an eccentric view of Mediterranean geography.

in the twenty-fourth year of Nahor, Abraham's grandfather, with the rule of King Aegialeus. It lasted up until the seventeenth year of Eli the priest, a period of 971 years, in which there were thirty-one kings, ending with Zeusippus. After this the Carnian priests judged Sicyonia.[72] The region of Siconia or Sicyonia is known as Aegialeia after King Aegialeus; the same region is also called Arcas or Arcadia, and in the past was known as Appia Peloponnensis.[73] The asbestos stone comes from Arcadia; once this stone has been set alight, it cannot be extinguished.[74]

Beyond Greece is Upper Pannonia, stretching as far as the Pennine Mountain[75] which divides Pannonia, Italy, and Aquileia. [76]To the north-east is Istria, which takes its name from the Ister, into which the Danube flows.[76] [77]Pannonia, Noricus (which is part of Illyricum), and Raetia have Moesia to the east, Istria to the south, the Pennine Alps to the south-west, Gallia Belgica to the west, the source of the Danube and the boundary that separates Germany from Gaul between the Danube and Gaul to the north-west, and the Danube and Germany to the north.[77]

Further, between Lake Maeotis, where the Mediterranean Sea begins, and this sea of ours, there are the following islands:[78] starting from the north and heading westwards [79]the island of Abydos comes first. It is in Europe, on the Hellespont, and is separated from the mainland by a narrow and dangerous strait which is said to be only fifty paces across. The island is called Ἄβυδος in Greek because it is the place where the Hellespont is crossed; Xerxes built a bridge over it there and crossed into Greece.[79] Next comes the island of Samos, which the Euxine Sea faces from the south-east. [80]It is named after the city of Sama, and is situated in the Aegean Sea. It was the birthplace of the Sibyl and Pythagoras; earthenware vessels were invented there.[80] The island of Sestos, facing the Black Sea from the north-west, has an equally ancient history; and so these two islands

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[79–79] Abidos . . . in Greciam transiuit] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 33 (34) (ed. Flint p. 64 = *PL* clxxii. 131); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 17; xiii. 16. 3. Abydos and Sestos (see below) were towns on either side of the Hellespont; Abydos was in fact on the Asiatic side. The phrase 'quinquaginta passibus . . . coartato' is derived from Isidore, *Etym.* xiii. 16. 3, where it refers to the width of the Bosphorus; cf. *Otia*, ii. 6, n. 5, and ii. 2, n. 13. Xerxes' army crossed the Hellespont on bridges of ships in 480 BC.

[80–80] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 33 (34) (ed. Flint p. 65 = *PL* clxxii. 132); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 31; *Otia*, i. 20, n. 93.

secernunt.[81] Exhinc Caprus[v] insula, cui ad eurum Choos insula, a septentrione insula Constantinopolim respiciens.[w] Exhinc Constantinopolim respicit[x] Arcadia insula, cui ab euro ex latere subiacet insula Pracinensis, Asiam minorem prospectans, et sinus Arcadie circium uerssus Thessalonicam respicit. Exhinc Propontidos insula, cui uersus euroaustrum subiacet Hellespontus, quam sub uulturno Ciprus insula recuruo sinu prospectat. Et exhinc mare Adriaticum[y] uersus circium Venetiam uelut insulam claudit, quam a septentrione respiciunt he Grecie ciuitates: Lignido, Aratica; ab aquilone, Lacedemon [82]a Lacedemone filio Semeles condita;[z] [82] a uulturno, Larissa; a circio uero Aquileiam prospectat; sed et a septentrione Venecia Sclauoniam respicit, et ab Italia modico freto separatur.

viii. *De Italia et eius partibus*

[1]Italia olim magna Grecia dicta est, post a Saturno Saturnia, mox Latium, eo quod illic Saturnus a Ioue pulsus latuit, deinde Ausonia, tandem ab Italo rege Siculorum Italia nuncupatur. Hec ab Alpibus surgit et in mari terminum figit.[a] [1] [2]Italie situs a circio in eurum tenditur, habens ab affrico Tirrenum mare, quod et nostrum dicitur, a borea sinum Adriaticum, qui Anconam respicit; cuius ea pars que continenti terre communis est et contigua, Alpium obicibus obstruitur. Que[b] Alpes a mari Gallico, quod nunc Mediterraneum, nunc Tirrenum, nunc nostrum dicitur, super Ligusticum sinum surgentes, ad faciem Viginti Miliensis ciuitatis, primum ab Italia prouinciam Ebredunensem, exhinc Salbaudiam, Moriennam, et Viannensem prouinciam, Lugdunensemque Galliam, Bisuntinam prouinciam et Belgicam Retiamque secludunt, donec in sinu Liburnico ad circium defiguntur.[c] [2] Italia et Yspania dicuntur Esperie, quia Greci Espero

[v] Ciprus *CQ* [w] prospiciens *β* [x] Constantinopolim respicit *supplied by author N* [y] prospectat . . . Adriaticum] *supplied by author N* [z] a Lacedemone . . . condita] *supplied by author N*

[a] figit] fingit. Ab Italo est qui eam antiquitus inuasit; uel dicitur Ytalia quia in ea magni sunt boues, hoc est uituli: dicitur ergo quasi Vitulia, adita una littera et alia mutata. Dicta est Eusonia (Ausonia *Paul the Deacon*) ab Eusonio (Ausono *Paul the Deacon*), Iuli (Ulixis *Paul the Deacon*) filio, cum prius diceretur Beneuentana *X* (*cf. Paul the Deacon, HL ii. 24*) [b] que *supplied by author N* [c] defigantur *QI;* designantur *X*

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[81] On Sestos, see n. 79. Here again the *mare Euxinum* and the *mare Ponticum* are treated as two different seas (cf. n. 7 above).

divide these two distinct seas.[81] Then there is the island of Cyprus, south-east of which is the island of Cos, while to the north is the island opposite Constantinople. This island facing Constantinople is Arcadia; on the south-eastern side of it lies the island of Pracinos. Arcadia looks towards Asia Minor, while the Gulf of Arcadia faces Thessalonica to the north-west. Then there is the island of the Propontis, with the Hellespont lying south-east of it, while the curving coastline of the island of Cyprus faces it from further south. Finally, the Adriatic Sea to the north-west surrounds Venice as if it were an island. The following Greek cities lie opposite Venice: Lignido and Aratica to the north, Lacedaemon [82](founded by Lacedaemon, son of Semele)[82] to the north-east, and Larissa to the south-east. To the north-west Venice looks towards Aquileia; to the north it faces Slavonia. It is separated from Italy by a narrow strait.

8. *Italy and its Parts*

[1]Italy was originally called Magna Graecia. Later it came to be called Saturnia after Saturn, and then Latium, because Saturn hid (*latuit*) there when he was driven away by Jupiter; after that it was known as Ausonia, and now it is called Italy, after Italus, king of the Siculi. This country begins from the Alps and fixes its boundary in the sea.[1] [2]It lies on a slant from the north-west to the south-east, with the Tyrrhenian Sea, also known as our sea, to the south-west, and to the north-east the Adriatic Gulf, which faces Ancona. The part of Italy where it joins and borders on the continent is walled across by the barrier of the Alps. These mountains rise from the Gallic Sea, which is also called the Mediterranean, the Tyrrhenian, or our sea; beginning opposite the city of Ventimiglia above the Ligurian Gulf, they bar off from Italy first the province of Embrun, then Savoy, Morienne, and the province of Vienne, Gallia Lugdunensis, the province of Besançon, Gallia Belgica, and Raetia, until they plunge down into the north-western part of the Liburnian Gulf.[2] Italy and Spain are called the Hesperias, because the Greeks use the evening

[82–82] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 24 (*PL* cxcviii. 1153); Isidore, *Etym.* xv. i. 47.

[1–1] Italia . . . mari terminum figit] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 26 (28) (ed. Flint p. 61 = *PL* clxxii. 129); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 18.

[2–2] Italie . . . ad circium defiguntur] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 61–2; Isidore, *Etym.* loc. cit.

stella[d] in eas nauigant. Si ergo Esperiam solam dicis, significas Ytaliam; si addis Vltimam, notas Yspaniam, quia in occidentis termino est.[3]

Sane secundum *Longobardorum Ystoriam* Italia has habet prouincias: [4]Veneciam, que primo incessu Vincentiam et Veronam Montemque Silicis et Mantuam, ac[e] terminos a Pannonie finibus usque ad Addam fluuium protelans, sibi iungit Ystriam, que amplior quam nunc est fuisse probatur,[4] habetque a septemtrione Pannoniam.[f] [5] [6]Secundam Liguriam, que a legendis leguminibus dicitur, eo quod in his ferax sit. In hac Mediolanum[g] et Papia, usque ad Gallorum fines extensa.[h] Terciam Retiam Primam, quartam Retiam Secundam,[i] quintam qua Alpes Cutie dicuntur,[j] a Cucio rege[7] sic dicte.[k] Hec a Liguria usque ad mare protensa, ab occiduo Gallorum finibus copulatur. In hac[l] Terdona et monasterium Bobii, Ianua[m] et Saona ciuitates.[6] Est autem Recia[n] a Retheo promontorio eius sic dicta.[o] [8] Sextam prouinciam Italie Tusciam[p] dicunt,[9] in qua

Roma, caput mundi, tenet orbis frena rotundi,[10]

[11]et Aurelia, et Ymbria,[q] que rursus in se Perusium et lacum Clitorium[r] [12] Spoletumque habet. Septimam Italie prouinciam Campaniam dicunt, a Roma usque ad Silerem, Lucanie fluuium; in

[d] stellas *N* [e] ac *supplied by author N* [f] habetque . . . Pannoniam] *supplied by author N;* De Venecia sane in Gestis Longobardorum ita legitur: Rex Albien Vincentiam, Veronam, et reliquas Venecie ciuitates, exceptis Patauo et Monte Silicis et Mantua, cepit. Vennacus (Benacus *Paul the Deacon*) lacus Venaciorum, de quo Micius (Mincius *Paul the Deacon*) fluuius egreditur. Enetii, cui licet apud Latinos una littera addatur, Grece laudabile dicitur. Hec et Istria pro una prouincia habentur. Huius Aquilea capud extitit, pro qua nunc Forum Iulii habentur (*sic MS for* habetur), quam causa negociationis Iulius instituit *add. after* Pannoniam *X* (*cf. Paul the Deacon, HL ii. 14; Isidore, Etym. xiii. 19. 7*) [g] Medialonum *N* [h] usque . . . extensa] *supplied by author N* [i] a quibus Recii dicuntur, inter Alpes positi et inter Liguriam et Sueuiam constituti *add. after* Secundam *XQ* (*cf. Paul the Deacon, HL ii. 15*) [j] ducuntur *NAQ* [k] a Cucio . . . dicte] *supplied by author N;* uel dicuntur Scucie a Scucio rege qui fuit tempore Neronis *add. after* dicte *XQ* (*cf. Paul the Deacon, HL ii. 16*) [l] sunt aque calide et *add. after* hac *XQ* (*cf. Paul the Deacon, loc. cit.*) [m] Genua *Paul the Deacon* [n] ut alii tradunt *add. after* Recia *XQ* [o] Est autem . . . dicta] *supplied by author N* [p] quam a thure, quod populus illius supersticiose in sacrificiis deorum suorum incendere solet (solent *X*, solebant *Paul the Deacon*) sic appellatam *add. after* Tusciam *XQ* (*cf. Paul the Deacon, loc. cit.*) [q] et Aurelia et Ymbria] hec Aureliam et Ymbriam, illam a circio, hanc ab oriente, habet; Imbriam *XQ* (*cf. Paul the Deacon, loc. cit.*) [r] *sic I;* Dictorium *NACXQ*

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[3] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 19.

[4–4] Veneciam . . . est fuisse probatur] Cf. Paul the Deacon, *HL* ii. 14 (ed. Waitz, p. 81). In condensing his source Gervase distorted the meaning of the original here. A fuller and more accurate version is found in *X* (see apparatus); it seems that Gervase supplemented a

star, Hesperus, to navigate towards them. If you just say Hesperia, you mean Italy; if you add Ultima, you denote Spain, because it is in the far west.[3]

Italy has the following provinces, according to the *History of the Lombards*. [4]Venetia brought Vicenza, Verona, Monselice, and Mantua under its sway in its original expansion, extending its territory from the borders of Pannonia to the river Adda. It forms a single province with Istria, which is known to have been larger once than it is now;[4] Istria has Pannonia to the north.[5] [6]Italy's second province is Liguria, which takes its name from the harvesting of pulses (*legendis leguminibus*); for it yields a rich crop of these. Liguria contains Milan and Pavia, and extends as far as the frontier of Gaul. The third province is First Raetia, the fourth Second Raetia. The fifth province is the territory named the Cottian Alps, so-called after King Cottius.[7] This province stretches from Liguria to the sea, and abuts upon the territory of Gaul to the west. It contains Tortona and the monastery of Bobbio, and the cities of Genoa and Savona.[6] Now Raetia takes its name from its promontory of Raetium.[8] They call the sixth province of Italy Tuscany.[9] Here

Rome, capital of the world, holds the reins of the round earth.[10]

[11]Also in Tuscany are Aurelia and Umbria; Umbria in turn contains Perugia, Lake Clitorius,[12] and Spoleto. The seventh province of Italy they call Campania. It extends from Rome to the Sele, a river of

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late version of his work with additional material from Paul the Deacon, just as he also expanded his borrowings from Geoffrey of Monmouth (see Appendix i. 3, 5–7, and 27–29; cf. *Otia*, ii. 17, n. 1).

[5] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 17.

[6–6] Secundam . . . et Saona ciuitates] Cf. Paul the Deacon, *HL* ii. 15–16 (ed. Waitz, pp. 81–2).

[7] Marcus Julius Cottius was recognized by Augustus as ruler over a number of native tribes; after his son's death their territory, known as the *Alpes Cottiae*, was annexed by Nero.

[8] This sentence, added in the margin of *N*, would fit better after the mention of First and Second Raetia.

[9] Cf. Paul the Deacon, *HL* ii. 16 (ed. Waitz, p. 82).

[10] This leonine hexameter was much cited in the high Middle Ages; it is first found in the *Graphia aureae urbis Romae* around the millennium, and occurs on imperial bulls from the time of Conrad II; cf. P. E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, 2nd edn. (Darmstadt, 1957), pp. 203–4.

[11–11] et Aurelia . . . Eusculus et Adria (p. 258)] Cf. Paul the Deacon, *HL* ii. 16–9 (ed. Waitz, pp. 82–4).

[12] Lago di Bolsena.

qua Capua, Neapolis, et Salernum.[s] Octauam Lucaniam dicunt, a Silere fluuio inchoantem[t] usque ad fretum Siculum, per ora Tirreni maris, que sicut due superiores, dextrum Italie cornu tenens, attingit. f. 24v In hac Pestus, Lauinnus,[u] | Cassinum,[v] Consentia, Regium posite sunt.[w] Nonam Italie prouinciam[13] dicunt que in Apenninis Alpibus terminatur, que Apennine Alpes ⟨ab⟩[x] Alpibus Cutiis per mediam Italiam pergentes[y] Tusciam ab Emilia Ymbriamque a Flaminea diuidunt; in qua sunt ciuitates Foronianus,[z] Mons Belinus,[a] Bobium, et Verona.[b] Decima Ytalie prouincia[c] Emilia, a Liguria[d] incipiens, inter Appeninas[e] Alpes et Padi fluenta uersus Rauennam pergit. In hac Placentia, Parma,[f] Bononia, Corneliique Forum cuius castrum Ymmola dicitur. Vndecimam prouinciam Flamineam dicunt, que inter Appenninas[g] Alpes et mare Adriaticum posita,[h] Rauennam et quinque alias ciuitates que dicuntur Pentapolis continet. Duodecimam Piscenum nominant, habentem ab austro Apenninos montes, ex altera parte mare Adriaticum[i] usque ad flumen Piscariam, in qua sunt ciuitates Firmius,[j] Eusculus,[k] et Adria[11] Illirico mari proxima, que Adriatico mari nomen dedit.[l][14] [15]Terciam decimam Valeriam dicunt, cui annectitur Marsia,[m] inter Ymbriam et Campaniam et Piscenum consistens.[n] In hac sunt ciuitates Tiburis, Carsio,[o] Reate, Furrone,[p][16] Mirrenum,[q][17] regioque Marsorum et eorum lacus Fucinus.[r][18] Quartam decimam Italie prouinciam dicunt Samnium, inter Campaniam et mare Adriaticum Appuliamque, a Piscaria incoatam. In hac sunt ciuitates Theate, Ausidenna,[s] et Isauria[t] antiquitate[u] consumpta,[19] et Samnium, a quo prouincia nomen accepit. Huius caput Barrum,[v]

[s] et Terracina. Dicitur quoque (Diciturque *X*) Campania propter planiciem *add. after* Salernum *XQ* (*cf. Paul the Deacon, HL ii. 17*) [t] incohante *N* [u] *sic β;* Launinus *N;* Lainus *Paul the Deacon* [v] Cassianum *Paul the Deacon* [w] Dicitur autem a luco uel nemore quodam Lucania, incipiens a Silere fluuio cum Brutia, que ita a nomine regine sue denominatur *add. after* sunt *XQ* (*cf. Paul the Deacon, loc. cit.*) [x] ab *ed.; om. MSS* [y] pergentes *ed.;* pergentibus *MSS* [z] Ferronianus *Paul the Deacon* [a] Montembellium *Paul the Deacon* [b] et Vrbinum. Dicte sunt autem Apennine a Penis, id est Affris, quia Hannibal et eius exercitus ab Affrica per eas Romam transierunt *add. after* Verona *XQ* (*cf. Paul the Deacon, HL ii. 18*) [c] prouincie *NI* [d] Emilia, a Liguria *X and Paul the Deacon;* a Liguria Emiliam *NQI* [e] Alpeninas *N* [f] Regium, Mutina (Mittina *Q*) *add. after* Parma *XQ* (*cf. Paul the Deacon, loc. cit.*) [g] Alpenninas *N* [h] poita (*abbreviation sign erased*) *N* [i] et *add. after* Adriaticum *XQ* [j] Firmus *X and Paul the Deacon* [k] Esculus *Cβ;* Asculus *Paul the Deacon* [l] sed modo uetustate consumpta est. Huius habitatores cum a Sabinis illuc properarent, in eorum uexillo picus consedit, ideoque Picenus dicitur *add. after* dedit *XQ* (*cf. Paul the Deacon, HL ii. 19*) [m] Nursia *Paul the Deacon* [n] que (que *om. X*) ab oriente Samniciam (Samnitum *Paul the Deacon*) regionem tangit. Huius pars occidua a Roma iniciata olim Etruria dicta est *add. after* consistens *XQ* (*cf. Paul the Deacon, HL ii. 20*) [o] Cartio *N;* Carsiolis *Paul the Deacon* [p] *sic MSS for* Furcona [q] Amiternum *I and Paul the Deacon* [r] *sic I;* Fucinum *N* [s] *sic MSS for* Aufidena [t] Isaria *XQ;* Hisernia *Paul the Deacon* [u] antiopotate *N* [v] harum *I* (*see n. 20*)

Lucania, and includes Capua, Naples, and Salerno. The eighth province they call Lucania. It starts from the river Sele and, like the last two provinces, extends along the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea; it ends at the Sicilian straits, taking in the right-hand horn of Italy. Pesti, Lao, Cassino, Cosenza, and Reggio are situated in this province. They call the ninth province[13] of Italy the one whose boundary is formed by the Apennine Alps, which run down the middle of Italy from the Cottian Alps, dividing Tuscany from Emilia and Umbria from Flamminia; this province contains the cities of Frignano, Monteveglio, Bobbio, and Verona. The tenth province of Italy is Emilia; it starts from Liguria and runs towards Ravenna between the Apennine Alps and the waters of the Po. It contains Piacenza, Parma, Bologna, and Forum Cornelii, whose citadel is called Imola. The eleventh province they call Flamminia; lying between the Apennine Alps and the Adriatic Sea, it contains Ravenna, and five other cities which are known as the Pentapolis. The name of the twelfth province is Picenus; it has the Apennine Mountains to the south, and on the other side the Adriatic Sea, extending as far as the river Piscaria. In it are the cities of Fermo, Ascoli, and Adria.[11] Adria is beside the Illyrian Sea, which is also called the Adriatic after it.[14] [15]The thirteenth province they call Valeria. Nursia is attached to it, and it is situated between Umbria, Campania, and Picenus. In it are the cities of Tivoli, Carsioli, Rieti, Furcona,[16] and Amiternum;[17] also the region of the Marsians and their Lake Fucinus.[18] The fourteenth province of Italy they call Samnium, between Campania and the Adriatic Sea and Apulia, beginning from the Piscaria. It contains the cities of Chieti and Aufidena, and Isernia, which has fallen to ruin from old age;[19] also Samnium, from which the province has taken its name. The capital of

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[13] This province, described by Paul, did not exist.

[14] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiii. 16. 6.

[15–15] Terciam decimam . . . et Yonio alluitur (p. 260)] Cf. Paul the Deacon, *HL* ii. 20–2 (ed. Waitz, pp. 84–5).

[16] Aquila.

[17] San Vettorino.

[18] Lago di Celano.

[19] According to Paul the Deacon (*HL* ii. 20) it was Samnium, not Isernia, which was ruined ('Hisernia et antiquitate consumpta Samnium').

ditissima Beneuentus.[w] [20] Quintam decimam dicunt Appuliam, associata sibi Calabria, iuxta[x] quam est regio Salectina.[y] Hec ab occidente uel affrico habet Samnium et Lucaniam, a solis ortu mare Adriaticum. Hec habet ciuitates Lucaniam,[z] Sipontum, Carausiam,[a] Agerontium,[b] Acheronciam in monte sitam, Acalon quam Diomedes et Eolus condiderunt,[c] [21] Bruntusium, Tarentum, in sinistro cornu Italie[d] Ydruntum.[e] Sexta decima pars Italie Sicilia est, que Tirreno mari et Yonio alluitur,[15] et ab Italia modico freto separatur. [22]Septimam decimam Italie prouinciam Corsicam. Octauam decimam[f] Sardiniam dicunt, que utrimque Tirrenis fluctibus ambitur,[g] [22] a qua modico freto Corsica distinguitur, [23]a rege suo Corso, sicut Sardinia a[h] Sarde Herculis filio, nominata.[23] Hec ab *Ystoria Longobardorum* decerpsi. [24]Veteres enim ystoriografi Liguriam et[i] partes Venecie, Emiliam uero et Flamineam, Cisalpinam[j] Galliam appellauerunt.[k] Galli enim,[l] dum Italiam inuasissent, Ticinum[25] et Mediolanum, Pergamum Brixiamque construentes, Cisalpinam Galliam dixerunt.[24] Illiria uero regio est uicina Italie iuxta Adriaticum mare, Illiricusque sinus, Illirie portus; sed et Illiricum nonnumquam omnis Grecia nominatur.

De situ Rome[m] [26]

Italie caput est Roma, ut diximus, [27]ciuitas a Romulo constructa, Romani caput imperii, ad formam leonis ob insignem sui dominationem formata.[n] [27] [o]Hec post excidium Troie edificata anno

[w] Dicuntur autem Samnites a samnis, id est hastis Grece, quas ferre solent *add. after* Beneuentus *XQ* (*cf. Paul the Deacon, loc. cit.; σαύνιον = a javelin*) [x] intra *Paul the Deacon* [y] Silentina *I;* Salentina *Paul the Deacon* [z] Luceriam *I and Paul the Deacon* [a] Canusiam *I and Paul the Deacon* [b] Agerontium *om. I;* Agerentiam *Paul the Deacon* [c] Acheronciam . . . condiderunt] *supplied by author N* [d] I. miliaribus extenso, aptam mercimoniis *add. after* Italie *XQ* (*cf. Paul the Deacon, HL ii. 21*) [e] Idrimtum *N* [f] Corsicam. Octauamdecimam *supplied by author N* [g] utrimque . . . ambitur] utraeque . . . ambiuntur *Paul the Deacon* [h] a *supplied by author N* [i] et *XQ and Paul the Deacon;* ad *NI* [j] Cilsapinam *N* [k] Vnde Donatus gramaticus in expositione Virgilii Mantuam in Gallia dixit esse, et ystoria Romana dicit Ariminum esse in Gallia. Siquidem antiquissimo tempore Brennus, rex Gallie Senonensis, cum trecentis milibus Romam uenit (uertit *X*) Italiamque usque ad Senogalliam occupauit. Dum enim uinum ab Italia gustassent delatum (*sic Paul the Deacon;* delacium *X,* delatruti *Q*), auiditate uini illecti Italiam transierunt. Horum centum milia, non longe a Delfos insula preliantes (properantes *Paul the Deacon*), Grecorum gladiis extincti sunt; alia centum milia in Galaciam ingressa, primo Gallogreci, postea Galate dicti sunt *add. after* appellauerunt *XQ* (*cf. Paul the Deacon, HL ii. 23*) [l] enim *NI;* alii *XQ* [m] R. de situ Rome *written in margin by author N; no title in ACβ* [n] formatam *N* [o–o] Hec . . . fecit templum solis (*p. 262*)] *supplied by author N*

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[20] The sentence: 'Huius caput Barrum, ditissima Beneuentus' is a corrupt version of: 'et

this province is Bari, but its richest city is Benevento.[20] They call the fifteenth province Apulia; it forms a single province with Calabria, and the Salentine territory is nearby. This province has Samnium and Lucania to the west and south-west, and the Adriatic Sea to the east. It includes the cities of Lucera, Siponto, Canosa, Acerenza, Acherontia which is situated on a hill, Acalon which Diomedes and Aeolus founded,[21] Brindisi, Taranto, and Otranto on the left-hand horn of Italy. The sixteenth part of Italy is Sicily, which is washed by the Tyrrhenian and Ionian Seas,[15] and is separated from mainland Italy by a narrow strait. [22]The seventeenth province of Italy they call Corsica. The eighteenth they call Sardinia; Sardinia is surrounded on all sides by the waves of the Tyrrhenian Sea.[22] A narrow strait divides Sardinia from Corsica; [23]Corsica is named after Corsus, who ruled there, while Sardinia is named after Sardis, son of Hercules.[23] I have taken all this information from the *History of the Lombards*. [24]Earlier historians gave the name of Cisalpine Gaul to Liguria and parts of Venetia, along with Emilia and Flamminia. For when the Gauls invaded Italy, they built Ticinum[25] and Milan, Bergamo and Brescia, and called the region Cisalpine Gaul.[24] Illyria is the region adjoining Italy beside the Adriatic Sea; there is also the Illyrian Gulf, and the harbour of Illyria; sometimes, also, the whole of Greece is called Illyricum.

The Topography of Rome[26]

The capital of Italy, as we have said, is Rome. [27]The city was built by Romulus, and is laid out in the shape of a lion, as a reflection of its pre-eminent power as the capital of the Roman empire.[27] It was built

ipsa harum provinciarum caput ditissima Beneventus' ('and that most wealthy Benevento, the capital of these provinces') (Paul the Deacon, *HL* ii. 20). The scribe of *I*, who apparently had access to a another copy of the text of Paul, altered *Barrum* to *harum* but failed to change the rest of the sentence.

[21] The cities Acherontia and Acalon (presumably Ariano Irpino, the ancient Aequum Tuticum) were subsequently added by the author to his paraphrase of Paul the Deacon (see apparatus); for the founding of Aequum Tuticum by Diomedes, see e.g. Servius, *Commentarii*, ii. 201.

[22–22] Cf. Paul the Deacon, *HL* ii. 22 (ed. Waitz, p. 85).

[23–23] Cf. Paul the Deacon, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 41, 39.

[24–24] Veteres . . . Cisalpinam Galliam dixerunt] Cf. Paul the Deacon, *HL* ii. 23 (ed. Waitz, pp. 85–6).

[25] Pavia.

[26] *De situ Rome* appears as a separate title in the list of chapters which begins Book II, but here the text continues without interruption.

[27–27] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 26 (28) (ed. Flint p. 61 = *PL* clxxii. 129).

.cccxxxv.,[p] [28] secundum Salustium[29] ab Enea et Troianis sub incertis[q] sedibus uagantibus, secundum Virgilium[30] ab Euandro, secundum Eutropium[31] a Romulo, postquam inter pastores latrocinatus est octodecim annis. [32]Hanc ampliauit Tollius[r] Ostilius, adiecto monte Celio; post Ancus Marcius Aduentinum et Ianiculum adiecit; post Seruius Tullius adiecit tres montes, Quirinalem, Viminalem, et Esculinum, et fossam circa murum duxit; ad ultimum Aurelianus imperator ipsam[s] muris firmioribus cinxit, et fecit templum Solis.[o] [32] [33]Huius[t] caput est a ponte Tiberis usque ad primitiua Romuli menia, latera utrimque edificia palaciorum constructa, unde et Lateranis dicitur,[33] ubi palatium est, olim Constantini, nunc domini pape. Porro extra primam ciuitatis portam et municionem, uelut in continenti suburbio, est basilica sancti Petri, in qua pro dimidia parte corpora apostolorum Petri et Pauli sub altari maiori consignata sunt; altera uero pars utriusque sub altari in basilica sancti Pauli ad alteram urbis partem recondita perhibetur. [34]Habet ergo Roma formam, ut dixi, leonis, sicut Brundusium formam cerui, Cartago bouis, Troia equi.[34]

[35]Sane[u] murus ciuitatis Rome trecentas et sexaginta unam turres habet, castella quadraginta nouem, propugnacula sexties[v] nongenta,[w] portas duodecim sine Transtiberim, posterulas quinque; in ambitu eius uiginti quinque[x] miliaria,[36] excepto Transtiberim et ciuitate Leoniana.[35] Dicitur autem Tiberis Albula, quia niuibus fit albus.[y] [37]

[38]Suntque[z] he porte: porta Capetia,[a] que uocatur sancti Pauli, iuxta piramidem Remi, porta Appia, porta Latina, porta Triconia,[b] [39] porta

[p] ccc°xxxv (*with* iiii° *erased*) *N;* cccxxviii *AXQ;* cccxxix *I*   [q] incertis] montis *N*   [r] Tullus *I and Jerome*   [s] eam *XQ; om. I*   [t] Huius *supplied by author N*   [u] et *add. after* Sane *XQ*   [v] sexties *MSS;* .$\overline{\text{VI}}$. (*i.e.* 6000) *Mirabilia*   [w] nongenta *supplied by author N*   [x] .XXII. *Mirabilia*   [y] Dicitur autem Tyberis . . . albus] *supplied by author N; om. β*   [z] Suntque] sunt autem *β*   [a] Capena *Mirabilia*   [b] Mitrovi *Mirabilia*

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[28] The confusion in the MSS reflects the uncertainty that prevailed as to the date of the founding of Rome.

[29] Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*, 6.

[30] Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 313.

[31] Eutropius, *Breviarium*, i. 1.

[32–32] Hanc . . . fecit templum Solis] Cf. Comestor, *IV Reg.*, c. 33, Incidentia, c. 37, Incidentia, and c. 46, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1415, 1418, and 1427); Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 392, 404, 422, and 653–4.

[33–33] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit. Gervase is more specific concerning the lion's head than Honorius, who says simply: 'Huius caput est urbs a Romulo constructa' ('Its head is the city built by Romulus').

[34–34] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.

[35–35] Sane . . . et ciuitate Leoniana] Cf. *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, c. 1. Much of the rest of this chapter consists of a paraphrase and abbreviation of sections of this work, written c.1143, and attributed to Benedict, a canon of St Peter's. For a modern study, see D. Kinney, '*Mirabilia urbis Romae*', in *The Classics in the Middle Ages*, ed. A. S. Bernard and S. Levin, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, lxix (Binghampton, NY, 1990), 207–21. The edition of the *Mirabilia* by Valentini and Zucchetti contains full notes on the identity of the buildings referred to; see also L. Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore and London, 1992).

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335 years after the destruction of Troy.[28] According to Sallust,[29] it was built by Aeneas and the Trojans while they wandered with no permanent home; according to Virgil,[30] by Evander; according to Eutropius,[31] by Romulus, after he had lived as a brigand among shepherds for eighteen years. [32]Tullus Hostilius enlarged the city, adding the Caelian Hill; later Ancus Marcius added the Aventine and the Janiculum; later again Servius Tullius added three more hills, the Quirinal, the Viminal, and the Esquiline, and surrounded the city-wall with a fosse; finally, the emperor Aurelian enclosed the city within stronger walls, and built the temple of the Sun.[32] [33]The head of the lion is the area from the bridge over the Tiber to the earliest walls, built by Romulus, while its two sides (*latera*) are supplied by palace buildings; that is why the area containing the palace which once belonged to Constantine and is now the lord pope's is called the Lateran.[33] Outside the first gate of the city, not within the walls but in an adjoining suburb as it were, is the basilica of St Peter, in which half of the bodies of the apostles Peter and Paul are preserved under the high altar; the other half of each body is said to be buried under the altar in the basilica of St Paul, on the other side of the city. [34]Rome, then, as I have said, has the shape of a lion, just as Brindisi has the shape of a stag, Carthage that of an ox, and Troy that of a horse.[34]

[35]Now Rome's city-wall contains 361 towers, forty-nine forts, 5,400 battlements, twelve gates, not counting those in the district beyond the Tiber, and five posterns. The wall is twenty-five miles[36] in circumference, not including the Transtiberine district and the Leonine city.[35] The Tiber is also called the Albula because it goes white (*albus*) when it snows.[37]

[38]The following are the gates of Rome: the Porta Capena, which is called St Paul's Gate, near the pyramid of Remus, the Porta Appia, the Porta Latina, the Porta Metrovia,[39] the Porta Asinaria or Lateran

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[36] According to most versions of the *Mirabilia* and other medieval accounts, the circuit of the walls was twenty-two miles. It was in fact twelve; the mistake probably originated in a misreading of Pliny.

[37] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiii. 21. 27.

[38–38] Suntque . . . Aurea, porta Portuensis (p. 264)] Cf. *Mirabilia*, c. 2.

[39] This name 'went through what one would think was every possible permutation in the course of the Middle Ages' (Richardson, p. 304).

Asinaria Lateranensis, porta Lauicana que dicitur Maior, porta Taurina que dicitur sancti Laurencii uel Tiburtina, porta Numentina, porta Salaria, porta Pinciana, porta Flaminea, porta Collina ad castellum Adriani; porte Transtiberim quatuor[c] item: porta Septimana iuncta Iano,[40] porta Aurelia uel Aurea, porta Portuensis.[38]

Sane pontes nouem habet: [41]pontem Miluium, pontem Adrianum, pontem Neronianum, pontem Antoninum, pontem Fabricium, pontem Gracianum, pontem Senatorum, pontem marmoreum Theodosii, pontem Valentinianum.[41]

Sunt et arcus triumphales undecim: [42]arcus aureus Alexandri ad sanctum Celsum, arcus Theodosii et Valentiniani[d] et[e] Graciani imperatorum[f] ad sanctum Vrsum, arcus triunfalis foris portam Appiam ad templum Martis, arcus Titi et Vespasiani in circo, arcus Constantini iuxta amphitheatrum, arcus septem lucernarum Titi et Vespasiani[g] ad sanctam Mariam Nouam inter Panteon[h][43] et templum Romuli, arcus Cesaris et Senatorum[44] inter edem Concordie et templum Fatale, iuxta sanctum Laurencium in Lucina arcus triumfalis Octouiani, arcus iuxta illum qui dicitur Antonini, arcus ad sanctum Marcum qui uocatur Manus Carnea,[45] arcus Panis Aurei in Capitolio.[42]

f. 25r [46]Sunt et in urbe montes hii: mons Ianiculus, mons Auentinus qui et Quirinalis dicitur, mons Celius, mons Capitolinus, mons Pallanteus, mons Esculinus, mons Viminalis.[46]

Sunt et in urbe terme nouem: [47]therme Antoniane, therme Domiciane, therme Maximiane, therme Diocletiane, therme Tiberiane, therme Nouitiane, therme Olimpiadis, therme Agrippine, therme Alexandrine.[47] [i]Fuerunt et therme Simforiane, que ut beata Eugenia in earum foraminibus[j] missa fuit, omnino extincte fuerunt, ita quod de cetero calefieri nequeunt.[i][48] Dicuntur autem therme loca calentia, ut balnea uel aque calide uel domus unctionis.

[c] .III. *Mirabilia*
[d] Valentiniani *supplied by author N*
[e] et *om. XQ*
[f] imperatorum *supplied by author N*
[g] in Circo, arcus . . . Vespasiani (*sic XQ*; Vaspasiani *N*)] *supplied by author N*
[h] Pallanteum *Mirabilia*
[i–i] Fuerunt . . . cetero calefieri nequeunt] *supplied by author N*
[j] *sic MSS for* fornacibus

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[40] A Janus is 'a passageway, probably well down into imperial times . . . Later the word came to be applied to gateways, but perhaps always those that had closings at either end' (Richardson, p. 205).

[41–41] Cf. *Mirabilia*, c. 9.

[42–42] arcus . . . Aurei in Capitolio] Cf. *Mirabilia*, c. 3.

[43] The text of the *Mirabilia* has *Pallanteum* or *palatium* here, in either case referring to the Palatine, not the Pantheon.

[44] The arch of Septimius Severus, probably attributed to Julius Caesar and the Senators as a result of a misreading of its inscription; see *Mirabilia*, p. 19, n. 3.

Gate, the Porta Lavicana, which is known as the Greater Gate, the Porta Taurina, which is known as St Laurence's Gate or the Gate of Tivoli, the Porta Numentana, the Porta Salaria, the Porta Pinciana, the Porta Flamminia, and the Porta Collina by Hadrian's castle; there are also four gates beyond the Tiber: the Porta Septimiana linked to a Janus,[40] the Porta Aurelia or Golden Gate, and the Porta Portuensis.[38]

The city has nine bridges: [41]the Milvian Bridge, Hadrian's Bridge, the Neronian Bridge, the Antonine Bridge, the Fabrician Bridge, Gratian's Bridge, the Senators' Bridge, the Bridge of Theodosius (made of marble), and the Valentinian Bridge.[41]

There are also eleven triumphal arches: [42]the Golden Arch of Alexander by San Celso, the arch of the emperors Theodosius, Valentinian, and Gratian by Sant' Urso, the triumphal arch outside the Porta Appia by the temple of Mars, the Arch of Titus and Vespasian in the circus, the Arch of Constantine next to the amphitheatre, the arch of the seven-branched candlestick of Titus and Vespasian by Santa Maria Nuova between the Pantheon[43] and the temple of Romulus, the Arch of Caesar and the Senators[44] between the temple of Concord and the temple of Fate, the triumphal arch of Octavian next to San Lorenzo in Lucina, the arch near to it which is called the Arch of Antoninus, the arch by San Marco which is called the Hand of Flesh,[45] and the Arch of the Golden Bread on the Capitol.[42]

[46]There are the following hills in the city: the Janiculum, the Aventine which is also called the Quirinal, the Caelian, the Capitoline, the Palatine, the Esquiline, and the Viminal.[46]

There are also nine bath-houses in the city: [47]the baths of Antoninus, of Domitius, of Maximianus, of Diocletian, of Tiberius, of Novatius, of Olympias, of Agrippa, and of Alexander.[47] There were also the baths of Symphorius, but when the blessed Eugenia was consigned to their furnaces, they were extinguished so completely that they could never be heated again.[48] The word for baths, *thermae*, is used of various warm places, including bath-houses, hot springs, and massage parlours.

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[45] The story of how the soldier who scourged St Lucy was turned to stone except for his hand is told in the *Graphia aureae urbis* (ed. R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti, p. 81).

[46–46] Cf. *Mirabilia*, c. 4. The Aventine and the Quirinal are in fact different hills, while the Esquiline is not one of the seven hills, but is the general name given to the region containing Mons Oppius and Mons Cispius (*Mirabilia*, p. 20, n. 1; Richardson, p. 146, s.v. Esquiliae (1)).

[47–47] Cf. *Mirabilia*, c. 5; there the baths of Licinius are also mentioned.

[48] St Eugenia was said to have been thrown into the furnaces of the *thermae Severianae*, built by Septimius Severus; see the anonymous *Vita S. Eugeniae*, c. 29 (*PL* lxxiii. 620).

[49]Sunt et in urbe palatia hec: palatium Maius in Pallanteo, palatium Seueri, palatium Claudii, palatium Constantini, palatium Susurianum, palatium Volusianum, palatium Romuleanum, palatium Traianum, palatium Traiani et Adriani ubi est columpna, palatium Constantii, palatium Salustii, palatium Camilli, palatium Antonini ubi est columpna, palatium Neronis ubi est sepulcrum Iulii Cesaris, palatium Octouiani. In palatio Romuliano sunt due edes, Pietatis et Concordie, ubi posuit Romulus statuam suam auream, dicens:[k] 'Non cadet donec uirgo pariat.' Statim[l] ut uirgo peperit, illa corruit.[49]

[50]Sunt et in urbe theatra hec: theatrum Titi et Vespasiani[m] ad catacumbas, theatrum Tarquinii et Imperatorum ad Septem Solium[50] (de quo Ouidius: 'Regia solis erat'),[51] [52]theatrum[n] Pompei ad sanctum Laurentium in Damasco, theatrum Antonini iuxta pontem Antoninum,[o] theatrum Alexandri iuxta sanctam Mariam Rotundam, theatrum Neronis iuxta castellum Crescencii, theatrum Flammineum.[52]

[53]Porro columpna Antonini coclidis habet in altum pedes centum septuaginta quinque, gradus numero ducentos tres, fenestras quadraginta quinque. Colossus[p] amphiteatrum[q] habet in altum pedes submissales centum nouem.[r] Columpna Traiani coclidis habet in altum pedes centum triginta et octo, gradus centum octoginta quinque, fenestras quadraginta quinque.[53]

[54]Sunt et in urbe cimiteria: cimiterium Calepodii ad sanctum Pancratium, cimiterium sancte Agate ad Girolum,[s] [55] cimiterium Vrsi, cimiterium sancti Felicis, cimiterium Calixti iuxta catacumbas, cimiterium Pretextati inter[t] portam Appiam et[u] sanctum Appollinarem, cimiterium Gordiani[v] foris portam Latinam, cimiterium inter duos[w] lauros ad sanctam Elenam, cimiterium ad Vrsum Pilleatum ad sanctam Babianam,[x] cimiterium in agro Verano[y] ad sanctum Laurencium,[z] cimiterium sancte Agnetis, cimiterium fontis sancti Petri, cimiterium Priscille ad pontem Salarium,[a] cimiterium Cucumeris,[b] cimiterium Trasonis ad sanctum Saturninum, cimiterium sancte Felicitatis, cimiterium Pontianum iuxta cimiterium Calixti,

[k] auream dicens] dicens auream *N* [l] et *add. before* statim *β* [m] *sic XQ*; Vaspasiani *N* [n] theatrum *supplied by author N* [o] Antonini *Mirabilia* [p] Coliseum *Mirabilia* [q] amfiteantrum *N* [r] .CVIII. *Mirabilia* [s] Girolum *Mirabilia;* titulum *MSS* [t] inter] iuxta *C and Mirabilia* [u] et] ad *Mirabilia* [v] Gordiani *Mirabilia;* concordianum *MSS* [w] duas *CQ* [x] Bivianam *Mirabilia* [y] Verano *supplied by author N* [z] Laurencium] laurum *NI* [a] Solarium *NXQ* [b] Cucumeris *supplied by author N*

[49–49] Sunt . . . peperit, illa corruit] Cf. *Mirabilia*, c. 6. The word *palatium*, at first used of an imperial residence, came to mean any large and impressive building.

[49]There are also the following palaces in the city: the Great Palace on the Palatine, the palace of Severus, the palace of Claudius, the palace of Constantine, the Sessorian Palace, the Volusian Palace, the palace of Romulus, the palace of Trajan, the palace of Trajan and Hadrian where Trajan's column stands, the palace of Constantius, the palace of Sallust, the palace of Camillus, the palace of Antoninus where his column stands, the palace of Nero where Julius Caesar's tomb is, and the palace of Octavian. In the palace of Romulus there are two temples, dedicated to Piety and Concord. Here Romulus set up a golden statue of himself, saying: 'It will not fall until a virgin gives birth.' As soon as the Virgin gave birth, it fell to the ground.[49]

[50]There are also the following theatres in the city: the theatre of Titus and Vespasian near the catacombs, the theatre of Tarquin and the Emperors at the Seven Floors[50] (of which Ovid said: 'It was the royal palace of the sun'),[51] [52]the theatre of Pompey by San Lorenzo in Damascus, the theatre of Antoninus beside the Antonine Bridge, the theatre of Alexander beside Santa Maria Rotonda, the theatre of Nero beside the tomb of Crescentius, and the Flamminian theatre.[52]

[53]The winding column of Antoninus is 175 feet high, and has 203 steps and 45 windows. The amphitheatre known as the Colosseum is 109 submissal feet high. The winding column of Trajan is 138 feet high, and has 185 steps and 45 windows.[53]

[54]The city also contains cemeteries: the cemetery of Calepodius by San Pancrazio, the cemetery of St Agatha by the Girolus,[55] the cemetery of Ursus, the cemetery of St Felix, the cemetery of Calixtus near the catacombs, the cemetery of Praetextatus between the Porta Appia and San Apollinare, the cemetery of Gordianus outside the Porta Latina, the cemetery between the two laurels by Santa Helena, the cemetery at Ursus Pileatus by Santa Bibiana, the cemetery in the Campo Verano by San Lorenzo, the cemetery of St Agnes, the cemetery of St Peter's Fountain, the cemetery of Priscilla by the Salarian Bridge, the cemetery of Cucumer, the cemetery of Thraso by San Saturnino, the cemetery of St Felicity, the cemetery of Pontius

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[50–50] Cf. *Mirabilia*, c. 7.

[51] Ovid, *Met.* ii. 1.

[52–52] Cf. *Mirabilia*, loc. cit.

[53–53] Porro . . . fenestras quadraginta quinque] Cf. *Mirabilia*, c. 14.

[54–54] Sunt . . . Ciriaci uia Hostiense (p. 268)] Cf. *Mirabilia*, c. 10.

[55] The Girolus was the circus of Gaius and Nero (see *Mirabilia*, p. 24, n. 8; Richardson, p. 83); the unfamiliar word underwent corruption, appearing as *titulum* in the MSS of the *Otia*.

cimiterium sancti Hermetis et Domicille, cimiterium sancti Ciriaci uia Hostiense.[54]

Quia uero basilica sancti Petri ad consecrationem domini pape et imperatoris speciali sue dignitatis prerogatiua pertinet, ut illic successor Petri, uicarius autem Cristi, potestatem clauium Petro datam recipiat et ex Constantini munere[56] diademate imperiali coronetur, ubi executor Christi et[c] apostolorum, imperator terrenus, corona insignitur, aliquantulum de situ et constructione ipsius basilice preloquamur. [57]Infra palatium ergo Neronianum est templum Apollinis, quod modo dicitur sancta Petronilla, ante quod est basilica dicta Vaticanum, ex mirifico opere museo auro et[d] uitro laqueata.[e] Dicitur autem Vaticanum quia illic uates, id est sacerdotes Apollinis, sua canebant officia coram templo Apollinis. Est et ibi aliud templum, quod erat Neronis[f] uestiarium; nunc dicitur sanctus Andreas. Iuxta quod est Iulia petra,[58] hoc est petra tumularis in qua cinis Iulii Cesaris reconditus est, cuius memoria tabulis ereis et deauratis litteris latinis depicta fuit[57] solempniter super epistilium lapidis Numidici.[g] Olla lapidibus preciosis ornata cinerem continet et hanc scripturam metricam coriiambicam:

[59]Cesar, tantus eras[h] quantus et orbis,
Sed nunc in modico clauderis antro.[59]

[i]Hoc quoque disticum:[j]

[60]Si lapis est unus, dic qua fuit arte leuatus.
Si lapides plures, dic ubi contigui.[i] [60]

[61]In paradiso sancti Petri[62] est tantarum[k] quod fecit Symacus papa, columpnis porferiticis ornatum, tabulis marmoreis cum grifonibus contextum, cum floribus et delphinis ereis et deauratis aquam fundentibus. In medio tantari[l] est pinea erea, que fuit operculum,

[c] et *om. XQ* [d] et | et *N* [e] laqueata *supplied by author N* [f] Neronis *supplied by author N* [g] lapidis Numidici *supplied by author N* [h] eras] erat *NX* [i–i] Hoc . . . dic ubi contigui] *supplied by author N* [j] id est uaticinaticum *written by author in fainter ink above* disticum *N* [k] cantharum *Mirabilia* [l] canthari *Mirabilia*

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[56] Cf. *Otia*, Preface, n. 36.

[57–57] Infra . . . latinis depicta fuit] Cf. *Mirabilia*, c. 19.

[58] The obelisk popularly called St Peter's Needle; in the Middle Ages it was believed that the bronze ball on top contained the ashes of Julius Caesar.

[59–59] Cf. *Mirabilia*, loc. cit. These two lines form the beginning of a lament written on the death of the emperor Lothar I: see P. and J. Ballerinus, *Disquisitiones de antiquis collectionibus* (*PL* lvi. 158); cf. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ii. 194 (ed.

beside the cemetery of Calixtus, the cemetery of St Hermes and Domitilla, the cemetery of St Ciriacus on the Ostian Way.[54]

Let us now say a little about the position and construction of the basilica of St Peter, since by the special prerogative of its rank it is the place assigned for the consecration of the lord pope and of the emperor; for it is fitting that the one who is Peter's successor and the vicar of Christ should receive the power of the keys, which was given to Peter, and be crowned with the imperial diadem, bestowed by the Donation of Constantine,[56] in the place where the earthly emperor, delegate of Christ and the apostles, is glorified with his crown. [57]Within the palace of Nero, then, is a temple of Apollo which is now called Santa Petronilla. In front of this is the basilica called the Vatican, adorned with a mosaic ceiling, wonderfully wrought in gold and glass. It is called the Vatican because the *uates*, that is, the priests of Apollo, used to sing their offices there in front of the temple of Apollo. There is also another temple there which was once Nero's Wardrobe; it is now called Sant' Andreas. Beside it is the Julian Stone,[58] that is, the stone tomb in which Julius Caesar's ashes are sealed. A tribute to him was splendidly inscribed in gilded Latin letters on bronze tablets[57] upon the architrave of Numidian marble. The jar containing the ashes is adorned with precious stones, and inscribed with these words in the choriambic measure:

[59]Caesar, your greatness reached to the ends of the earth,
But now you are contained in a little box.[59]

There is also this distich:

[60]If one, tell by what art this stone was raised on high.
If more than one, tell where their joints do lie.[60]

[61]In St Peter's Parvis[62] is a basin which Pope Symmachus built. It is decorated with columns of porphyry, linked by marble slabs carved with griffins; there are flowers and dolphins of gilded bronze from which water pours out. In the middle of the basin is a bronze pine-cone, which, overlaid with golden sesame seeds (that

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R.A.B. Mynors *et. al.* (2 vols., OMT, 1998–9), i. 346), where the same lines are referred to the emperor Henry III. Liebrecht (pp. 87–8) cites other similar epitaphs.

[60–60] This couplet only appears in later versions of the *Mirabilia*, where it is said to have been inscribed in Greek letters; see *Mirabilia Romae*, ed. G. Parthey (Berlin, 1869), p. 15.

[61–61] In paradiso . . . iuxta Iuliam petram (p. 270)] Cf. *Mirabilia*, loc. cit.

[62] The court in front of the basilica was called St Peter's Paradise: hence the word 'parvis' (see *OED*, s.v.).

cum sisimo[m] aureo[n] (hoc est pomo)[o][63] superstratum, ad honorem[p] Cibeles matris deorum, constructum[q] in foramine Pantheon. In hanc pineam subterranea[r] fistula plumbea subministrabat aquam indigentibus quasi per foramina nucum, et quadam fistula duce aqua fluebat ad balnea imperialia iuxta Iuliam petram.[61]

Rome papalis sedes est, quinque habens ecclesias patriarchales; [64]suntque episcopatus cardinales et speciales[s] eius isti: Ostiensis, Portuensis, Albanensis, Prenestinus,[t] Sabinensis, Tusculanus, Tiburtinus,[64] Reatinus.

Proxima urbi Tuscia est, ut diximus, [65]a thure et sacrificiis dicta,[65] in qua ciuitas Pise et fluuius Alfeus iuxta Pisas.[u][66] Exhinc [67]Campania, a ciuitate Capua, que a Capuo[v] rege constructa est,[67] et[w] a meridie mari nostro iungitur. Habet autem Campania uersus boream f. 25v Appulliam, | in qua est ciuitas Beneuentum. Sane, ut diximus, Appulia mari Adriatico pro media sui parte cingitur. Freto uero Adriatico diuiduntur Tauromenitani Sicilie a Bruciis Italie. Post Campaniam et Italiam est [68]Ymbria, ab ymbribus dicta, quod ymbribus tempore diluuii superfluit.[x] Est et post illam[y] Etrusca, ab Eutrusco rege dicta, cuius fines usque Tiberis ripam protenduntur.[z] Est et Longobardia, a longis barbis[a] dicta,[68] inter montes qui Tusciam a Lumbardia[b] diuidunt et Alpes[c] Penninas. Est Lombardia, que et Emelia, quasi dimidium Italie uel umbilicus; *emi-* enim dimidium sonat, unde emisperium, et proportio emiolia,[d] id est sesqualtera,[e] inter ternarium et binarium, continens totum et eius alteram partem. Lombardia a meridie mari nostro, a borea mari Adriatico terminatur, cuius inicium Verona, finis Ianua; meditullium Mediolanum tenet[f] et Papia. Huic a borea uelut insulam facit [69]Venecia, ab Aueto[g] rege

[m] sisinio *XI;* sinnio *Mirabilia*
[n] aureo] aereo et deaurato *Mirabilia*
[o] hoc est pomo *supplied by author N; om. Mirabilia*
[p] superstratum ad honorem] super statuam *Mirabilia*
[q] constructum *om. Mirabilia*
[r] subterraneam *N*
[s] speciales *supplied by author N*
[t] Penestrinus *Q and PR*
[u] in qua ciuitas . . . Pisas] *supplied by author N; om. β*
[v] Capi *I and Honorius*
[w] et *supplied by author N*
[x] superfuit *I and Honorius*
[y] eam *β*
[z] cuius fines usque . . . protenduntur] *supplied by author N*
[a] bardis *N*
[b] a Lumbardia (Longo- *AI*) *NACI;* ac (hanc *X*) Longobardiam *XQ*
[c] et Alpes *supplied by author N*
[d] eimolia *N*
[e] *sic NQI for* sesquialtera
[f] tenent *XQ*
[g] ab Aueto *NQ;* ab Eueto *X;* ab Aneto *I;* a Beneco *Honorius*

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[63] Here Gervase attempted to make sense of a corruption in his copy of the *Mirabilia*, supplying *hoc est pomo* to explain the word *sisimo*, which he may have taken to be a form of *sesamum* or *sisamum* ('sesame'). The text of the *Mirabilia* has *sinnio*, from the Greek *σινίον* ('sieve').

is, a kind of fruit),[63] once served as a covering, set in the opening of the Pantheon, in honour of Cybele, mother of the gods. A lead pipe running underground into this pine-cone supplied water to all who wanted it through holes in the points, as it were; water was also conducted by a pipe to the imperial baths near the Julian Stone.[61]

The papal see is in Rome. It has five patriarchal churches, and [64]the following sees, whose bishops are cardinals, are subject to it alone: Ostia, Porto, Albano, Palestrina, Sabina, Tusculum, Tivoli,[64] and Rieti.

The province nearest the city is Tuscany, as we have said, [65]which takes its name from *tus* (frankincense), and *sacrificia* (sacrifices).[65] It contains the city of Pisa, and the river Alpheus which flows past Pisa.[66] Then there is [67]Campania, named after the city of Capua, which was built by King Capys;[67] to the south Campania borders on our sea. North of Campania lies Apulia, which contains the city of Benevento. Now, as we have said, Apulia is half-surrounded by the Adriatic Sea; and it is a strait of the Adriatic which divides the people of Taormina in Sicily from the people of Bruttium in Italy. Beyond Campania and Italy lies [68]Umbria, which takes its name from *imbres* (rain), because it was deluged with rain at the time of the flood. And after Umbria comes Etruria, so-called after King Etruscus; its territory extends as far as the bank of the Tiber. There is also Lombardy (*Longobardia*), so-called from the people's long beards (*longi bardi*),[68] lying between the mountains which divide Tuscany from Lombardy, and the Pennine Alps. Lombardy, also called Emilia, is as it were the half-way-point or navel of Italy; for ἡμι- means half, whence we get hemisphere, and the hemiolic proportion, that is, the *sesquialter*, or proportion of three to two, giving one and a half. Lombardy is bounded to the south by our sea, and to the north by the Adriatic; it begins at Verona, and ends at Genoa, while Milan and Pavia occupy the centre. To the north of Lombardy is [69]Venetia, forming what is virtually an island. It is named after King Benetus: it

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[64–64] Cf. *PR* 1–7 (ed. Weidenbach, p. 264); there Rieti is omitted, appearing later under the duchy of Spoleto (p. 265).

[65–65] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 26 (28) (ed. Flint p. 61 = *PL* clxxii. 129); Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 86, xiv. 4. 20 and 22; Paul the Deacon, *HL* ii. 16 (ed. Waitz, p. 82).

[66] Pisa in fact stands on the Arno, but was founded from Pisa in Elis, which was on the Alpheus, the chief river of the Peloponnese (Virgil, *Aen.* x. 179).

[67–67] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xv. 1. 54.

[68–68] Ymbria . . . longis barbis dicta] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 21–2; Paul the Deacon, *HL* ii. 16 (ed. Waitz, p. 82). For the story of how the *Longobardi* got their name, see below, ii. 10, n. 13.

[69–69] Venecia . . . mari Venetorum inmergitur (p. 272)] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.

dicta, prius tamen Bouetia,[h] postea Venecia nominata. Hanc Italie partem Padus, qui et Eridanus, irrigat, a Penninis[i] montibus erumpens, et mari Venetorum inmergitur.[69] Dicuntur autem Pennini a Pennico rege,[70] qui eas[j] [71] primus transcendit.

ix. *Tituli particulares*[a]

Nunc Europe flamines et archiflamines et ciuitatum suarum nomina subiungamus, quarum potestatem Romana noscitur ecclesia tenere, quia ipsarum familiarior est noticia.

De Pollonia[b]

[1]Pollonia archiepiscopum habet Kenesensem,[c] et hic habet suffraganeos Wredicilitensem uel Wransliuiensem,[d] Lubicensem, Cuiauiensem, Plocensem, Gracobiensem,[e] Poznaniensem, Mazouiensem, Pomeraniensem.[1]

De Bulgaria[f]

Hi sunt archiepiscopi Bulgarie: [2]Tornouiensis primas, Velesbudiensis, Prostlauiensis. Episcopi uero Bulgarie sunt hii: Scopiensis, Pizriensis, Budiensis, Lomsiensis, Brunziberensis.[2]

De Sclauonia[g]

[3]Sclauonia habet archiepiscopum[h] Ragusinum; huius sunt suffraganei[i] Stagnensis, Bossenensis, Tribuniensis, Catarinensis, Rosensis, Biduanensis. Item Sclauonia habet Arciuanensem[j] archiepiscopum, qui[k] habet hos suffraganeos: Dulchernensem, Suacinensem, Dunastensem,[l] Polatensem, Scodunensem, Arbanensem, Sardanensem uel Scutarensem.[3]

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[h] Benetia *Honorius* [i] ab Apenninis *Honorius* [j] eos *A* (*presumably a scribal correction*)

[a] Tituli particulares *I;* De Popullonia *deleted, and* R. de Europa *written in margin by author N; no heading XQ* [b] De Pollonia *Aβ, C* (*before* Nunc *above*)*;* R. de Pollonia *inserted in space at end of preceding line by author N;* ex archiuis domini pape *written in margin by rubricator N* [c] Keuesensem *N* [d] Wratislauiensem *PR* [e] Cracobiensem *N* [f] De (De *om. I*) Bulgaria *ACβ;* Bulgaria *written in margin by rubricator N* [g] De (De *om. A*) Sclauonia *ACXQ; om. I;* R. Sclauonia *written in margin by author N* [h] archiepiscopum *β;* duos archiepiscopos *NAC* [i] Ragusinum (Rug- *X*) . . . suffraganei] *om. N* [j] *sic β;* Arciuaren- *NAC;* Antiuaren- *PR* [k] Item (Sclauonia habet *om. I*) . . . qui] *β;* Arciuarensis archiepiscopus *NAC* [l] Disinatensem *N;* Diuastensem *PR*

was actually originally called Benetia, but subsequently became Venetia. The Po, also called the Eridanus, irrigates this part of Italy. It gushes down from the Pennine Mountains, and joins the sea[69] in the territory of the Venetians. The Pennines take their name from the Punic king[70] who was the first to cross them.[71]

9. *Various Headings*

Let us now go on to list the bishops and archbishops of Europe and the names of their cities. All these cities are known to be subject to the Church of Rome, for we have a fuller knowledge of the European cities.

Poland

[1]Poland has an archbishop at Gniezno, and he has as suffragans the bishops of Włocławek, Łowicz, Kwjawy, Płock, Kraków, Poznań, Masovia, and Pomerania.[1]

Bulgaria

These are the archbishops of Bulgaria: [2]the archbishop of Tirnova is the primate, and then there are the archbishops of Kjustendil and Preslav. The bishops of Bulgaria are these: Skopje, Priština, Budva, Nisch, and Kostolac.[2]

Slavonia

[3]Slavonia has an archbishop at Dubrovnik; his suffragans are Ston, Djacovika, Trebinje, Kotor, Portorož, and Vidin. Slavonia has another archbishop at Podgorica; he has the following suffragans: Ulcinj, Svac, Danj, Pulati, Scodra, Albanese, and Sardoniki or Shkodër.[3]

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[70] i.e. Hannibal, who crossed the Alps in 218 BC; cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 8. 13; Paul the Deacon, *HL* ii. 18 (ed. Waitz, p. 83). The name is properly derived from Penninus, a deity who was worshipped there.

[71] The feminine *eas* implies *Alpes Penninas*, even though the mountains have just been referred to as the *Penninis montibus*.

[1–1] Cf. *PR* 310–18 (ed. Weidenbach, p. 268).

[2–2] Cf. ibid. 936–43 (pp. 276–7).

[3–3] Sclauonia . . . Sardanensem uel Scutarensem] Cf. ibid. 284–97 (p. 268).

De Vngaria[m]

[4]Vngaria duos habet archiepiscopos: Strigoniensem, cuius hi sunt suffraganei: Aguensis,[n] Nitriensis, Waciensis, Iairiensis, Quinque Ecclesiarum,[o] Vesptimensis.[p] Secundus archiepiscopatus[q] Vngarie Soletensis;[r] huius sunt suffraganei Vltra Siluanensis, Zagabriensis, Waradiensis, Cenadiensis.[4]

De Ystria supra Mare[s]

[5]Ystria supra Mare habet patriarcatum Gradensem, cuius sunt suffraganei Castellanus, Torcellanensis[t] et Aquileiensis uel Esulanus, Caprulensis, Closensis,[u] Ciuitatis Noue.[5]

De Dalmacia[v]

[6]Dalmatia supra Mare habet Aquilegensem patriarcatum, cuius hi sunt suffraganei: Mantuanus, Cumanus, Tridentinus, Veronensis, Paduanus, Vincentinus, Teruisinus, Concordiensis, Senecensis,[w] Filittensis[x] et Belunensis (sed hi duo sunt coniuncti), Polanensis, Parentinus, Triestinus, Comaclensis, et de capite Ystrie Iustinopolitanus, Maranensis,[y] Ciuitatis Noue uel Emonensis.[6]

De Alemannia[z]

[7]Alemania habet sex[a] metropoles. Maguntinus habet hos suffraganeos: Pragensem, Motauiensem[b] uel Olomocensem, Ehistecensem, Erbipolensem uel Wizeburgensem, Constantiensem, Curiensem, Argentinus,[c] Spirensem, Warmatiensem, Verdensem, Ildesmensem, Alberstanensem, Paldeburgensem, Barabergensem[d] (qui est domini pape).[8] Coloniensis Alemannie archiepiscopus hos habet suffraganeos: Leodiensem, Traiectensem, Monasteriensem, Mondensem[e] uel Misinensem, Osemburgensem. Bremensis Alemannie archiepiscopus hos habet suffraganeos:[9] Barduicensem, Solesuicensem, Rasceburgensem, Alzemiensem, Michiliburgensem, Lubichensem, Rigensem

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[m] De (De *om. A*) Vngaria *ACXQ; om. I;* Hungaria *written between columns by rubricator N*
[n] Agrien- *PR*
[o] Ecclesianensis *β*
[p] Vespertiniensis *AI;* Vesprien- *PR*
[q] archiepiscopus *CXQ*
[r] Solocensis (Sollo- *X*) *AXQ;* Colocensis *PR*
[s] De (De *om. A*) Ystria supra Mare *AXQ; om. I;* R. Ystria supra Mare *written in margin by author N*
[t] Tor|torcellanensis *N*
[u] Elugien- *PR*
[v] De Dalmacia *CXQ;* Dalmatica supra Mare *A; om. I;* R. Dalmatia (*correcting* Hystria) supra Mare *written in margin by author N*
[w] Ceneten- *PR*
[x] Filterren- *PR*
[y] Mananensis *β*
[z] De (De *om. A*) Alemannia *ACXQ; om. I;* Allemannia *inserted in space at end of preceding line by rubricator N*
[a] .vii. *N*
[b] Morauiensem *PR*
[c] *sic MSS for* Argentinum
[d] Pambebergensem *PR*
[e] Mindensem *PR*

Hungary

[4]Hungary has two archbishops. The first is at Esztergom; his suffragans are these: Eger, Nitra, Vác, Györ, Pécs, and Veszprém. The second archbishop of Hungary is at Kalocsa; his suffragans are Gyulafehérvár, Zagreb, Várad, and Csanád.[4]

Istria-supra-Mare

[5]Istria-supra-Mare has a patriarchate at Grado. Its suffragans are Castello, Torcello and Equilio or Jesolo, Caorle, Chioggia, and Cittanova d'Istria.[5]

Dalmatia

[6]Dalmatia-supra-Mare has a patriarchate at Aquileia. Its suffragans are as follows: Mantua, Como, Trent, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, Concordia, Ceneda, Feltre and Belluno (these two being united), Pola, Parenzo, Trieste, Biben, Capodistria, Murano, and Città Nuova or Asola.[6]

Alemannia

[7]Alemannia has six metropolitan sees. Mainz has the following suffragans: Prague, Olomouc, Eichstätt, Würzburg, Konstanz, Chur, Strasbourg, Speyer, Worms, Verden, Hildesheim, Halberstadt, Paderborn, and Bamberg (which comes under the jurisdiction of the lord pope).[8] The archbishop of Cologne in Alemannia has the following suffragans: Liège, Utrecht, Münster, Minden, and Osnabrück. The archbishop of Bremen in Alemannia has the following suffragans:[9] Bardowick, Schleswig, Ratzeburg, Schwerin, Mecklenburg, Lübeck, and Riga. The archbishop of Magdeburg in Alemannia

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[4–4] Vngaria . . . Waradiensis, Cenadiensis] Cf. ibid. 298–309 (p. 268).

[5–5] Cf. ibid. 262–8 (p. 267).

[6–6] Dalmatia . . . Noue uel Emonensis] Cf. ibid. 243–61 (p. 267).

[7–7] Alemannia . . . Metensem, Tusidensem, Verdunensem (p. 276)] Cf. ibid. 319–68 (pp. 268–9).

[8] Some bishoprics were granted the privilege of exemption from the jurisdiction of a local metropolitan, and came under the direct authority of the pope. For the sort of factors and problems that might be involved, see R. A. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of Leon in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 24–5, 69, 71, 72–3, 75. After Bamberg, the *Provinciale* adds *Augustensem* (Augsburg).

[9] Bardowick was not a bishopric, though it was subsequently believed to have been founded as one by Charlemagne and later moved to Verden (see above under Mainz): *Lexikon des Mittelalters* i. 1459. The *Provinciale* gives *Michiliburgensem uel Czerinensem* (Mecklenburg or Schwerin) as a single bishopric (345); it seems likely that Gervase's *Alzemiensem* may be a corruption of *Czerinensem*.

uel Liuonensem. Maideburgensis Alemannie archiepiscopus hos
f. 26r habet suffraganeos: Halbeburgensem, | Bindeburgensem,[f] Misensem uel Misnensem, Monseburgensem,[g] Cicensem uel Numiburgensem. Salseburgensis Alemannie archiepiscopus hos habet suffraganeos: Paitauiensem, Ratisponensem, Fusiensem,[h] Gurezensem, Brixinensem.[10] Treuerensis archiepiscopus Alemannie hos habet suffraganeos: Metensem, Tusidensem,[i] Verdunensem.[7]

De Lombardia[j]

Lombardia duas habet metropoles.[k] [11]Mediolanensis archiepiscopus hos habet suffraganeos: Bergamensem, Brixiensem, Yppoziensem,[l] Cremonensem, Laudensem, Nouariensem, Vercellensem, Taurinensem, Astensem, Aquensem, Albensem, Terdonensem, [m]Saonensem, Albiganensem, Vigintimiliensem, Placentinum domini pape, Papiensem domini pape, Ferrariensem domini pape.[m] [11] Ianuensis hos habet suffraganeos: Bobiensem, Aprunacensem, Matanensem.[n] [12]

De ducatibus regni Vngarie[o]

Inter Vngariam et mare Adriaticum sunt duo archiepiscopatus, Iadrensis et Spalectensis, ad regem Vngarorum, ut dicunt,[p] de iure pertinentes nomine ducatuum.[q] [13]Iadrensis archiepiscopus[r] hos habet suffraganeos: Auxarensem, Veglensem, Arbensem, Nonensem uel Nouetensem, Chetbauensem,[s] Tunensem. Spalactensis archiepiscopus hos habet suffraganeos: Tragimensem,[t] Scardonensem, Croatensem.[13]

De prouincia Flaminea[u]

[14]In prouincia[v] Flaminea Rauennas archiepiscopus hos habet suffraganeos: Adriensem, Ariminensem,[w] Comaclensem, Sithocensem, Ceruinensem,[x] Foroliuiensem[y] uel Ypriensem, Foropopuliensem,[z]

[f] Bragdeburgensem *PR* [g] Menseburgensem *β*, Merseburgensem *PR* [h] Fulsiensem *XQ*, Frisingensem *PR* [i] Tullensem *Q*, Tulensem *I*, Tullenensem *PR* [j] De (De *om. AI*) Lombardia *ACβ*; R. Lombardia *written in margin by author N* [k] cum Sardinia et Corsica (Corsus *I*) secundum quedam capitula registri domini pape *add. after* metropoles *QI* [l] Ypponensem *XQ*, Ypporegiensem *I*, Iporiensem (*after* Vercellensem *below*) *PR* [m–m] Saonensem . . . Ferrariensem domini pape] *supplied by author N* [n] Maranensem *PR* [o] De ducatibus regni Vngarie *CXQ*; *om. NAI* [p] ut dicunt *om. β* [q] de iure . . . ducatuum] iure ducatuum pertinentes *β* [r] archiepiscopus *om. XQ* [s] Cherbanensem *Q*, Kerbauensem *PR* [t] Traguriensem *PR* [u] De prouincia Flaminea *CXQ*; Flaminea *AI*; R. Flaminea *written in margin by author N* [v] prountia *N* [w] Arminensem (*sic, written in margin*) *N* [x] Sithocensem, Ceruinensem] Sitoclensem (Sitocleim *I*),

has the following suffragans: Havelberg, Brandenburg, Meissen, Merseburg, and Zeitz or Naumberg. The archbishop of Salzburg in Alemannia has the following suffragans: Passau, Regensburg, Freising, Gurk, and Brixen im Thale.[10] The archbishop of Trier in Alemannia has the following suffragans: Metz, Toul, and Verdun.[7]

Lombardy

Lombardy has two metropolitan sees. [11]The archbishop of Milan has the following suffragans: Bergamo, Brescia, Ivrea, Cremona, Lodi, Novara, Vercelli, Turin, Asti, Acqui, Alba, Tortona, Savona, Albenga, Ventimiglia, Piacenza (under the lord pope), Pavia (under the lord pope), and Ferrara (under the lord pope).[11] Genoa has the following suffragans: Bobbio, Brugnato, and Mariana.[12]

The Duchies of the Kingdom of Hungary

Between Hungary and the Adriatic Sea there are two archbishoprics, Zadar and Split, belonging by right, so they say, to the king of Hungary, with the title of duchies. [13]The archbishop of Zadar has the following suffragans: Ossero, Krk, Rab, Nin, Krbava, and Knin. The archbishop of Split has the following suffragans: Trogir, Skradin, and Croatia.[13]

The Province of Flamminia

[14]In the province of Flamminia the archbishop of Ravenna has the following suffragans: Adria, Rimini, Comacchio, Sito, Cervia, Forlì,

Citochensem (Sitochensem *I*) uel Ceruinensem (Curruniensem *X*, Cerniensem *I*) *β* [y] Fororuliensem *X*, Foroiuliensem *QI* [z] Feropopuliensem *N*

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[10] After Brixen, the *Provinciale* has *Sequonensem* (Säben), *Kiemesemensem* (Chiemsee), *Lavendinensem* (Lavant), *Kemensem*, and *Seckoensem* (Seckau). The early medieval bishopric of Säben was moved to Brixen in the mid-tenth century; the rest were only created after Gervase had made his list.

[11–11] Mediolanensis . . . Ferrariensem domini pape] Cf. ibid. 224–42 (p. 267).

[12] Cf. ibid. 206–9 (p. 267). In the *Provinciale* Genoa is placed in Tuscany, not Lombardy.

[13–13] Iadrensis . . . Scardonensem, Croatensem] Cf. ibid. 269–83 (pp. 267–8). In the *Provinciale* these provinces follow Grado and its suffragans in 'Ystria sub mare'; *Signensem* (Zengg) is added to the suffragans of both Zadar and Split; *Arbensem* and *Nonensem* appear under Split as well as under Zadar; *Kerbauensem* and *Tiniensem* appear under Split, but not under Zadar.

[14–14] In prouincia . . . Reginensem, Parmensem (p. 278)] Cf. ibid. 210–23 and 68 (pp. 267 and 265). In the *Provinciale* Rimini is placed 'in Romania Rauennati' (p. 265). *Sitochensis* is not found in the *Provinciale*, or in Eubel or Gams.

Cesenatensem, Sartinensem, Fauentinum, Ymolensem, Bononiensem, Mutinensem, Reginensem, Parmensem.[14]

De Marchia[a] [15]

[16][b]In Marchia sunt hii episcopatus: Pessulanus,[c] Senogaliensis, Anconitanus,[d] Asculanus, Firmanus, Humanati, Asisinanus,[e] Osimensis,[f] Forosimphoriensis, Fanensis, Vrbinatensis, Callensis, Montisfeltri,[g] Camericensis, Pessariensis.[b] [16]

De Tuscia[h]

[17]Isti sunt episcopatus Tuscie: Sutrinus, Ciuitatensis, Ortensis, Amelinensis,[i] Narniensis, Balneoregensis, Vrbeuetensis, Viterbiensis uel Tuscanus, Clusinus, Suaniensis, Castrensis, Perusinus, Castellanus, Grossetanus, Vulteranus, Senensis, Aretinus,[j] Florentinus, Fessulanus, Pistoriensis, Lucanus, Lunensis.[k] [17] [18]Est et in Tuscia archiepiscopatus Pisanus, cuius suffraganei sunt hi: Massanensis, Anicensis,[l] Alaniensis,[m] [18] Sagonensis, [19]Tidurtinus, Fulignatensis, Egubinus, Nucretinensis, Spoletinus,[19] Perusinus.

De Marsia[n]

[20]Marsia hos habet episcopatus: Furconensem, Marsicanum, Valueum, Reatinensem,[o] Pennensem, Abrutinensem,[20] et Neposinum.

De Campania[p]

In Campania, terra domini pape, sunt episcopatus hi: [21]Signium, Anagnium, Ferentinum,[q] Aletrinensis,[r] Verulanensis, Terracinensis, Soranensis, Fundanus, Gagetanus.[21]

[a] De (De *om. I*) Marchia *Cβ; om. NA* [b–b] In Marchia . . . Camericensis, Pessariensis] *supplied by author N* [c] Pesulanus *Aβ* [d] Aconitanus *N* [e] Esinus vel Esinas *PR* [f] Auximanus *PR* [g] Montisfectri *N*, Feretranus *PR* [h] De (De *om. I*) Tuscia *Cβ; om. A;* in Thussia *written in margin by author N* [i] Amclinensis *N* [j] Arierinus *N* [k] Florentinus . . . Lunensis] *supplied by author N* [l] Aiacen- *PR* [m] Alerien- *PR* [n] De (De *om. AI*) Marsia *ACβ;* Marsia *inserted in space at end of preceding line by rubricator N* [o] Theatinus *PR* [p] De (De *om. I*) Campania *Cβ; om. A;* Campania *written in margin by rubricator N* [q] Ferentinum *supplied by author N* [r] Aetrinensis *N*, Alatrinus *PR*

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[15] i.e. the March of Ancona, now Marche.

[16–16] In Marchia . . . Camericensis, Pessariensis] Cf. ibid. 55–67 and 69 (p. 265). The

Forlimpopoli, Cesena, Sarsina, Faenza, Imola, Bologna, Modena, Reggio d'Emilia, and Parma.[14]

The March[15]

[16]In the March there are the following bishoprics: Pesulo, Senigallia, Ancona, Ascoli Piceno, Fermo, Umana, Jesi, Osimo, Fossombrone, Fano, Urbino, Cagli, Montefeltro, Camerino, and Pesaro.[16]

Tuscany

[17]These are the bishoprics of Tuscany: Sutri, Civita Castellana, Orte, Amelia, Narni, Bagnorea, Orvieto, Viterbo or Toscanella, Chiusi, Soana, Castro, Perugia, Città di Castello, Grosseto, Volterra, Siena, Arezzo, Florence, Fiesole, Pistoia, Lucca, and Luni.[17] [18]The archbishopric of Pisa is also in Tuscany. Its suffragans are as follows: Massa Marittima, Ajaccio, Aleria,[18] Sagona, [19]Todi, Foligno, Gubbio, Nocera, Spoleto,[19] and Perugia.

Marsia

[20]Marsia has these bishoprics: Forconi, Marsi, Valva-Sulmona, Rieti, Penne, Teramo,[20] and Nepi.

Campagna

In Campagna, the lord pope's land, there are the following bishoprics: [21]Segni, Anagni, Ferentino, Alatri, Veroli, Terracina, Sora, Fondi, and Gaeta.[21]

order differs in the *Provinciale;* also, Montefeltro is placed 'in Romania Rauennati' (cf. n. 14), and *Pessulanus* (whose identity is uncertain) is omitted.

[17–17] Isti . . . Pistoriensis, Lucanus, Lunensis] Cf. ibid. 23–44 and 52–3 (pp. 264–5). The *Provinciale* begins the list with *Nepesinus* (Nepi), which Gervase mistakenly places in Marsia, while *Ameliensis vel Amelinus* (Amelia) and *Narniensis* (Narni) appear 'in ducatu Spoletano (Umbria)' (p. 265).

[18–18] Cf. ibid. 202–5 (p. 267).

[19–19] Cf. ibid. 46–9 and 51 (p. 265); besides Amelia and Narni (see n. 17), the *Provinciale* includes *Asisinas* (Assisi), *Reatinus* (Reati), and *Iteramnensis* (Terni) with these bishoprics, 'in ducatu Spoletano'. *Sagonensis* does not appear in the *Provinciale; Perusinus* (*PR* 34; see above) is here mentioned by Gervase for the second time.

[20–20] Cf. ibid. 17–22 (p. 264). Gervase's *Reatinensem* is probably a mistake for *Cheatinensem* (Chieti; cf. n. 19); for Nepi, see n. 17. The see of Forconi was transferred to Aquila in 1256.

[21–21] Cf. ibid. 8–16 (p. 264). Gervase has mistakenly put the first three names into the accusative.

De Apulia[s]

In Appulia sunt quatuordecim[t] metropoles. [22]Cusanensis[u] Appulie metropolis hos habet suffraganeos: Motanensem,[v] Sarrianensem, Montis Viridensis, Laquedonensem. Aggerentinus Appulie metropolitanus hos habet suffraganeos: Potentinum, Tricinicensem,[w] Venusinum, Grauineum, Anglonensem. Tarentinus Appulie metropolitanus hos[x] habet suffraganeos: Mutulensem, Castulanensem. Ortane et Brundussine Appulie metropolis habet suffraganeum unicum, Astunensem.[y] Idruntinus Apulie metropolitanus hos habet suffraganeos: Castrensem, Gallipotanensem, Litinensem, Vgentinensem, Leucensem.[z] Barrensis Apulie metropolitanus hos habet suffraganeos: Botuntinensem, Melfetanensem, Iuuenaciensem,[a] Rubeniensem,[b] Salpenensem, Canensem,[c] Baruntinum,[d] Conuersanensem, Meneruinensem, | Polignanensem, Caterinensem, Lauellisensem. [e]Tranensis Appulie metropolitanus hos habet suffraganeos: Vigiliensem, Andrensem. Sipontinus habet unum suffraganeum, Vestanensem.[f][22] Est autem Sipontus ciuitas inter mare Adriaticum et montem Garganum, in quo monte ob insignia uestigiorum Michaelis archangeli ecclesia eius Appodoma[g] est[h] uocata, ubi celebris est eius memoria.[e][23] [24]Isti sunt quatuor episcopatus domini pape: Troianensis, Melfiensis, Monopolitanensis, Rapollensis. Beneuentanus habet suffraganeos Thelosinensem,[i] episcopatum sancte Agathe, Aliphiensem, Montis Marani,[j] Montis Coruini,[k] Auellinensem, Vicatium,[l] Arianensem, Biuanensem,[m] Asculensem, Licherinensem, Tortibulensem, Draconarensem, Vulturanus, Alarinensem, Ciuitatensem, Termolensem, Fuchentinum,[n] Teruentinum, Buuetinensem,[o] Wardiensem, Musanensem.[24]

f. 26v

De principatu Capue[p]

[25]Salernitanus[q] metropolitanus habet suffraganeos Capudaquensem, Policastrensem, Nusquitanensem, Sarnensem, Acerranensem,[r]

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[s] De (De *om. AI*) Apulia *ACXI; om. Q;* Apulia *inserted in space at end of preceding line by rubricator N*
[t] decem *XQ*
[u] *sic β;* Cusariensis *N,* Consanus *PR*
[v] Moranensem *PR*
[w] *sic X;* Tricinicensem *NI,* Triciriensem *Q*
[x] hos *om. N*
[y] *sic β;* Astiniensem *N*
[z] *sic β;* Leticensem *N*
[a] *sic I;* Iulietanensem *NXQ*
[b] *sic XQ;* Bustoniensem *N,* Berustoniensem *I*
[c] *sic I;* Camensem *NXQ*
[d] Betentinum *PR*
[e–e] Tranensis . . . est eius memoria] *transposed in β to follow* Rapollensis *below;* Est autem Sipontus . . . est eius memoria] *supplied by author N*
[f] Vestanensem *supplied by author N*
[g] Appodania *N,* Appodonia *Q*
[h] est *om. β*
[i] *sic I;* Thelofinensem *N*
[j] *sic β;* Maraui *N*
[k] *sic QI;* Cornuti *NX*
[l] Vicanum *PR*
[m] Boianensem *PR*
[n] Freqentinum *PR*
[o] *sic β;* Biuitiensem *N,* Bunnensem *PR*
[p] De principatu Capue *Cβ; om. NA*
[q] Palernitanus *N*
[r] Acerrranensem *N*

Apulia

In Apulia there are fourteen metropolitan sees. [22]The metropolitan see at Conza in Apulia has the following suffragans: Muro, Satriano, Monteverde, and Lacedonia. The metropolitan of Acerenza in Apulia has the following suffragans: Potenza, Tricarico, Venosa, Gravina, and Anglona. The metropolitan of Taranto in Apulia has these suffragans: Motula and Castellaneta. The metropolitan see of Oria and Brindisi in Apulia has a single suffragan, the bishop of Ostuni. The metropolitan of Otranto in Apulia has the following suffragans: Castro, Gallipoli, Lecce, Ugento, and Leuca. The metropolitan of Bari in Apulia has the following suffragans: Bitonto, Molfetta, Giovinazzo, Ruvo, Salpe, Canosa, Bitetto, Conversano, Minervino, Polignano, Cattaro, and Lavello. The metropolitan of Trani in Apulia has these suffragans: Bisceglie and Andria. Siponto has one suffragan, Vieste.[22] Now the city of Siponto lies between the Adriatic Sea and Monte Gargano. On this mountain there is a church of St Michael, called the Apodoma on account of the traces it contains of the archangel Michael's footsteps; his cult is celebrated there.[23] [24]The following four bishoprics come under the jurisdiction of the lord pope: Troia, Melfi, Monopoli, and Rapolla. Benevento has as suffragans Telese, Sant' Agata de' Goti, Alife, Montemarano, Montecorvino, Avellino, Trevico, Ariano, Boiano, Ascoli Puglia, Lucera, Tortiboli, Dragonara, Volturara, Larino, Città, Termoli, Frigento, Trivento, Bovino, Guardialfiera, and Musano.[24]

The Principality of Capua

[25]The metropolitan of Salerno has as suffragans the bishops of Capaccio, Policastro, Nusco, Sarno, Acerno, and Marsico Nuovo;

[22–22] Cusanensis . . . unum suffraganeum, Vestanensem] Cf. ibid. 101–39 (pp. 265–6). Under Conza, the *Provinciale* adds *S. Angeli* (S. Angelo or Siponto, 106), but Siponto also appears as an archbishopric (138), as in Gervase's list.

[23] i.e. the famous sanctuary of San Michele on Monte S. Angelo, on the promontory of the Gargano. St Michael was said to have appeared on this summit in 492, and indicated his wish to be venerated there. The name Apodoma probably derives from the Greek ἀπόδομα, a gift (cf. Num. 8: 13–21, LXX). By the seventh century, the grotto of San Michele had become one of the most celebrated pilgrimage spots of Italy. See G. Oltranto and C. Carletti, *Il santuario di S. Michele Arcangelo sul Gargano dalle origini al X secolo* (Bari, 1990).

[24–24] Isti . . . Wardiensem, Musanensem] Cf. ibid. 140–68 (p. 266). In the *Provinciale* the archbishop of Benevento and his suffragans are placed 'in terra laboris' (i.e. in the Terra di Lavoro), and *Florentinum* (Fiorenzuola) and *Lesinensem* (Lesina) are added to the list.

[25–25] Salernitanus . . . Suessanum, Venefranum, Aquinensem (p. 282)] Cf. ibid. 169–200 (pp. 266–7). In the *Provinciale* these five archbishoprics follow Benevento 'in terra laboris'.

Marsicensem; Rauellensis[s] est domini pape. Amalfitanus metropolitanus hos habet suffraganeos: Capritanum, Scalensem, Minorensem, Luteranum. Sorentinus metropolita hos habet suffraganeos: Lobiensem,[t] Equensem, Castelli Maris uel Stabiensem. Neapolitanus hos habet suffraganeos: Auersanensem, Nolanum, Puteolanum, Cumanum, Insulanum.[26] Capuanus habet suffraganeos Tianensem, Caluensem, Caliniensem,[u] Casertinum, Suessanum, Venefranum, Aquinensem,[25] Soranensem[v] domini pape.[27]

De Calabria[w]

In Calabria sunt quatuor metropoles. [28]Raginensis[x] archiepiscopus hos habet suffraganeos: Cassanensem, Neucastrensem, Catacensem,[y] Crotoniensem, Tropiensem, Oppensem, Bouensem, Gerotinensem,[z] Squillacensem, Milletensem domini pape.[a] Consentinus[b] habet suffraganeum unicum,[c] Mauturanensem.[d] Rosanensis caret suffrageneo. Sisigniacensis[e] est domini pape. Sancti[f] Seuerini[g] archiepiscopus hos habet suffraganeos: Ebriecensem, Senoniensem,[h] Geneocestrensem.[28]

De Sicilia[i]

In Sicilia sunt tres metropoles. [29]Panormitanus hos habet suffraganeos: Agrigentinensem, Mazarenensem,[j] Milcuitanensem.[k] Mons Regalis hos habet suffraganeos: Siracusanensem, Cataniensem. Messanensis duos habet suffraganeos: Ceffalonensem, Patensem. Episcopatus sancti Marci et[l] episcopatus Miletensis sunt domini pape.[29]

Nunc ad insulas occeani, que partes occeani Europam respiciunt, nos referamus.

De Dacia[m]

[30]Dacia ergo habet metropolitanum Lundensem, qui hos habet suffraganeos: Roschisdenensem,[n] Otheniensem, Slewicensem, Ripensem, Wibergensem,[o] Anisiensem,[p] Burgalauensem.[30]

[s] Ravellenensis *N* [t] Lobrensem *PR* [u] Calinulensem *PR* [v] Iserniensem *PR* [w] De Calabria *CXQ; om. AI;* R. de Calabria *written in margin by author N* [x] Reginensis *I*, Reginus *PR* [y] Catarensem *Q*, Catharensem *PR* [z] Cerotinum *N*, Geratinum *PR* [a] Catacensem . . . pape] *supplied by author N* [b] Cusentinus *PR* [c] habet . . . unicum] unum habet suffraganeum *XQ* [d] Marturanensem *PR* [e] Sisignianensis *β*, Bisigniensis *PR* [f] Sanctii (*with* ti *inserted above line*) *N* [g] Seuerine *PR* [h] Stroniensem *PR* [i] De Sicilia *CXQ; om. AI;* R. Sicilia *written in margin by author N* [j] *sic β;* Mazerenensem *N* [k] Milcratensem *β*, Mileuitanum *PR* [l] et *om. N* [m] De Dacia *A* (*before* Nunc *above*), *XQ; om. CI;* R. de Dacia *written in margin by author N*

Ravello is under the lord pope. The metropolitan of Amalfi has the following suffragans: Capri, Scala, Minori, and Lettere. The metropolitan of Sorrento has the following suffragans: Massalubrense, Vico Equense, and Castellammare di Stabia. Naples has the following suffragans: Aversa, Nola, Pozzuoli, Cuma, and Ischia.[26] Capua has as suffragans Teano, Calvi, Carinola, Caserta, Sessa, Venafro, Aquino,[25] and Isernia (under the lord pope).[27]

Calabria

In Calabria there are four metropolitan sees. [28]The archbishop of Reggio has the following suffragans: Cassano, Nicastro, Catanzaro, Crotone, Tropea, Oppido, Bova, Gerace, Squillace, and Mileto (under the lord pope). Cosenza has a single suffragan, Martirano. Rossano has no suffragans. Bisignano comes under the jurisdiction of the lord pope. The archbishop of Santa Severina has the following suffragans: Umbriatico, Strongoli, and Belcastro.[28]

Sicily

In Sicily there are three metropolitan sees. [29]Palermo has the following suffragans: Agrigento, Mazara del Vallo, and Malta. Monreale has these suffragans: Syracuse and Catania. Messina has two suffragans, Cefalù and Patti. The bishopric of San Marco and the bishopric of Mileto come under the jurisdiction of the lord pope.[29]

Now let us turn our attention to the islands of the ocean, that is, the parts of the ocean which face Europe.

Denmark

[30]Denmark, then, has a metropolitan at Lund, whose suffragans are as follows: Roskilde, Odense, Schleswig, Ribe, Viborg, Aarhus, and Børglum.[30]

[n] *sic A;* Boschisdensem *NXQ*, Boschidensem *I*, Roschildensem *PR* [o] Vibergensem *XQ* [p] Arussensem *PR*

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[26] The *Provinciale* adds *Acerranum* (Acerra) after Ischia.

[27] Sora has already been mentioned in the list of Campanian bishoprics; it seems likely, therefore, that Gervase's *Soranensem* is an error for *Iserniensem* (Isernia), which ends this list in the *Provinciale* (201).

[28–28] Raginensis . . . Senoniensem, Geneocestrensem] Cf. ibid. 82–99 (p. 265). The *Provinciale* adds *Gerontinum* (Cerenza) at the end (100).

[29–29] Panormitanus . . . sunt domini pape] Cf. ibid. 70–81 (p. 265).

[30–30] Cf. ibid. 547–54 (p. 271).

De Noruehia[q]

[31]Norueia habet metropolitanum Nidrosiensem, et hic habet suffraganeos Bergensem, Stauiangrensem,[r] Hamarcopensem, Haslouensem, Harcadensem,[31] Subtrahiensem.

De Suecia[s]

[32]Suesia insula inter Daciam et Norueiam habet archiepiscopum Ubsalensem, cuius suffraganei[t] Agunstensis[u] uel Asuisensis, Strawiganensis, Lingacopensis, Scarensis.[32]

x. *De partibus Europe occidentalibus*

Explicuimus partes Europe a montibus Rifeis ac flumine Tanay Meotidisque paludibus per partes septentrionales a termino occeani usque ad flumen Renum et ab Alpibus Penninis usque ad mare Adriaticum et Tirrenum et Yonium ([1]quorum alterum a Tyras filio Iafech, a quo Traces exorti sunt, quasi Tyraces, Tyrrenum dicitur; quod Greci Yonium, Itali Inferum nominant. Vnde Tirrenia, pars Italie Etruria, ubi quoque Tiberis descendit in mare, quia illic habi-[a] | f. 30r tasse fertur Tyrus Lidii frater.[1] Tyrrenium[b] nuncupatur, uel Tyrrenum, quia multas interluit terras). Nunc ad Europe partes quas Alpes et flumen Reni et mare hoc nostrum et occidentalis occeanus terminant explicemus.

In hiis Gallia prius occurrit, [2]a candore sic dicta: *galla* enim Grece Latine lac sonat.[2] Hinc est illud Ieronimi in *Vita Beati Ylarionis*: 'Candidatus Constantini imperatoris,[3] rutilus coma, et candore corporis indicans prouinciam, ab infancia demone obsessus est. Inter Saxones quippe et Alemannos gens eius, non tam lata quam

[q] De Noruehia *C; om. AXI;* R. de Norueia *written in margin by author N*, De Norueia *written in margin Q* [r] Stama- *ACβ* [s] De Suecia (Sueuia *A*, Seucia *X*) *written in margin Q*; *om. I;* R. de Suetia *written in margin by author N* [t] sunt *add. after ACXQ; om. I;* R. de Suetia ... suffraganei *AXQ, before* suff. *C* [u] August- *ACβ*, Agurien- *PR*

[a] *Here the reader of N is directed by a marginal note to a sign, which appears on f. 30; this folio, inserted at the middle of the gathering, is written in the hand of the author; see above, p. lxxix* [b] Tyrrenum *N*, Tirrenum *QI*

[31–31] Cf. ibid. 555–60 (p. 271). The *Provinciale* omits *Subtrahiensem*, but adds four other suffragans (561–4).

[32–32] Cf. ibid. 565–9 (pp. 271–2).

[1–1] quorum . . . Tyrus Lidii frater] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 6 and 22, xiii. 16. 2 and 7, xiv. 3. 43; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 24 (26) (ed. Flint p. 60 = *PL* clxxii. 128); Josephus, *Ant.* i. 125; Gen. 10: 2; Solinus, *Collect.* xxiii. 14; *Otia*, ii. 7, at n. 44.

Norway

[31]Norway has a metropolitan at Trondheim; he has as suffragans Bergen, Stavanger, Hamar, Oslo, Orkney,[31] and Hebrides.

Sweden

[32]The island of Sweden between Denmark and Norway has an archbishop at Uppsala, whose suffragans are Västerås, Strängnäs, Linköping, and Skara.[32]

10. *The Western Parts of Europe*

We have dealt with the area of Europe from the Rhiphaean Mountains, the river Don, and Lake Maeotis, through the northern region, from its boundary at the ocean to the river Rhine, and from the Pennine Alps to the Adriatic, Tyrrhenian, and Ionian seas. ([1]The second of these seas is called the Tyrrhenian after Tiras, son of Japheth, from whom the Thracians, or rather, Tiracians, are descended; this sea is called the Ionian Sea by the Greeks, and the Lower Sea by the Italians. The part of Italy known as Etruria, where the Tiber flows down to the sea, is also called Tyrrhenia, because it is reported that Tyrus, the brother of Lydius, lived there.[1] The name Tyrrhenian may also come from the fact that this sea washes many lands (*terras*).) Let us now treat of the parts of Europe which are bounded by the Alps, the river Rhine, this sea of ours, and the western ocean.

First in this region comes Gaul, [2]so-called from the whiteness of its people: for γάλα in Greek corresponds to the Latin *lac*, meaning milk.[2] This explains a remark of Jerome's in his *Life of the Blessed Hilarion*: 'A *candidatus* of the emperor Constantius[3] was possessed by a demon from infancy. He had red hair, and one could tell what province he came from by the whiteness of his body. His people occupy the country between the Saxons and the Alemanni; they are not very widespread, but they are mighty. Called Germans by the

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[2–2] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 26 (28) (ed. Flint p. 62 = *PL* clxxii. 129); Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 104 and xiv. 4. 25.

[3] i.e. Constantius II, emperor of the east from 337, sole emperor 350–61; Gervase's *Constantini* is also found in many MSS of Jerome. From the fourth century the emperor's bodyguards were called *candidati* (probably from their white uniform); they were often of barbarian origin.

ualida, apud hystoricos Germania, nunc Francia dicitur.'[4] Sed et Galli dicuntur sacerdotes matris deum,[5] ob hoc quia[c] mos est eis apud Frigiam castrari, qui omnia turpissima agunt. Gallos Cesar castrauit cum eos uicisset, in eorum silicet obprobrium. Porro Galli confinibus suis candidiores sunt. [6]Secundum enim diuersitates aeris, Romanos graues, Grecos leues, Affros uersipelles, Gallos natura feroces, Anglos ingenio potentiores, Theutonicos robustiores uidemus, quod natura climatum facit.[6]

Gallia nunc Celtica dicitur, a qua [7]Celthiberi, a Gallis qui prius Celtici dicebantur, et ab Ybero[d] Yspanie fluuio ubi consederunt, quorum ex nomine regio Celtiberia uocatur,[7] includens Aquitanniam et Guasconiam, nunc Germanica,[e] que includit Thoringiam et Alemaniam;[f] nunc [8]Gallia Belgica, a ciuitate Belgis[8] in confinio Burgundie sita supra flumen Sconam,[g] habens a circio Lingonis urbem,[h] que tercia pars Galliarum dicitur. [9]Hec habet ab oriente limitem fluminis Reni et Germaniam, ab euro Alpes Penninas, a meridie prouinciam Narbonensem, a circio occeanum Britannicum, a septemtrione insulam Britannicam.[9] Sed et Senones Galli pro parte Burgundiones dicuntur, qui antiquitus Zenones dicebantur.[10] Hiis cum duce Brenno, fratre Belini regis maioris Britannie, restitit Manlius consul, uoce anseris excitatus cum Romam captam incendere uellent.[11] Porro antiquitas tres esse Gallias docuit: Togatam, id est Longobardiam, ad instar Romanorum, Comatam, id est Burgundiam et Franciam, Braccatam, id est Teuthoniam, a longis braccis.[i] [12]

Enimuero nomen Longobardorum sic cepisse legimus. [13]Gens enim Longobardorum, priusquam hoc nomen assumeret, exeuntes

[c] quod *β* [d] Hybeno *N* [e] Geinancia *N* [f] includens Aquitanniam et . . . Alemaniam] *om. β* [g] Soonam(?) *written in margin, correcting* Focinam *N;* Focinam *A;* Rodani *C* [h] in confinio Burgundie . . . urbem] *om. β* [i] *Item 4 of the Addenda is integrated at this point in X (see Appendix i. 4)*

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[4] Cf. Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*, xiii. 2 (ed. Bastiaensen, p. 102 = *PL* xxiii. 40, c. 22). This passage is also quoted by Freculph of Lisieux, *Chronicon*, ii. 4. 5 (*PL* cvi. 1206).

[5] i.e. Cybele; see e.g. Pliny, *Hist. nat.* xi. 109. 261; Suetonius, *Aug.* c. 68; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 360–6; cf. Smith, *Dictionary*, s.v. Atys.

[6–6] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 105.

[7–7] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 114.

[8–8] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 27 (29) (ed. Flint p. 62 = *PL* clxxii. 130); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 26; Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, xxii. 4 (*PL* cxi. 350); *Otia*, i. 20, n. 126. *Belgis* here is probably Beauvais, though this does not fit well with the geographical location.

[9–9] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 63.

[10] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 106; Isidore explains that they were called the Xenones because they offered hospitality to Liber (ξενόω = offer hospitality).

[11] Cf. Livy, v. 47. 4; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, ii. 19. 5–11; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 35–44 (= ed. Griscom, iii. 1–10); *Otia*, ii. 1, n. 41.

historians, their modern name is Franks.'[4] There are also some priests of the Mother of the Gods[5] who are called Gauls, owing to the fact that in Phrygia it is the custom for them to be castrated; they indulge in all kinds of base practices. Caesar castrated the Gauls when he conquered them, to humiliate them. The Gauls are certainly whiter than their neighbours. [6]We see, in fact, that as a result of differences in the air, the Romans are serious, the Greeks frivolous, the Africans crafty, the Gauls fierce-natured, the English of more powerful intelligence, and the Teutons of greater physical strength, all due to the nature of the climate.[6]

One part of Gaul is called Gallia Celtica. [7]The people called the Celtiberians derived their name from the Gauls, who were formerly called Celtici, and from the Ebro, the river in Spain where they settled. The region of Celtiberia, which includes Aquitaine and Gascony, is named after them.[7] Another part of Gaul is called Germany; this includes Thuringia and Alemannia. There is also [8]Gallia Belgica, named after the city of Belgis[8] which is situated on the river Saône, on the border of Burgundy; it has the city of Langres to the north-west, and is designated the third part of Gaul. [9]To the east its border is formed by the river Rhine, with Germany beyond it, while to the south-east it has the Pennine Alps, to the south the province of Narbonne, to the north-west the British Ocean, and to the north the island of Britain.[9] There are also the Gauls known as the Senones or, in ancient times, Xenones;[10] for their part, they are now called the Burgundians. It was these people whom the consul Manlius resisted, having been aroused by the cackling of a goose, when with their leader Brennus (the brother of Belinus, king of Great Britain) they had captured Rome and were about to set it on fire.[11] Further, antiquity taught that there were three Gauls: Gallia Togata, that is Lombardy, where they wear the toga like the Romans, Gallia Comata, that is Burgundy and Francia, where they have long hair, and Gallia Braccata, that is Teutonia, where they wear long trousers (*bracae*).[12]

We read that the Lombards, or Longbeards, got their name as follows. [13]The tribe of the Lombards, before its adoption of this

[12] Cf. Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, i. 1; Pomponius Mela, ii. 74; Pliny, *Hist. nat.* iii. 4. 31; *Die Chronik des Klosters Petershausen*, ed. O. Feger, Swäbische Chroniken der Stauferzeit, iii (Sigmaringen, 1978), 38 (= *PL* cxliii. 301); Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 27 (29) (ed. Flint p. 62 = *PL* clxxii. 130).

[13–13] Gens . . . rege Ytaliam introduxit (p. 288)] Cf. Fredegar, *Chronicae* iii. 65, p. 110. Paul the Deacon also records versions of these stories in *HL* i. 7–8 and ii. 5 (ed. Waitz, pp. 52–3 and 75).

de Scatanauia (occeani insula de qua Burgundiones sunt egressi, que est inter occeanum et Danubium), cum uxoribus et liberis Danubium transmearunt; cumque transeuntibus Huni parassent bellum, Longobardi mulieribus suis comam capitis ad maxillas mentosque ligarunt, quo potius, habitum uirorum simulantes, plurimam hostium multitudinem simularent, comis ad maxillas barbam facientibus. Fertur desuper uox dixisse: 'Hii sunt Longobardi.' Ad hec Longobardi clamant: 'Qui instituisti nomen, concede uictoriam!' Quo dicto, Hunos superant partemque Pannonie inuadunt. Nec post multum tempus, Narsis[14] patricius, minis Iustini inperatoris eiusque Auguste Sofie perterritus, eo quod ipsa ei apparatu muliebri ex auro facto quia eunuchus erat cum quo filaret direxerat, dicens ut[j] pensa lanaria regeret, non populum. At ille respondit: 'Filum filabo cuius finem Iustinus uel Augusta non perficiet.' Tunc Longobardos a Pannoniis inuitans cum Alboeno rege Ytaliam introduxit.[13]

Porro Gallia quam diximus Belgicam particulares habet regiones: Neustriam seu Normanniam, Boloniam, Flandriam, Andegauiam, Turoniam, Bituricam, Britanniam Armoricam,[k] Narbonensem prouinciam. In harum medio [15]Francia est, a Franco rege dicta, qui de Troia, ut quidam dicunt, cum Enea fugiens populo nomen dedit.[15]

Sane in *Cathalogo*[16] Romanorum et Francorum legimus et iudicum uel regum Israhel, quod cum Lapdon de tribu Effraym regeret populum Israhel annis octo, huius anno tercio capta est Troia ab Assiriis.[17] Tunc Eneas et Frigius frater[l] a Troia fugiunt. Eneas regnauit in Latio, Frigius uel Frigas in Frigia. Post huius mortem in duas partes Troiani diuiduntur:[m] | una pars Macedoniam petiit ut
f. 26v suo potirentur[n] auxilio, alia que de Frigia progressa est permultas[o] regiones peruagando cum uxoribus et liberis, electo sibi rege Francione, a quo Franci dicuntur, multoque tempore cum plurimis

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[j] in genicio (*for* gyneceo) cum puellis *add. after* ut *XQ* [k] Pictauiam, Aquitanniam, Guasconiam *add. after* Armoricam *AQI* [l] frater eius *Q*, eius frater *I* [m] *Another marginal note directs the reader of N to return to the point where the lacuna occurred* [n] potirentur *supplied by author N* [o] per multas *ACβ*

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[14] On Narses, the general who undertook the reconquest of Italy in 552 AD, cf. *Otia*, ii. 16, at nn. 114 and 119; Appendix i. 6.

[15–15] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 27 (29) (ed. Flint p. 62 = *PL* clxxii. 130).

[16] i.e. the *Chronica* of Eusebius of Caesarea, translated and continued by Jerome. Much of the information that follows is found, though not necessarily in the same order, in Fredegar, *Chronicae* iii. 2–9, pp. 93–5, and in the *Liber historiae Francorum*, cc. 1–5, pp. 241–5; cf. also *Chron. Moiss.*, pp. 282–3.

[17] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxiii. 265; Judg. 12: 13–15. The assertion that Troy was

name, left Scandinavia (an island in the ocean, or rather between the ocean and the Danube, from which the Burgundians also came), and crossed the Danube with their women and children. Since the Huns had made preparations to attack the people coming over into their land, the Lombards took their women and tied the hair of their heads to their cheeks and chins, so that, by imitating the appearance of men, with the hair on their cheeks looking like a beard, they might be better able to give the impression of a very large host of fighting men. It is reported that a voice spoke from above, saying: 'These are the Longbeards (*Longobardi*).' At this the Lombards shouted: 'You who have given us a name, grant us the victory!' With these words they overcame the Huns and took over part of Pannonia. It happened not long afterwards that the patrician Narses[14] became alarmed at the threats of the emperor Justin and his consort Sophia; for the latter had sent him a woman's spinning equipment made of gold with which, seeing that he was a eunuch, he was to spin: she said that he should take charge of the task of spinning wool, not of governing the people. But he replied: 'I shall spin a thread of which neither Justin nor his consort shall see the end.' Then he invited the Lombards from Pannonia, and brought them with their king, Alboin, into Italy.[13]

Now the Gaul which we have called Gallia Belgica contains a number of different regions: Neustria or Normandy, Boulogne, Flanders, Anjou, Touraine, Berry, Brittany, and the province of Narbonne. In the middle of these is [15]Francia, named after King Francus, who fled from Troy, according to some sources, with Aeneas, and gave his name to his people.[15]

On this subject we read in the *Catalogue*[16] of the Romans and Franks and of the judges and kings of Israel, that in the third year of the eight-year rule of Abdon, of the tribe of Ephraim, over the people of Israel, Troy was captured by the Assyrians.[17] Then Aeneas and his brother Phrygius fled from Troy. Aeneas reigned in Latium, Phrygius or Phrygas in Phrygia. After Phrygius' death the Trojans separated into two groups: one group made for Macedonia in the hope of winning the support of its people, while the other group which set out from Phrygia wandered through many regions, taking their wives and children with them. They chose Francio as their king, after whom they are called the Franks. Over a long period they did

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taken by the Assyrians can probably be attributed to confusion arising from the lay-out of Jerome's *Chronica*.

f. 27r gentibus pugnam gerens eo quod | fortis esset in bello, Asiam uastans et iter in Europam dirigens, super litus Danubii inter occeanum ac Trasiam resedit. Inter quos Priamus et Antenor, post Ilium destructum infamiam uerecondie fuga obtegentes, ripam Tanays fluuii adierunt, terminos Panonie superioris iuxta Meotidas paludes petentes, missisque per girum exploratoribus, reppererunt[p] locum a communi hominum habitatione semotum, undis marinis circumseptum, ibique construxerunt ciuitatem Sicambriam nomine. Consueta ergo feritate expugnantes confines suos, in armis cruentam uitam exercuerunt. Tandem tempore Valentiniani imperatoris, cum ipse strenuus gentes Alanorum superasset et, eo quod ad[q] Meotidas paludes fugissent, fugientes capere non posset,[r] Sicambri illa loca tamquam sibi nota inuadentes, Alanos captos imperatori representarunt, sicque parta uictoria imperator Sicambros omni libertate donauit, eosque Francos in posterum nominandos esse censuit.

Porro iam[s] decem annis post hec elapsis, Primarius quidam imperatoris Romanus uenit a Francis tributum exigere, qui graue seruitutis noue iugum ferentes eligentesque uita libertatem redimere, exactorem improbum immisericordi gladio sociosque suos trucidarunt. His auditis, imperator Francos inuasit, Priamoque Francorum rege perempto, in fugam conuertit. Maior itaque pars illorum, fuga sibi consulens predamque uc illucque exercens, ripas Reni fluminis adiit, illic in Germaniorum opidis figens tentoria. Reliquie[t] uero Francorum Sicambrie manserunt, electo sibi rege nomine Torquato, a quo gens Torquorum nomen accepit. Franci uero, erecto[u] sibi in regem Ferramundo, filio Marchionis (uel Marchomiri)[v] filii Priami, ciuitatem ad instar Troie edificauerunt, opus quidem[w] ceptum et[x] non consummatum. Defuncto Ferramundo, Clodio filius eius in regem eligitur,[y] in finibus Thoringorum Dispargo castello habitans. Paucis tamen[z] diebus Franci (nempe suspecti et dubii et[a] incerto uacillantes), audientes Galliam terram[b] esse nemorosam ac fertilem, illuc tendunt uindictam sumpturi de Romanis, qui a Reno ad Ligerim et a Ligeri adusque Yspaniam terram[c] tenebant. Sed et Burgundiones tunc Arriani erant, habitantes secus Rodanum; quorum dux aut rex

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[p] repperierunt *N* [q] ad *supplied by author N* [r] possent *N* [s] iam *om. N* [t] relique *N* [u] electo *β* [v] uel Marchomiri *supplied by author N* [w] quidem *supplied by author N* [x] et *N*; sed *ACI*; *om. XQ* [y] erigitur *AXQ* [z] Paucis tamen] tamen paucis *N* [a] in *add. after* et *β* [b] Galliam terram] terram Galliam *N* [c] Yspaniam terram] terram Hispaniam *N*

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battle with a great number of tribes, for they were powerful in warfare; they laid waste to Asia, and then made their way into Europe, where they eventually settled on the bank of the Danube, between the ocean and Thrace. Among them were Priam and Antenor, who took to flight to cover up the shame they felt in their disgrace after the destruction of Ilium. They came to the bank of the river Don, making for the boundaries of Upper Pannonia, near Lake Maeotis. After sending scouts around and about, they found a place remote from common human habitation, surrounded by sea-water; there they built a city called Sicambria. Then with their accustomed ferocity they attacked their neighbours, and led a life of bloody warfare. Finally, in the time of the emperor Valentinian, when he, who was a vigorous warrior himself, had overcome the tribes of the Alans, but was unable to capture the fugitives because they had fled to the marshes of Lake Maeotis, the people of Sicambria invaded that area, since it was familiar territory to them, captured the Alans, and handed them over to the emperor. Having gained the victory in this way, the emperor endowed the Sicambrians with complete freedom, and decreed that they should be called Franks from then on.

Now when ten years had elapsed since these events, a certain Primarius, a Roman sent by the emperor, came to exact tribute from the Franks. Finding the yoke of this new servitude hard to bear, and preferring to buy back their freedom with their lives, with pitiless sword they killed the insolent tribute-collector and his company. On hearing of this, the emperor attacked the Franks, and routed them; Priam, king of the Franks, was killed. And so the greater part of them decided on flight, and, pillaging everywhere they went, they came to the banks of the river Rhine; there they pitched their tents, among the settlements of the Germans. A remnant of the Franks remained at Sicambria; they elected a man named Torquatus to be their king, and the tribe came to be called the Torqui after him. Meanwhile the Franks made Ferramund, son of Marchio (or Marcomer), son of Priam, their king, and set out to build a city to resemble Troy; however the work, though begun, was never completed. On the death of Ferramund, his son Clodio was elected king. He lived in the castle of Duisburg in the territory of the Thuringians. Within a few days, however, the Franks (surely an untrustworthy and unreliable people, given to inconstant vacillating), hearing that Gaul was a well-wooded and fertile land, set off for that country to take their revenge on the Romans; for the Romans held all the land from the Rhine to the Loire and from the Loire to Spain. Now the Burgundians, who lived along

Alaricus, fauore Valentiniani imperatoris, tunc Arriani,[d] a Clodoueo rege interficitur non longo post tempore. Sane Clodio, Carboneriam siluam ingressus, Tornacensem ciuitatem obtinuit, et exhinc Camerацum properauit. Illic trucidatis Romanis, Ambianensem ciuitatem cepit, ibi regni sedem statuens. Huic successit Merouicus,[18] cui successit filius eius Childericus[19] qui Agrippinam[e] Coloniam, ciuitatem Reni, cepit, et Treueris super Mosellam fluuium, et Suessionem, Aurelianis, et Andegauis. Cilderico filius eius Clodoueus successit in regnum, cui cum baptizaretur dixit sanctus[f] Remigius: 'Mitis depone colla, Sicamber:[g] adora quod incendisti, incende quod adorasti.'[20] Quo mortuo quatuor eius filii inter se regnum diuiserunt Francorum, Theodorico Metensem Toringie urbem, Clodomiro Aurelianensem, Cildeberto Parisiensem, Clotario Suessionensem ad sedem regni eligente.[21]

Distinctio[h] Galliarum

Iam nunc ad distinctionem Gallie redeamus. [22]Sunt ergo in Gallia, ut diximus, Belgica, Helbitii, fortissima omnium Gallorum gens, quibus perpetua pene[i] cum Germanis pugna est et altercatio, a quibus Reno tantum fluuio dirimuntur. Sunt et Bellibagi et Suessiones. Sunt et Neruii, quorum indomita feritas predicatur, ita ut numquam usque ad tempus Iulii Cesaris mercatores ad se admiserint uina ceteraue uenalia deferre, quibus inducta iocunditas torporem uirtutis afferret. Sunt et Atrebates et Ambiani. Sunt Morini et Menapi. Sunt Caleti et Velocasses, Veromandi et Atuatici, Condurses, Eburones, Cerosi, ac Cemanni.[22]

Sequitur [23]Gallia Lugdunensis, que et Comata, a comis longis nuncupatur.[23] Hec ducta per longum et per angustum inflexa, Aquitanicam prouinciam semicingit, et habet ab oriente Galliam Belgicam, a meridie partem prouincie Narbonensis que Subalpina nominatur, mari Mediterraneo Rodanoque terminata.[24]

[d] Arriani *ed.*; Arrianis *N*; Arrianus *ACβ* [e] *sic XQ*; Agrippiniam *N* [f] sanctus *supplied by author N* [g] *sic Q*; Sicambes *N* [h] De distinctione *CXQ* [i] pena *N*

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[18] Died 456.

[19] Died 481.

[20] Cf. Gregory of Tours, *HF* ii. 31 (ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 77); *Otia*, ii. 18, n. 4 Clovis (481–511) united the Frankish tribes to create the kingdom of Francia.

[21] Cf. *Otia*, ii. 18, n. 7.

[22–22] Sunt . . . Cerosi, ac Cemanni] Cf. Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, i. 1, ii. 4 and 15.

[23–23] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 27 (29) (ed. Flint p. 62 = *PL* clxxii. 130).

the Rhône, were Arians at that time. Alaric, their duke or king (appointed by the favour of the emperor Valentinian, then also an Arian), was killed not long afterwards by King Clovis. Well, Clodio penetrated the forest of Charbonnière, took the city of Tournai, and pressed on from there to Cambrai. Having slaughtered the Romans there, he captured the city of Amiens, and made it the capital of his kingdom. He was succeeded by Merovech;[18] Merovech was succeeded by his son Childeric.[19] Childeric captured Cologne, a city on the Rhine, and Trier on the river Moselle; also Soissons, Orléans, and Angers. His son Clovis succeeded Childeric as king. When Clovis was being baptized, St Remigius said to him: 'Bow your head in meekness, Sicamber: worship what you once burned, burn what you once worshipped.'[20] After Clovis' death, his four sons divided the kingdom of the Franks among them. Theuderic chose Metz, a city of Thuringia, as the capital of his kingdom, Chlodomir chose Orléans, Childebert Paris, and Chlotar Soissons.[21]

The Various Regions of Gaul

Now let us return to our description of the various regions of Gaul. [22]In Gallia Belgica, then, of which we were speaking, live the Helvetii, the most courageous of all the Gallic tribes. Between them and the Germans, from whom they are separated only by the river Rhine, there is almost constant squabbling and fighting. The Bellovaci and the Suessiones also live in this part of Gaul, as do the Nervii, known for their indomitable fierceness. Up to the time of Julius Caesar, these people never even allowed merchants to bring them wine or any other goods liable to induce a feeling of well-being which might have blunted their courage. Other tribes in Gallia Belgica are the Atrebates and the Ambiani, the Morini and the Menapii, the Caleti and the Veliocasses, the Viromandui and the Aduatuci, the Condrusi, the Eburones, the Caeroesi, and the Paemani.[22]

Next comes [23]Gallia Lugdunensis, also called Comata because of the people's long hair (*comae*).[23] Extending in a long, narrow curve, it encircles half of the province of Aquitaine; to the east it has Gallia Belgica, and to the south part of the province of Narbonne (called the Subalpine Region); it ends at the Mediterranean Sea and the Rhône.[24]

[24] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 64–5. Gallia Lugdunensis did not in fact extend as far as the Mediterranean; the text of Orosius reads: 'a meridie partem prouinciae Narbonensis, qua Arelas ciuitas sita est *et* mari Gallico Rhodani flumen accipitur' ('to the south part of the province of Narbonne, where the city of Arles is located and the river Rhône is received into the Gallic Sea').

Ad hec [25]Narbonensis prouincia, pars Galliarum, habet ab oriente Alpes Cutias,[25] inter quas et mare ac Rodanum sunt he prouincie: Arelatensis, que caput est regni, Vianensis, que cancellaria regni gaudet, Tarentasiensis, Ebredunensis, et Aquensis, et pro aliqua sui parte Lugdunensis ac Bisuntina. Habet Narbonensis prouintia [26]ab occidente Hispaniam, a circio Aquitanniam, a septentrione Lugdunensem, ab aquilone Galliam Belgicam, a meridie Gallicum[j] mare, quod est inter Sardiniam et insulas Baleares, habens in fronte, qua Rodanus fluuius exit in mare, Sticados[k] insulas,[26] quas uulgo Camargas nominant,[27] quasi caras marchias. In modum enim insule Rodano per tria ostia diuiso clauduntur, terra fertili, salinis[l] | f. 27v inexcesse bonitatis, piscationibus stagnorum marium ac fluuialibus, uenationibus, cirogrillis, et aucupationibus et pascuis incomparabiles.

Illic ad litus maris est prima omnium ecclesiarum citramarinarum, in honore beatissime Dei Genitricis fundata ac a discipulis a Iudea pulsis et in rate sine remigio dimissis per mare, Maximino Aquense, Lazaro Massiliense (euuangelicco fratre Marthe et Marie), Eutropio Aurasicense, Georgio Vellaicense, Saturnino Tolosano, Marciale Lemouicense, ex septuaginta duobus discipulis[28] consecrata, astantibus Marta et Maria Magdalena cum aliis multis.[29] Sub huius basilice altari,[m] ab ipsis de terra[30] pistaco, lapide titulari de marmore Pario

[j] Gollicum *N* [k] Stoechadas *Orosius* [l] salinis *supplied by author N*
[m] altaris *N*

[25–25] Cf. ibid. i. 2. 66.

[26–26] ab occidente . . . mare, Sticados insulas] Cf. loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 38.

[27] Here Orosius was referring to the Stoechades, the nine small islands off the coast near Marseilles, now called Les Îles d'Hyères. The name *Στοιχάδες* derived from the fact that they were arranged in a row (*στοῖχος* = 'row'). The plant *stoechas* or *sticados* (French lavender) took its name from them, and so Lucan calls these islands the *Stoechados arva* ('Fields of Lavender': *Pharsalia*, iii. 516; cf. *Otia*, iii. 2, n. 3). Gervase, however, uses the term 'insula' or 'insulae Sticados' for the alluvial islands of the Rhône delta, the largest of which is called the Camargue; cf. *Otia*, ii. 12, n. 57.

[28] Luke 10: 1 (Vulgate; seventy in A.V.).

[29] The church in question is Les Saintes Maries de la Mer. It was originally called 'Sancta Maria de Ratis', a name which first appears in the sixth century; the change to 'de Mare' took place early in the twelfth century; later, after Gervase's time, the dedication was changed to the plural, under the influence of the legend that the saints of Bethany and their companions came to land there. The earliest form of the legend associating these saints with Provence is found in a MS of the tenth century (BN Lat. 17627, 'Sermo de sancta Maria Magdalena', ff. 93v–95; published by B. de Gaiffier, 'Hagiographie bourguignonne, A propos de la thèse de doctorat de M. René Louis sur Girart comte de Vienne', *Analecta Bollandiana*, lxix (1951), 131–47 (text on pp. 145–7)); it tells how Mary Magdalene, Martha, and Lazarus, fleeing the persecution of the Jews, brought the faith to Provence. The story seems to have been created to support the claim that the relics

The next [25]part of Gaul, the province of Narbonne, has the Cottian Alps to the east.[25] Between these mountains, the sea, and the Rhône are the following provinces: the province of Arles, which is the capital of the kingdom, the province of Vienne, which boasts the kingdom's chancellery, the provinces of Tarascon, Embrun, and Aix, and part of the provinces of Lyons and Besançon. The province of Narbonne [26]has Spain to the west, Aquitaine to the north-west, Gallia Lugdunensis to the north, Gallia Belgica to the north-east, and to the south the Gallic Sea, which is between Sardinia and the Balearic Islands. Facing the province, where the river Rhône flows out into the sea, are the islands of Sticados,[26] commonly called the Camargue,[27] or 'rich marshes' (*carae marchiae*); for they are cut off like an island by the Rhône, where it divides into three mouths, and they are unrivalled for their fertile soil, for salt deposits of unsurpassed quality, for still waters and rivers well-stocked with fish, for their hunting, rabbits, fowling, and pasture-land.

There, beside the sea-shore, is the oldest of all the churches on our side of the Mediterranean. It was founded in honour of the most blessed Mother of God, and consecrated by some disciples who had been driven out of Judaea and sent out to sea on a raft with no oars; these were Maximinus of Aix, Lazarus of Marseilles (the brother of Martha and Mary in the gospel), Eutropius of Orange, George of Velay, Saturninus of Toulouse, and Martial of Limoges, all of whom were numbered among the seventy-two disciples.[28] Martha and Mary Magdalene, along with many other people, were present at the consecration.[29] An ancient tradition of indisputable authority holds that under the altar of this basilica, which was pounded out of earth[30]

of Mary Magdalene had been discovered at Vézelay (see L. Duchesne, 'La Légende de sainte Marie-Madeleine', *Annales du Midi*, v (1893), 1–33; id., *Fastes épiscopaux*, i. 321–40; V. Saxer, *Le Culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident des origines à la fin du moyen-âge* (Paris, 1959)). It was only towards the end of the twelfth century that the legend established itself in Provence, with the supposed finding of the relics of St Martha at Tarascon in 1187 and the subsequent composition of the *Vita S. Marthae*, purporting to have been written by Martha's servant, Marcella or Marcilia. Gervase draws on this text elsewhere (cf. *Otia*, iii. 85, n. 8; iii. 90, n. 3; iii. 101, n. 1); the present story reflects a further elaboration of the Provençal legend. The bishops listed here (apart from George of Velay) had already been accorded the status of having been followers of Christ in Palestine in the *Vita S. Marthae* (ed. Mombritius, p. 240; cf. *Otia*, iii. 90, nn. 3 and 4); here they are also said to have been fellow-passengers in the oarless boat which brought the saints of Bethany to Provence. The subsequent wide diffusion of these legends was largely due to Gervase: 'On peut dire que c'est lui qui a lancé hors de la Provence les traditions locales et naissantes des Aliscamps, des saintes Maries et de sainte Marthe' (Duprat, 'Légendes saintes de Provence', 1941, p. 108).

[30] Cf. Exod. 20: 24.

modico superstrato, tenet auctoritate plena uetustas sex corporum sanctorum capita in quadrum disposita, reliqua corporum eminentia suis tumulis clausa; inter que duas asserunt Marias sepultas, que mane prima sabbati cum aromatibus uenerunt uidere sepulcrum.[31]

Est et in capite ad ripam Rodani ciuitas Arelas, caput regni Burgundie, dicta quasi 'ara lata deorum'. Illic enim quotannis solent omnes regni illius cum adiunctis prouinciis paganitatis ludibrio tenti in Calendis Madialibus conuenire, et in omnium conspectu sacrificium tristis amnestie suscipere in loco suburbii qui Rochetta dicitur, ubi, duabus inmense celsitudinis columpnis ara superposita, trium iuuenum illo die sanguis innoxius pro salute populi populo superspargebatur, quos uelut sues de communi emptos per totum anni circulum ad nefandam uictimam pascebant. Hec autem conspiciens, Trofimus,[32] unus ex septuaginta duobus, consobrinus Pauli apostoli, Stephani protomartiris, et Gamalielis doctoris[n] legis, in melius commutauit, docens sanguinem[o] pro salute populi fundendum sanguinem esse Christi, fusum in cruce. Vnde conuertione facta tam regis quam populi, qui a Petro et Paulo fuerat Rome ordinatus episcopus, a Paulo in Yspanias proficiscente Arelatensis Galiarumque primus ordinatur apostolus, cuius successor Dionisius[33] Parisiensem suo sanguine ornauit urbem, sicque successiua Arelatensis ecclesie episcoporum predicatio Gallias fide Christi imbuit, et tocius Gallie Arelas primatiam usque ad nouissima tempora diutissime obtinuit,[34]

[n] doctor *N* [o] sanguinem *om. XQ*

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[31] i.e. Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James; cf. Luke 24: 1–10; Mark 15: 40. Later legend added a third Mary, the wife of Cleophas (John 19: 25); the feast of the Three Maries is still observed in the Camargue and elsewhere on 25 May. See C. M. Girdlestone, 'The tradition of the Maries in Provence', *Blackfriars*, xxxii (1951), 407–14 and 478–88.

[32] Trophimus, first bishop of Arles, is mentioned in two letters of Pope Zosimus dating from 417 (see n. 35); both affirm the privileges due to Arles as the city where the conversion of Gaul first began, under Trophimus. He is said by Gregory of Tours to have been sent into Gaul *c.*250 (*HF* i. 30, ed. Krusch and Levison, p. 23); but from the time of the Synod of Arles of 452 the church of Provence identified him with the disciple of Paul (Acts 20: 4 and 21: 29; 2 Tim. 4: 20). In the eleventh and twelfth centuries his cult steadily gained in importance, reflecting and furthering the increasing political significance of Arles; in 1152 his relics were translated to the new cathedral of Saint-Trophime. This passage is mainly derived (as demonstrated by Duprat, 'Légendes saintes de Provence', at 104–5) from the second reading for the office of St Trophimus in a breviary produced, probably at the end of the twelfth century, at the Benedictine abbey of Montmajour, two-and-a-half miles from Arles; the readings are preserved in a late thirteenth-century copy (Bibliothèque d'Arles, MS 128). Gervase has improved the latinity of his source, and added a few details from earlier liturgical books written in Arles. A further story celebrating St Trophimus is narrated in *Otia*, iii. 90.

by these same disciples and covered with a simple slab of Parian marble bearing an inscription, the heads of six saints' bodies are fitted into the square space, while the precious remains of their bodies are sealed in their own tombs. They claim that the two Maries, who came bearing spices to see the tomb early in the morning on the first day of the week,[31] are among them.

Also on the banks of the Rhône, near its mouth, is the city of Arles, the capital of the kingdom of Burgundy, its name (*Arelas*) signifying a broad altar (*ara lata*) of the gods. For in that place it was customary for all the people of that kingdom and the adjoining provinces too, then held in the humiliating grip of paganism, to gather every year on the first of May, and to perform in the sight of all a sacrifice of grim atonement, in a place called La Roquette on the outskirts of the city. An altar was set up there supported by two columns of enormous height, and on that day the innocent blood of three youths was sprinkled over the people for their salvation. These youths, paid for out of a common fund as if they were pigs, were fattened up all year round in readiness for this heinous sacrifice. But this came to the notice of Trophimus[32] (one of the seventy-two, and a relation of Paul the apostle, of Stephen the first martyr, and of Gamaliel, the doctor of the law), and he changed the custom for a better one. He taught that the blood which had to be shed for the salvation of the people was the blood of Christ, shed on the cross. And so both king and people were converted, and Trophimus, who had been ordained bishop by Peter and Paul in Rome, was now instituted as the first apostle of Arles and all Gaul by Paul on his way to Spain. His successor, Dionysius,[33] adorned the city of Paris with his blood. Thus the preaching of successive bishops of the church of Arles imbued Gaul with faith in Christ, and for a very long time, right up until recently, Arles held the primacy over all Gaul.[34] This is ut testatur Zosimus papa[35] et epistola Gregorii ad Augustinum, Anglorum episcopum, missa,[36] ut Ca. .xxv., q. .ii., c. 'In Galliarum'.[37]

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[33] Saint Dionysius, or Denis, is also mentioned by Gregory of Tours as one of the first missionaries among the Gauls (*HF* i. 30); following the trend of allotting biblical origins, he was subsequently identified with Dionysius the Areopagite (Acts 17: 34). He is not mentioned in the breviary of Montmajour used by Gervase for the earlier part of this passage; in fact the earliest liturgical book in which he is named as a bishop of Arles is a breviary produced at Marseilles in *c.*1212 (BN MS Lat. 1018; see Duprat, 'Légendes saintes de Provence', 105–6). It seems, therefore, that Gervase is incorporating a very recent addition to the legend here. According to tradition, Denis was beheaded on the hill now called Montmartre, and carried his head to the place of his burial, where the abbey church of Saint-Denys now stands.

[34] Hardly true of Gervase's own time, but reflecting an earlier state of affairs; cf. his authorities and G. Langgärtner, *Die Gallienpolitik der Päpste im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert* (Bonn, 1964).

Sane Narbonensis prouintia Togata dicebatur, a longitudine uestium sic dicta,[38] quamuis tempore mores hominum mutante, nunc inter omnes homines Narbonensis prouincie uiri ac mulieres more Yspanorum ac Guasconum artius uestiuntur, ita quod insuta potius quam induta corpora iudicantur,[p] sicut in *Libro fatetiarum*,[39] quem ad imperium[q] excellentissimi regis iunioris Anglie Henrici, auunculi uestri et domini mei, latius dixi, imperator et domine serenissime.

Ad hec Aquitannica prouincia (ab aquis Rodano et Ligere dicta,[40] uel ab equis quibus habundabant aut potentius[r] inuehuntur, quasi Equitannia) [41]obliquo cursu Ligeris fluminis, qui ex plurima parte terminus eius est,[s] in orbem agitur. Hec a circio occeanum qui Aquitannicus sinus dicitur, ab occasu Yspanias habet, a septentrione et aquilone Lugdunensem, ab euro et meridie Narbonensem contingit prouinciam.[41]

De prouinciis et urbibus Gallie[t]

Nunc singulares Galliarum urbes enumeremus, Galliam in Franciam, Burgundiam, et Guasconiam more Romane ecclesie distinguentes.

Francia ergo septem habet metropoles cum suis suffraganeis. [42]Lugdunensis (cuius titulus numismatis est 'prima sedes Galliarum') hos habet suffraganeos: Eduensem, Matisconensem, Cabillonensem, Lingonensem. Remensis hos habet suffraganeos: Suesionensem, Catalaunensem, Cameracensem, Tornacensem, Morinensem, Atrebatensem, Ambianensem, Nouiomensem, Siluanectensem, Beluacensem, Laudunensem. Senonensis Francie archiepiscopatus[u] hos habet suffraganeos: Parisiensem, Carnotensem, Aurelianensem, Niuerniensem, Altisiodorensem, Trecensem, Meltensem. Turonensis hos habet

[p] iudicentur *β* [q] imperatorem (*altered by author from* imperium) *N* [r] potentius] potius *N* [s] est *om.* *NC* [t] De . . . Gallie] *om.* *XQ* [u] archiepiscopus *Aβ*

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[35] Cf. Zosimus, *Epistulae*, i and vi (*PL* xx. 642–5 and 666–8).

[36] Cf. Gregory the Great, *Epistolae*, xi. 56A (*MGH Epistolae*, ii. 337 = *PL* lxxvii. 1192).

[37] *Decretum*, C. 25 q. 2 c. 3.

[38] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 27 (29) (ed. Flint p. 62 = *PL* clxxii. 130). According to Honorius, Gallia Lugdunensis was called either 'Comata ob longas comas' or 'Togata a longis vestibus'. In fact Gallia Comata was Transalpine Gaul, as distinct from Gallia Togata, or Cisalpine Gaul, where the toga was worn.

[39] See above, p. xcii and n. 305.

[40] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 27 (29) (ed. Flint p. 62 = *PL* clxxii. 130).

attested by Pope Zosimus,[35] and by the letter which Gregory sent to Augustine, bishop of England;[36] see *Decretum*, C. 25 q. 2 c. 'In Galliarum'.[37]

The province of Narbonne used to be called Gallia Togata, from the length of the garments worn there.[38] Nowadays, however, with the changes in fashion brought by time, the people of the province of Narbonne, men and women alike, along with all other peoples, wear very tight clothes in the style of the Spaniards and the Gascons, so that one gets the impression that their bodies have not just been dressed (*induta*) in their clothes, but have actually been sewn (*insuta*) into them. I have expanded on this subject in the *Book of Entertainment*[39] which I wrote, most serene Emperor and Lord, at the command of the excellent King Henry the Younger of England, your uncle and my lord.

Next to Narbonne is the province of Aquitaine, named after the waters (*aquae*) of the Rhône and the Loire,[40] or after the horses (*equi*) of which they had an abundance, or of which they are very skilful riders, as if its name were properly Equitaine. [41]This province is formed into a round shape by the curving course of the river Loire, which constitutes the greater part of its boundary. It has the part of the ocean known as the Gulf of Aquitaine to the north-west, and Spain to the west, while it borders on Gallia Lugdunensis to the north and north-east, and the province of Narbonne to the south-east and south.[41]

The Provinces and Cities of Gaul

Let us now enumerate the individual cities of Gaul, dividing Gaul into France, Burgundy, and Gascony, as the Roman church does.

France, then, has seven metropolitan sees along with their suffragans. [42]Lyons (which has the inscription: 'Gaul's First See' stamped on her coins) has the following suffragans: Autun, Mâcon, Chalon-sur-Saône, and Langres. Rheims has the following suffragans: Soissons, Châlons-sur-Marne, Cambrai, Tournai, Boulogne, Arras, Amiens, Noyon, Senlis, Beauvais, and Laon. The archbishopric of Sens in France has the following suffragans: Paris, Chartres, Orléans, Nevers, Auxerre, Troyes, and Meaux. Tours has the following

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[41–41] obliquo . . . Narbonensem contingit prouinciam] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 67–8; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 27.

[42–42] Lugdunensis . . . Petragoricensem, Agennensem (p. 300)] Cf. *PR* 405–62 (ed. Weidenbach, pp. 269–70). The words in parentheses were added by Gervase.

suffraganeos: Cennomanensem, Redonensem, Andegauensem, Nannetensem, Corrisopitensem, Venetensem, Maclouiensem, Briocensem, Tregorensem, Leonensem, Dolensem.[v] Rotomagensis hos habet suffraganeos: Baiocensem, Abricensem, Ebroicensem, Sagiensem, Lixouiensem, Constantiensem. Bituricensis hos habet suffraganeos: Claromontensem, Ruthenensem, Caturcensem, Lemouicensem, Minatensem, f. 28r Albigensem, Anitiensem[w] domini pape. | Burdegalensis hos habet suffraganeos: Pictauensem, Xantonensem, Egolimensem,[x] Petragoricensem, Agennensem.[42]

Guasconia duos habet metropolitanos. [43]Auxitanus hos habet suffraganeos: Aquensem, Lectorensem, episcopatum Conuennarum, Consuranensem, Bigornensem, Aduressem uel Taruiensem, Olotensem, Lascurensem, Basatensem, Baionensem. Narbonensis Guasconie archiepiscopus[y] hos habet suffraganeos: Carcasonensem, Biterrensem, Agatensem, Lodouensem, Tolosanum, Magalonensem, Nemausensem, Vticensem, Elnensem uel Arlensem.[43]

Borgundia sex habet metropoles. [44]Bisuntinus hos habet suffraganeos: Basiliensem, Lausanensem, Belicensem.[z] [44] [a]Viennensis Burgundie archiepiscopus et regni cancellarius, cuius numismatis inscriptio habet 'maxima sedes Galliarum', que et ipsa carcer dicitur olim fuisse imperii (unde Pontium Pilatum a Tyberio dampnatum in carcere tenuit),[45] [46]hos habet suffraganeos: Valentinum, Viuariensem, Diensem, Grationopolitanum, Maurianensem, Gebennensem.[46] Distat autem Iebennensis ciuitas quatuordecim milibus a capite Limanni lacus, quem influit Rodanus et est inter Alpium iuga situs, de quo in *Vita Thebeorum*[47] legitur. Maximianus imperator circa Octodorum itinere fessus se tenebat. Legio uero in Agaunensibus angustiis substiterat,[b] quas uulgus sanctum Mauricium de Chablais[c] nominat. Porro Solodorum, ubi quidam de legione eadem passi sunt, castrum est super Arulam fluuium, non longe a Reno.[a] [48]Tarentasiensis hos habet suffraganeos: Sedunensem, Augustensem.[48] [49]Ebredunensis hos habet suffraganeos: Dignensem, Niciensem,

[v] Leonensem, Dolensem *supplied by author N* [w] Anitiensem] Aniciensis est *ACβ* [x] Englolimensem *X*, Emgolisinensem *Q*, Engolimensem *I* [y] Guasconie archiepiscopus *supplied by author N* [z] Bisuntinus hos habet . . . Belicensem] *transposed in N to follow* non longe a Reno *below* [a–a] Viennnensis (Vinensis *X*) . . . non longe a Reno] *transposed in XQ to follow* Tolonensem *below;* Distat autem Iebennensis . . . Reno] *supplied by author N* [b] subsistant *NI* [c] Camblais *ACXQ*

[43–43] Auxitanus . . . Elnensem uel Arlensem] Cf. ibid. 463–82 (p. 270).

[44–44] Cf. ibid. 372–5 (p. 269).

[45] Cf. Ado of Vienne, *Chronicon*, Aetas sexta (*PL* cxxiii. 77); Hugh of Fleury, *Chronicon*,

suffragans: Le Mans, Rennes, Angers, Nantes, Quimper, Vannes, Saint-Malo, Saint-Brieuc, Trequier, Saint-Pol de Léon, and Dol. Rouen has the following suffragans: Bayeux, Avranches, Évreux, Sées, Lisieux, and Coutances. Bourges has the following suffragans: Clermont, Rodez, Cahors, Limoges, Mende, Albi, and Le Puy, which comes under the jurisdiction of the lord pope. Bordeaux has the following suffragans: Poitiers, Saintes, Angoulême, Périgueux, and Agen.[42]

Gascony has two archbishops. [43]Auch has the following suffragans: Dax, Lectoure, Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, Saint-Lizier, Bigorre, Aire-sur-l'Adour or Tarbes, Oléron, Lescar, Bazas, and Bayonne. The archbishop of Narbonne in Gascony has the following suffragans: Carcassonne, Béziers, Agde, Lodève, Toulouse, Maguelone, Nîmes, Uzès, and Elne or Arles-sur-Tech.[43]

Burgundy has six metropolitan sees. [44]Besançon has the following suffragans: Basel, Lausanne, and Belley.[44] The archbishop of Vienne in Burgundy is also the chancellor of the kingdom; the inscription on Vienne's coins reads: 'Gaul's Largest See'. It is said that the town once served as the empire's prison (and so Pontius Pilate was held in prison there after his condemnation by Tiberius).[45] [46]Vienne has the following suffragans: Valence, Viviers, Die, Grenoble, Maurienne, and Geneva.[46] The city of Geneva is fourteen miles away from the head of Lake Leman; the Rhône flows into this lake, which is situated amidst the peaks of the Alps. One reads about it in the *Life of the Thebans*.[47] The emperor Maximian, weary from travelling, rested near Martigny, while the legion stopped in the defile of Agaunum, which is commonly known as Saint-Maurice-en-Valais. Solothurn, where some of the same legion suffered, is a village on the river Aar, not far from the Rhine. [48]Tarantaise has the following suffragans: Sion and Aosta.[48] [49]Embrun has the following suffragans: Digne,

ed. B. Rottendorf (Münster, 1638): 'Praeses etiam Pilatus non remansit impunitus, sed apud Viennam Galliae urbem exiliatus propria se manu interfecit' ('Nor did the governor Pilate remain unpunished, but having been exiled to Vienne, a city of Gaul, he killed himself with his own hand'). Vienne is also mentioned in the *Legenda aurea* (c. 53) as having suffered demonic disturbances from the presence of Pilate's corpse. Cf. *Otia*, ii. 16, n. 18.

[46–46] Cf. *PR* 398–404 (ed. Weidenbach, p. 269). Vienne is placed 'in Provincia' in the *Provinciale*.

[47] See Eucherius, *Passio*, c. 5 (p. 34), and for the next three sentences, ibid., cc. 4 and 14 (pp. 34 and 38); cf. *Otia*, iii. 35, n. 10.

[48–48] Cf. *PR* 369–71 (p. 269).

[49–49] Ebredunensis . . . Carpentoracensem, Tolonensem (p. 302)] Cf. ibid. 376–97 (p. 269). The *Provinciale* places Embrun, Aix, and Arles 'in Provincia', along with Vienne.

Antipolitanum, Glandetensem, Senecensem, Venciensem. [d]Aquensis Borgondie archiepiscopus habet hos suffraganeos: Aptensem, Regensem, Foroiuliensem, Vapincensem, Cistericensem.[d] Arelatensis Burgundie archiepiscopus et caput regni hos habet suffraganeos: Massiliensem, Auinionensem, Aurasicensem, Vasionensem, Cauallicensem, Tricastrinensem, Carpentoracensem, Tolonensem.[49]

Hispania[e]

Narbonensi prouincie iungitur [50]Yspania, ab Yspano rege dicta, prius Yberia ab Ybero flumine, postea Esperia ab Espero rege, uel potius ab Espero stella,[50] de qua Virgilius:

> Redit Esperus, ite capelle.[51]

Hec [52]terrarum situ trigona et circonfusione occeani Tyrrenique pelagi pene insula efficitur. Cuius angulus prior, spectans ad orientem, a dextris Aquitannica prouincia, a sinistris Balearico mari artatur, et Narbonensium finibus inseritur. Secundus angulus circium uersus tendit, ubi Bragancia[f] Gallecie ciuitas sita altissimam pharum[g] et inter pauca memorandi operis ad speculam Britannie erigit. Tercius eius angulus est qua[h] Gades insule, intente in affricum, Athlantem montem interiecto spacio sinuque[i] occeani, prospiciunt.

Hispaniam citeriorem ab oriente incipientem Pirenei saltus a parte septentrionis usque ad Cancubros Asturesque deducit,[j] atque inde per Vacceos et Oretanos, quos ab occasu habet, posita[k] in maris nostri littore Cartago determinat. Hyspania ulterior habet ab oriente Vacceos, Celtiberos, et Oretanos,[l] a septentrione occeanum et ab occasu, a meridie Gaditanum occeani fretum, unde mare nostrum (quod Tirrenum uocatur) immittitur.[52]

In[m] Hyspania sex sunt prouincie: Terragona, Cartago, Lusitania,

[d-d] Aquensis . . . Vapincensem, Cistericensem] *supplied by author N*

[e] *sic AI;* Yspania *written after* Tricastrinensem *by rubricator, crossed out and partially erased:* R. Hispania *written in margin by author N;* De Yspania *CQ; om. X*

[f] Bragrantia *N*

[g] altissimam pharum *Orosius;* altissimum fretum *MSS*

[h] qua *Orosius;* quo *MSS*

[i] spacio sinuque] sinu *Orosius*

[j] deducunt *XQ*

[k] posita] postea *β*

[l] Cretanos *N*

[m] Rubea litera debet esse *written by author above initial* I *N*

[50-50] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 28 (30) (ed. Flint p. 62 = *PL* clxxii. 130); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 28.

[51] Cf. Virgil, *Eclogues*, x. 77: 'uenit Hesperus, ite capellae.'

Nice, Antibes, Glandèves, Senez, and Vence. The archbishop of Aix in Burgundy has the following suffragans: Apt, Riez, Fréjus, Gap, and Sisteron. There is also an archbishop of Burgundy at Arles, the capital of the kingdom; he has the following suffragans: Marseilles, Avignon, Orange, Vaison, Cavaillon, Trois-Châteaux, Carpentras, and Toulon.[49]

Spain

Adjoining the province of Narbonne is [50]Spain, named after King Hispanus. It was originally called Iberia after the river Ebro, and subsequently Hesperia after King Hesperus, or rather, after Hesperus, the evening star,[50] of which Virgil says:

> Hesperus is returning: goats, go home![51]

[52]This country is triangular in the shape of its territory, and the encompassing waters of the ocean and the Tyrrhenian Sea make it a peninsula. Its first corner, looking towards the east, narrows to a point with the province of Aquitaine to the right and the Balearic Sea to the left, and is wedged into the territory of Narbonne. The second corner points in a north-westerly direction; Betanzos, a city of Galicia, is situated there, with its lighthouse, one of the few most remarkable structures of the world, rising to such a height that it can be seen from a watch-tower in Britain. The third corner of Spain is at the point where the islands of Cadiz look towards Mount Atlas, facing in a south-westerly direction across the intervening expanse of the ocean's gulf.

The Pyrenaean Mountains stretch along the northern boundary of Hither Spain, from where it begins in the east as far as the territory of the Cantabrians and the Astures; then Cartagena, which is situated on the shore of our sea, fixes its other boundary, which passes through the territory of the Vaccaei and the Oretani, whom it has to the west. Further Spain has the Vaccaei, the Celtiberians, and the Oretani to the east, the ocean to the north and west, and to the south the Strait of Gibraltar, through which our sea (called the Tyrrhenian Sea) flows in from the ocean.[52]

There are six provinces in Spain: Tarragona, Cartagena, Lusitania,

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[52-52] terrarum . . . Tirrenum uocatur) immittitur] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 69–74.

Galletia, Boetica, Tingitana.[53] Sane ex distinctione Romana[54] Hyspania quatuor habet metropoles. [55]Terraconensis archiepiscopus Yspanie hos habet suffraganeos: Bartinonensem, Gerundensem, Vicensem uel Ausoniensem, Ylerdensem, Oscensem, Tirasonensem, Calaguntanensem,[n] Vrgellensem, Cesaraugustanum, Dortosensem, Pampilonensem. Toletanus hos habet suffraganeos: Segunnuensem,[o] Oxomensem, Burgensem qui est domini pape,[p] Palentinensem, Segobricensem, Socobiensem,[q] Concensem. Emeritanus uel Compostellanus[56] hos habet suffraganeos: Albulensem,[r] Placentinum, Salamantinum, Elixeum,[s] Caunensem,[t] Egitamensem,[u] Vlixbonensem, Legionensem domini pape, Ouecensem domini pape, Zamorensem domini pape, Ciuitatensem. Bracoarensis[v] archiepiscopus hos habet suffraganeos: Portugalensem, Columbriensem, Visensem, Lamecinensem, Auriensem, Tudensem, Lucensem, Astoricensem, Minduniensem.[55]

Sunt[w] et in Yspania ciuitates paganorum: Hyspalis, Corduba, Almaria, Valencia, Complutum, Meleta, Italica, Concordia.[x]

De insulis occeani

Decursa Gallia atque Yspania, consequens erit insulas occeani
f. 28v describere, que Galliam respi|ciunt et in boream tendunt.

Britannia maior[y]

[57]Britannia ergo maior, insula quidem occeani, per longum in boream extenditur, a meridie Gallias habens; cuius proximum litus transmeantibus ciuitas aperit que dicitur Ruthubi Portus, unde aut[z] procul a Morinis in austro positos Menapos Batauosque prospectat.[57]

Hec insula, omnium uberrima, in longum tenditur octingentis miliaribus, in latum ducentis.[58] Vicenis itaque milibus passuum pro dieta computandis (ut *Pandectis*, 'Si quis cautionibus', l. .i.),[59] protenditur in longum quadraginta dietis et in latum decem.

[n] Calagorritanum *C*, Calaguritanum *PR* [o] Segunciensem *C*, Seguntinum *PR* [p] qui . . . pape] *supplied by author N* [q] Segobiensem *PR* [r] Abulensem *ACI* [s] Elborensem *PR* [t] Cauriensem *C and PR* [u] Egitaniensem *N and PR* [v] Bracarensis *A and PR* [w] Sunt *AC; om. N* [x] Sunt et in . . . Concordia] *om. β* [y] Britannia maior *written in margin by rubricator N;* De Anglia *CXQ;* De insulis occeani *written here instead of above in I* [z] *sic N for* haud

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[53] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 28 (30) (ed. Flint p. 62 = *PL* clxxii. 130); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 29.

[54] i.e. the church, as opposed to the empire.

[55–55] Terraconensis . . . Astoricensem, Minduniensem] Cf. *PR* 483–524 (ed. Weidenbach, pp. 270–1).

Galicia, Baetica, and Tingitania.[53] According to the division made by Rome,[54] Spain has four metropolitan sees. [55]The archbishop of Tarragona in Spain has the following suffragans: Barcelona, Gerona, Vich, Lérida, Huesca, Tarazona, Calahorra, Urgel, Zaragoza, Tortosa, and Pamplona. Toledo has the following suffragans: Siguenza, Osma, Burgos (which is under the jurisdiction of the lord pope), Palencia, Segorbe, Segovia, and Cuenca. Mérida, or Compostela,[56] has the following suffragans: Avila, Plasencia, Salamanca, Evora, Coria, Idanha, Lisbon, León (under the lord pope), Oviedo (under the lord pope), Zamora (under the lord pope), and Ciudad Rodrigo. The archbishop of Braga has the following suffragans: Porto, Coimbra, Viseu, Lamego, Orense, Tuy, Lugo, Astorga, and Mondoñedo.[55]

Spain also contains the following cities of pagans: Seville, Córdova, Almería, Valencia, Espinoso de Cumpludo, Málaga, Old Seville, and Tomar.

The Islands of the Ocean

As we have now dealt with Gaul and Spain, this will be a good point at which to describe the islands of the ocean which face Gaul and extend to the north.

Great Britain

[57]Great Britain, then, is one of these islands of the ocean; it extends lengthways to the north, with Gaul to the south. A town called Richborough presents the nearest landing-place for people crossing the channel; from there Britain looks towards the Menapii and the Batavi, who live to the south, not far from the Morini.[57]

This country, the richest of all islands, is eight hundred miles long and two hundred miles wide.[58] And so, taking twenty miles to be a day's journey (in accordance with the *Pandects*, 'Si quis cautionibus', law 1),[59] it takes forty days to travel its length and ten to travel its

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[56] When the metropolitanate of Compostela was established in 1120, the pope attached to it the metropolitan rights of Mérida until such time as that city should be reconquered and its see restored; this occurred in 1234. See R. A. Fletcher, *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1978), p. 24.

[57–57] Britannia . . . Menapos Batauosque prospectat] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 76. The Menapii, the Batavi, and the Morini were tribes living in what is now northern France, Belgium, and Holland.

[58] Cf. ibid. i. 2. 77; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, c. 5 (= ed. Griscom, i. 2).

[59] Cf. *Digest*, ii. 11. 1.

Verum antiquiores a capite Cornubie usque ad finem Scotie triginta duas dietas[a] computauerunt.

[60]Est autem Britannia a Bruto, primo ipsius habitatore,[b] dicta, qui cum esset filius Siluii, filii Ascani, filii Enee, expulsis gigantibus, ipsam suo regno ad instar Troie constructo Trinouanto decorauit, et nomine suo in posterum nuncupandam[c] instituit.[60] Verum in Gallico littore maris Britannici est minor Britannia, que Armorica dicitur, que, asilus[61] in primis Troianorum ab ipso Bruto nomen retinens, nunc duces[d] habuit, nunc reges, secundum uicarias temporum uicissitudines.

Porro Britannie maioris quatuor ab antiquo legimus partes fuisse: ab occidente Cornubiam, a Corineo duce, socio Bruti, dictam; a borea Cambriam, quam uulgares Walliam nominant, a Waia flumine; ab aquilone est Albania, que nunc Scotia dicitur; in medio uero uersus meridiem Loegria est, a Locrino filio Bruti, cui ad partem uenit, sic dicta, sicut a Cambro fratre ipsius[e] Cambria, unde et Galenses Cambros se nominant; sic ab Albanecto eorum fratre Albania dicta perhibetur.[62] Sane inter Cornubiam et Loegriam satis modicus fluuius est; inter Cambriam et Loegriam fluuius Waia, fluuius Sabrinus, et fluuius Weura, et fluuius Deia; inter Albaniam ac Loegriam modicum fretum, sed propter marinas uoragines periculosum, decurrit.[63]

Enimuero singulis partibus collateralibus sua nomina retinentibus, Loegria et ipsa tota Britannia nomen suum Anglis cessit. Quippe [64]a tempore[f] Careni regis Britonum, qui quintus fuit ab Arcturo, Loegria Saxonibus in dominationem data Anglie nomen accepit ab Anglis, hoc[g] est Saxonibus,[64] ab Engla Saxonum insula in Britanniam olim uenientibus, [65]Gudmundo rege Affricanorum diadema Brittonum absorbente et ad Anglorum posteritatem transmittente.[65]

[a] dietas *om.* *XQ* [b] inhabitatore *ACβ* [c] nuncupadam *N* [d] duces *supplied by author* *N* [e] eius *XQ* [f] tempore *supplied by author* *N* [g] hoc] quod *N*

[60–60] Est . . . posterum nuncupandam instituit] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 6, 21, and 22 (= ed. Griscom, i. 3, 16, and 17); *Otia*, i. 23 and ii. 17.

[61] Cf. *Otia*, i. 23, n. 17. Early medieval Breton rulers were rarely accepted as kings by their neighbours, but frequently saw themselves as kings until the mid-tenth century: see H. Guillotel in A. Chédeville and H. Guillotel, *La Bretagne des saints et des rois 5^{e}–10^{e} siècle* (Rennes, 1984), pp. 249–373.

width. The ancients reckoned that it took thirty-two days to get from the tip of Cornwall to the extremity of Scotland.

[60]Britain takes its name from Brutus, its first settler, who was the son of Silvius, son of Ascanius, son of Aeneas. After driving out the giants, he adorned Britain with his royal seat of Trinovantum, built to resemble Troy, and ensured that the country would be called after him from then on.[60] There is Little Britain besides, called Britannia Armorica, on the Gallic side of the British Sea. It was a place of refuge[61] for the Trojans in early days, and is still called Brittany after that same Brutus. It has sometimes had dukes, sometimes kings, as its circumstances have changed with the times.

We read further that from early times there have been four parts of Great Britain: to the west Cornwall, named after Brutus' companion, Duke Corineus; to the north Cambria, which is commonly called Wales, after the river Wye; to the north-east is Albany, which is now known as Scotland; while the central and southern area is Loegria, named after Locrinus, the son of Brutus, to whose share it fell. Similarly Cambria takes its name from his brother Camber, whence the Welsh also call themselves Cambrians; and the name Albany is said to come from Albanactus, another brother.[62] Between Cornwall and Loegria there is quite a small river; between Cambria and Loegria flow the river Wye, the river Severn, the river Weaver, and the river Dee; between Albany and Loegria a channel flows which, though not very wide, is dangerous on account of its sea currents.[63]

While each of the subsidiary regions still has its own name, Loegria and Britain as a whole gave up their names to the Angles. In fact [64]from the time of Carecius, who was the fifth king of Britain after Arthur, Loegria was given over to Saxon rule, and took the name of England from the Angles, that is, the Saxons.[64] These people came to Britain in the first place from the Saxon island of Engla; [65]Gudmund, king of Africa, seized the crown of Britain and handed it over to the Angles and their descendants.[65]

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[62] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, c. 23 (= ed. Griscom, ii. 1); *Otia*, ii. 17, at n. 12.

[63] i.e. the Firth of Forth.

[64–64] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 186–7 (= ed. Griscom, xi. 8).

[65–65] Cf. ibid., cc. 184–7 (= ed. Griscom, xi. 8–10).

De Ybernia

[66]Hybernia insula, inter Britanniam et Yspaniam sita, longiore ab affrico in boream spatio porrigitur. Huius partes Camcabrico intente[h] occeano Brigantiam Gallecie[i] ciuitatem ab affrico sibi in circium occurrentem spatioso interuallo procul spectant, ab eo precipue promontorio ubi Yene[j] fluminis ostium est et Velabri Lucenique consistunt. Hec Britannie propior,[66] interposita tamen Man insula, in aliqua sui parte insularum dimensione protractior, [67]celi solisque[k] temperie magis utilis. A Scotorum[l] gentibus pereque colebatur[67] usque ad tempora illustrissimi regis Anglorum Henrici, aui tui, princeps sacratissime, qui primus, expulsis obscenis Hiberniensium gentibus, terram Anglis possidendam feodis militaribus distinxit, plurimo tamen Anglorum ac Britonum emptam sanguine.[68] Vnde factum est ut terra que, ab antiquissimis temporibus lacte pecudum uiuens[m] et quadragesimam ieiuniorum spernens, carnibus crudis utens et obscenitati data, religionis contemptrix erat, noua incolatus sui religione polleat et, sicut ultima ueram religionem coacta suscepit, sic inter alias nationes ritu sancto ac religionis ardore plus omnibus ferueat.[69] Episcopalibus sedibus gaudet, monasteriis religiosissimis ac[n] affluenter fundatis in copia prediorum et hospitalitate plenissima.

In hac insula est quodam maris sinu facta que beati Brandani nominatur, in quam musce non ueniunt, et in qua uenenifera animalia non uiuunt; de cuius etiam terre puluere quouis asperso uenenifera serpentum[o] bufonumque genera perimuntur.[70] Cui scimile scimus probatissimum esse, quod si de terra castri superioris Parisius in

[h] nitente *β* [i] Gallene *N* [j] Scenae *Orosius* [k] solique *Orosius*
[l] a Scotorum] ascortorum *N* [m] ui|uiens *N* [n] ac *om.* *XQ*
[o] serpentium *β*

[66–66] Hybernia . . . Hec Britannie propior] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 80–1. Orosius does not mention the Isle of Man ('Mevania insula') until §82, after completing the section on Ireland. It is possible that Gervase derived his views on Ireland from a source which we have been unable to identify.

[67–67] Cf. ibid. i. 2. 81–2. Of Ireland he says, not: 'in aliqua sui parte insularum dimensione protractior', but more accurately: 'spatio terrarum angustior' ('narrower in the expanse of its territory'); he concludes: 'a Scottorum gentibus colitur' ('it is inhabited by Scottish tribes'). Gervase's 'pereque' seems to be derived from Orosius' subsequent statement in §82 that the Isle of Man 'aeque a Scottorum gentibus habitatur' ('is likewise inhabited by Scottish tribes').

[68] On Henry's conquest of Ireland see M. T. Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship: Interactions in Ireland in the Late Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1989).

[69] In his account of Irish Christianity, as below in his comments on Scotland and Wales, Gervase displays attitudes characteristic of the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman élite towards the 'barbaric' Celtic peoples: see J. Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth*

Ireland

[66]Ireland is an island lying between Britain and Spain, extending lengthways from the south-west to the north-east. The region of it which is turned towards the Cantabrian Ocean looks towards the Galician city of Betanzos far away to the south, facing Ireland across a wide expanse of ocean to the north-west; most directly in line is the promontory containing the Shannon estuary, where the Velabri and the Luceni are settled. The island is closer to Britain[66] than to Spain, though the Isle of Man comes between them. In one direction it is the longer of the two islands, [67]and it is more congenial in the temperateness of its climate and warmth. This island too used to be inhabited by Scottish tribes,[67] until the time of the renowned King Henry of England, your grandfather, most worshipful Prince. He was the first to drive out the pestilential tribes of Irishmen and turn the land into an English possession, dividing it into fiefs for his vassals; it was paid for, however, by the shedding of much English and British blood.[68] And so it has come about that a land which from the earliest times was contemptuous of religion, living on cows' milk and ignoring the Lenten fast, eating raw flesh and given over to filthy practices, is growing strong in the new faith brought by its settlers; while it was the last country to adopt the true religion, and then only under compulsion, it is now surpassing all other nations in its sacred worship and religious fervour.[69] It rejoices in its own episcopal sees, and in monasteries of dedicated observance, richly endowed with substantial estates and providing generous hospitality.

There is an island there, formed by a certain inlet of the sea, which is called St Brendan's Isle. No flies come onto this island, and no poisonous creatures live on it; also, any dust from its earth causes poisonous breeds of snakes and toads to die if they are sprinkled with it.[70] We know of a similar phenomenon to this which has been

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Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 41–58, 69–70, and 85–7.

[70] On St Brendan the Voyager see further *Otia*, i. 9, n. 11; ii. 11, n. 34. It was a widely-held belief that the soil of the whole of Ireland was inimical to snakes; this was generally attributed to St Patrick's protective power. See e.g. Bede, *HE* i. 1; Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica*, i. 28–31; T. P. Cross, *Motif-Index of Early Irish Literature* (Bloomington, 1952), A2434. 2. 3; Liebrecht, pp. 88–9. A number of other islands were believed to be free from snakes, among them Lérins (*Otia*, iii. 67), Sardinia and Ibiza (*Otia*, ii. 12; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 40 and 43; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 35 (36) (ed. Flint p. 66 = *PL* clxxii. 132)), Thanet (Solinus, *Collect.* xxii. 8; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 3; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 29 (31) (ed. Flint p. 62 = *PL* clxxii. 130)), Gauloe (Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 124), and Crete (ibid. xiv. 4. 16).

quouis loco fiat pulverizatio, statim omnium nociuorum uermium pestis fugatur. Est autem castrum hoc in prouincia Viennensi, uno miliario distans a ripa Ysare fluminis, in confinio urbis Grationopolitane.[p] Sed et de coriis animalium quorumlibet in insula, ut diximus, Ybernica[q] nascentium, fiunt corrigie tanta efficacia huius uirtutis insignes quod inclusos ueneniferos uermes crepare cogunt, et sic statim expirare. Id idem euenit si de rasura corrigiarum aut arborum illic crescentium toxifera conspergantur cum aqua animalia.

f. 29^{r} Hybernie proxima insula Man uocatur, ipsa | suo gaudens rege, subdita tamen regno Anglorum;[71] Scotiamque ab oriente respiciens, urbaniore cultu quam solet celebriusque uiuens.

Sic et Scotia, olim a Scotis uilissime conuersationis hominibus inhabitata, nunc illis expulsis et accitis militaribus personis infeodatis et in hospitalitate sancta expositis,[72] reges habet successiue sanctos aut sanctorum operum usque ad tempora nostra imitatores.

Nunc urbes maioris Britannie cum suis appendicibus explicemus.

De urbibus[r] maioris Britannie

Anglia siue maior Britannia duas habet metropoles: Cantuariensem et Eboracensem. Porro tempore Britonum[s] tres erant in Britannia insula metropolite: Legionensis, qui preminebat in Cambria, cuius sedes apud Caerleim, id est ciuitatem Legionum; illuc enim Cesar duodecim legiones in yberna[t] dimisit, que illam ciuitatem miro opere construxerunt,[73] ubi etiam Arturus[u] curiam sollempnem et omnibus incomparabilem instituit, in qua duodecim pares Francie ordinauit, ut in catalogo regum Britannie inferius, Deo duce, dicetur.[74] Fuit et illis diebus secundus metropolitanus Londoniensis uel Trinouantinus. Tercius erat Eboracensis. Sub Legionensi erant episcopi Cambrie, sub Londoniensi episcopi Loegrie,[v] sub Eboracensi

[p] Gratianoplitane *N* [q] Ybernia *β* [r] urbibus *supplied by author N* [s] Britonium *N* [t] yberna *I*; hybernia *NA*, ybernia *CXQ* [u] Arturus *supplied by author N* [v] Leogrie *N*

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[71] King Reginald of Man did homage to King John: see A. W. Moore, *A History of the Isle of Man*, 2 vols. (London, 1900), i. 116–19.

[72] See G. W. S. Barrow, *Kingship and Unity, 1000–1306* (London, 1981), pp. 43–59, and also Gillingham (as n. 69 above) on the implied attitudes in this passage.

[73] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, c. 44 (= ed. Griscom, iii. 10). Caerleon was founded by Julius Frontinus during the conquest of Wales in 74/5 AD; see Tacitus, *Agricola*, c. 17.

[74] *Otia*, ii. 17, pp. 424–9; cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 156–7 (= ed. Griscom,

established beyond a doubt: if dust from the earth of the upper castle of Parisot is scattered in any place whatever, that place is immediately cleared of infestation with any harmful reptiles. This castle is in the province of Vienne, a mile away from the bank of the river Isère, in the vicinity of the city of Grenoble. But to resume our account of Ireland: if straps are made from the hides of any animals born on the island, they prove to be so signally possessed of this virtue that, when tied round poisonous snakes, they force them to break wind so violently that they immediately expire. The same thing happens if noxious creatures are sprinkled with water containing shavings from such straps, or from the trees that grow there.

The island nearest to Ireland is called Man. It boasts its own king, although it is subject to the kingdom of England.[71] It faces Scotland to the east. It is quite densely populated, and the way of life there is more refined than is the norm.

Scotland was once inhabited by the Scots, people of a very low manner of life, but now they have been driven out and knights have been settled there, duly enfeoffed and bound by the sacred laws of hospitality.[72] Like the Isle of Man, Scotland has its own kings, who have proved either saints or imitators of saintly deeds in uninterrupted succession down to our own times.

Let us now set down the cities of Great Britain along with their dependencies.

The Cities of Great Britain

England or Great Britain has two metropolitan sees: Canterbury and York. Actually, in the time of the Britons there were three archbishops in the island of Britain. The first was the archbishop of Legions, who had the primacy in Wales, his seat being at Caerleon, that is, the city of the Legions; for Caesar sent twelve legions into winter quarters there, and with marvellous workmanship they constructed the city.[73] It was there, too, that Arthur held his solemn court, with which no other could compare, and at which he appointed the Twelve Peers of France, as will be recounted below, with God's guidance, in the catalogue of the kings of Britain.[74] The second metropolitan in those days was the archbishop of London or Trinovantum. The third was the archbishop of York. The bishops of Cambria were subject to Legions, the bishops of Loegria to London,

ix. 12–15). The Twelve Peers are said to have been present at this court, but not to have been appointed at it.

Dunelmensis et Carleolensis et omnes episcopi Scotie. Verum tempore Augustini, Anglorum apostoli, cum ad Anglos paganitatis adhuc more gentis sue Saxonice tenebris inuolutos Augustinus predicator a beato Gregorio missus, in Britannia christianissimos clericos et monacos cum septem sedibus cathedralibus inuenisset, indignantes illi subesse, eo quod Brittones ostium suorum Saxonum communionem nedum subiectionem abominarentur, tandem Anglorum regulis uiros illos religiosos ad martirii palmam ducentibus, in sanguine sanctorum Dolobernensis ecclesia primaciam obtinuit, et exinde Cantuariensis[w] metropolis Trinouantum suo pallio spoliauit, Legionensem sibi subiciens metropolim cum sibi subiectis episcopis.[75]

[76]Cantuariensis ergo archiepiscopus hos habet suffraganeos: Rofensem, Londoniensem, Cicestrensem, Exoniensem, Wintoniensem, Bathoniensem, Saresberiensem, Wygorniensem,[x] Herefordensem, Couentrensem (qui olim fuit Cestrensis, et antea Licesfeldensis), Lincolniensem, Norwicensem, Eliensem. In Wallia hos habet Cantuariensis suffraganeos: Meneuensem uel sancti Dauid, Landauensem, Bangorniensem, de sancto Asaph.

Eboracensis archiepiscopus duos tantum habet suffraganeos: Dunholmensem (qui tot gaudet priuilegiis Romane ecclesie quod iam in plenam se recepit[y] libertatem) et Carleolensem (qui sepissime tanto tempore uacat quod obliuioni datur potius quam subiectioni).[76]

[77]Sane episcopi Scotie nostris temporibus exempti domino pape contribuuntur. Sunt autem hi: episcopatus[z] sancti Andree, Glasguensis, episcopatus Candide Case, Dumkeldensis, Dumblaniensis, Rossmarchinensis, Brechinensis, Abdonensis, Murensis[a] uel Murauiensis, Cathanensis, episcopatus de Arogarthel.[77]

Sic[b] ergo dum:

Ludit in humanis Romana potentia rebus,[78]

[w] Cantuarensis *N* [x] Wigotniensem *N* [y] recipit *Aβ* [z] De Scotia *add. as title before* episcopatus *XQ* [a] Mitrensis *XQ* [b] Scocia *add. as title before* Sic *I; likewise in N*, Scocia *written by rubricator, but deleted (by author?)*

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[75] This account of the seven (probably non-diocesan) bishops goes back to Bede, *HE* ii. 2, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1992); for commentary see C. Plummer, *Bedae opera historica*, 2 vols. (London, 1896), ii. 71; J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People: A Commentary* (Oxford, 1988), p. 53. For the martyrdom of Abbot Dinoot and his monks, a story which in essence also goes back to

and the bishops of Durham and Carlisle and all the bishops of Scotland to York. And so in the time of Augustine, the apostle of England, sent by the blessed Gregory to preach to the Angles when they were still wrapped in the darkness of the paganism they had inherited from their Saxon race, he found among the Britons genuinely Christian clerics and monks with seven episcopal sees, who scorned to be subject to him, because the Britons hated to associate with their Saxon enemies, let alone to be subject to them. But in the end, when the kings of the Angles led those holy men to receive the palm of martyrdom, the church of Canterbury obtained the primacy in the blood of saints; the metropolitan see of Canterbury then deprived Trinovantum of its pallium, and subjected to itself the metropolitan see of Legions along with its suffragan bishops.[75]

[76]The archbishop of Canterbury, then, has the following suffragans: Rochester, London, Chichester, Exeter, Winchester, Bath, Salisbury, Worcester, Hereford, Coventry (formerly Chester, and before that Lichfield), Lincoln, Norwich, and Ely. In Wales Canterbury has the following suffragans: Menevia or St David's, Llandaff, Bangor, and St Asaph's.

The archbishop of York has only two suffragans: Durham (which enjoys so many privileges from the Roman church that it has now withdrawn from York into complete independence), and Carlisle (which endures such long and frequent vacancies that it is consigned to oblivion rather than subjection).[76]

[77]The bishops of Scotland have been granted exemption in our times, and are now assigned to the lord pope. To list them nonetheless, they are St Andrews, Glasgow, Whithorn, Dunkeld, Dunblane, Ross, Brechin, Aberdeen, Moray, Caithness, and Argyll.[77]

Thus it is, then, that:

The power of Rome sports with human affairs,[78]

Bede, see Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 188–9 (= ed. Griscom, xi. 12–13); *Otia*, ii. 17, at n. 69.

[76–76] Cantuariensis . . . potius quam subiectioni)] Cf. *PR* 525–46 (ed. Weidenbach, p. 271). The *Provinciale* adds *Lewensen* (Wells) after Bath; the parentheses represent additions by Gervase. Gervase is clearly thinking of the palatinate status of the see of Durham. For details of the various exemption disputes in the late twelfth century up to 1195, including Durham, see G. V. Scammell, *Hugh de Puiset* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 167–82. The occupants of the see of Carlisle are listed in *HBC*, pp. 235–7. Indeed no occupant of the see is listed between Aethelwulf (d. 1133) and Bernard in 1203.

[77–77] Sane . . . episcopatus de Arogarthel] Cf. *PR* 570–80 (p. 272).

[78] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iv. 3. 49.

hunc humiliat et hunc exaltat,[79] hunc Argum facit, illum polifemat.[80] Vtinam hec sit mutatio dextre Excelsi;[81] etenim plenitudo potestatis[82] apostolice multos dignos eicit et indignos erigit, tanto districtius arbitrium acceptura[c] quanto singularius a summo Deo expectat iudicium, a nemine mortalium iudicanda.

Hybernie urbes[d]

Hybernia[e] habet metropoles quatuor. [83]Archiepiscopus Armatie habet hos[f] suffraganeos: Lugitadunensem,[g] Cluamrand,[h] episcopatus de Cunnaunas et de Ardachad et de Radbath[i] et de Radurig[j] et de Damhaggen[k] et de Dauli.[l] Archiepiscopus Dublinensis habet suffraganeos Glenderacensem, Fernensem, de Camic, Glensonensem, Childerensem. Casselenensis habet suffraganeos Cendaluanensem, Luminech', de insula Gathai, de Celluinabrach, de Hymelec, de Roscreen,[m] de Watreford, de Lismor, de Cluaman, de Corcoia, de Rosalither, de Ardferd. Tuamensis[n] habet suffraganeos de Magot, de Cellalad, de Roscomon,[o] de Cunamfert,[p] de Acad, de Cunairi, de Celimunduac.[83]

xi. *De tercia orbis parte, quam Affricam dicimus*

Explicuimus Asie et Europe singulares particiones; nunc ad Affricam nos transferri conuenit, quam [1]cum terciam orbis partem[a] maiores nostri accipiendam descripserunt,[b] non spaciorum mensuras sed diuisionum rationes secuti sunt. Mare siquidem hoc Magnum, quod ex occasu ab occeano oritur, in meridiem[c] magis uergens angustiorem inter se et occeanum coartate Affrice limitem facit. f. 29v Vnde etiam aliqui, quamuis | eam longitudine parem, tamen multo angustiorem intelligentes, uerecundum arbitrati terciam uocare

[c] acceptura *supplied by author N* [d] Hybernie urbes *AI;* Ymbernia *written by rubricator, corrected to* -e urbes *by author N;* De Ybernia *CXQ* [e] has *add. after* Hybernia *Aβ;* hos *del. N* [f] hos *supplied by author N; om. ACβ* [g] Lugundimensem *PR* [h] Eluaniraud *C,* Eluanrand *I,* Eluaniraird *PR* [i] Rathbod *PR* [j] Rathlurig *PR* [k] Damliaggen *PR* [l] et de Dauli] uel Dartiensem *PR* [m] Rosereen. *N* [n] Tuaniensis *NXQ* [o] Rosconion *N* [p] Culuanfert *PR*

[a] orbis partem] partis orbem *N* [b] descripserint *C and Orosius* [c] meridie *N*

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[79] Ps. 74 (75): 8 (7).

[80] Argus was the hundred-eyed keeper of Io; the one-eyed Cyclops, Polyphemus, was blinded by Odysseus.

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humbling one and exalting another,[79] making one an Argus, another a Polyphemus.[80] Would that these changes were the doing of the right hand of the Most High;[81] but in fact, the papacy with its plenitude of power[82] casts down many deserving men, and raises up the undeserving in their place. However, it will meet its reckoning, which will be all the more severe because of the prerogative it has enjoyed, awaiting judgment from God on high, while being exempt from all mortal judgment.

The Cities of Ireland

Ireland has four metropolitan sees. [83]The archbishop of Armagh has the following suffragans: Louth, Meath, Kells, Ardagh, Raphoe, Rathluraigh, Duleek, and Dundalk. The archbishop of Dublin has as his suffragans Glendalough, Ferns, Kilkenny, Leighlin, and Kildare. Cashel has as his suffragans Killaloe, Limerick, Inniscathay, Kilfenora, Emly, Roscrea, Waterford, Lismore, Cloyne, Cork, Rosscarbery, and Ardfert. Tuam has as his suffragans Mayo, Killala, Roscommon, Clonfert, Achonry, Clonmacnoise, and Kilmacduagh.[83]

11. *The Third Part of the World, which we call Africa*

We have described the different sections of Asia and Europe; now it is fitting for us to turn our attention to Africa. [1]Our predecessors stated that Africa was to be taken as the third part of the world, but in this they were going not by the extent of the territory of the three parts, but by a consideration of how the land is divided. For this Great Sea of ours, which starts from the ocean in the west, subsequently veers rather towards the south, leaving between itself and the ocean only quite a narrow space, in which Africa is confined. Consequently there are even some who, observing that it is much narrower than the other

[81] Cf. Ps. 76 (77): 11 (10).

[82] Gervase is echoing here a strain of criticism of the undesirable effects of papal absolute power found amongst several of his Anglo-Norman contemporaries: see J. Benzinger, *Invectiva in Romam: Romkritik im Mittelalter vom 9. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert* (Lübeck, 1968), pp. 100–5.

[83–83] Archiepiscopus . . . Cunairi, de Celimunduac] Cf. *PR* 581–618 (ed. Weidenbach, p. 272). The *Provinciale* gives *Conneriuensem* (Connor) and *Dundalecglaensem* (Dundalk) as the first two suffragans of Armagh; *de Dauli* in Gervase's list may represent Dundalk, or Derry. There is some guesswork involved in the identification of these Irish bishoprics; see C. T. Martin, *The Record Interpreter* (Chichester, 1982), pp. 425–8.

[1–1] cum . . . descripcio hec est (p. 316)] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 83–6.

partem, sed potius in Europa[d] deputantes Affricam, hoc est secunde partis portionem appellare maluerunt. Preterea cum multo amplius terre in Affrica ardore solis quam in Europa rigore frigoris incultum incognitumue sit—quippe cum omnia animantia pene uel germinantia paciencius[e] ac tolerabilius ad summum frigoris quam ad summum caloris accedant—ea igitur causa est Affricam[f] per omnia minorem fetu[g] ac populis uideri: quia et natura sui minus habet[h] spacii, et celi inclementia plus deserti. Cuius descripcio hec est.[1]

[2]Affrica enim ab Ofer, uno[i] ex posteris filii[j] Ceture (que est Agar), qui castra sua fixit in Libia, nomen sumsit;[2] uel ab Affaran filio Agar, cuius filiam Hercules duxit, auxiliator eius.[3] [4]Hec ab oriente Indi fluminis surgit, et per meridiem uergens tendit in occidentem. Huius prouintia prima Libia est, a regina eiusdem nominis dicta.[4] [5]Hec a Parethonio ciuitate et montibus Catabathmon inicium sumit; inde a secundo mari usque ad Aras Filenorum extenditur. Post se habet usque ad occeanum meridianum gentes Libiorum-Ethiopum[k] et Garamantum. Huic est ab oriente Egiptus, a septentrione mare Libicum, ab occasu Sirtes maiores et Trogodite (contra quos Calipso insula est), a meridie occeanus Ethiopicus.[5] [6] [l]Sunt autem Sirtes in mari Affrico, maior et minor, loca arenosa que omnia ad se trahunt, et appropinquantes uadoso[m] mari herent; et Egipto uicine sunt.[6] Alii scopulos dicunt.[l]

[7]Inde est Sireneica, a Sirene ciuitate nominata, et a regina eiusdem nominis constructa. Hec et Pentapolis, a quinque ciuitatibus sic dicta: Birenica, Arsinoe, Ptolomaide, Apollonia, Sirene (uel per S litteram, uel ut alii dicunt per C), que quidem urbes a nominibus suorum conditorum sic nominantur.

[d] Europam *Orosius* [e] paciencius *supplied by author N* [f] Affricam *CQ*; Affrica *NAXI* [g] fetu *MSS*; situ *Orosius* [h] habeat *Orosius* [i] Ofer (Afer *I*) uno *β*; Oferimo *N* [j] filii *AXQ*; filiis *NC*; Abrahe filio *I* [k] Libyo-aethiopum *Orosius* [l–l] Sunt . . . Alii scopulos dicunt] *supplied by author N* [m] uadaso(?) *N*

[2–2] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 5. 2, ix. 2. 115; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 30 (32) (ed. Flint p. 63 = *PL* clxxii. 130); Josephus, *Ant.* i. 239. Epher (or Opher in the Vulgate) was one of the sons of Midian, son of Keturah (Gen. 25: 4).

[3] The author wrote alongside this sentence in the margin of *N*: 'Glodias qui et Nircus propheta Iudeorum'. From this it is clear that he had Josephus, *Ant.* i. 240–1, in mind; Josephus quotes a passage from Alexander Polyhistor, in which Cleodemus the prophet, also called Malchus, is named as a source for the tradition that Africa was named after Apheras or Aphranes, son of Keturah, and that Hercules married Aphranes' daughter.

[4–4] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 87; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 5. 1.

[5–5] Hec . . . meridie occeanus Ethiopicus] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 88–9; Honorius, loc. cit.

parts of the world, though it matches them in length, have thought it wrong to call it the third part, but have included Africa in Europe instead, thus electing to call it a section of the second part. Furthermore, since much more of the land is uncultivated and unexplored in Africa, because of the heat of the sun, than in Europe, because of the severity of the cold—for indeed virtually all animals and plants adapt themselves more readily and easily to extremes of cold than to extremes of heat—it is no surprise that Africa seems smaller in every respect, in its produce and its population: for on the one hand it has less territory by its nature, and on the other, more of the territory it has is barren because of its harsh climate. There follows a description of Africa.[1]

[2]Africa took its name from Epher, one of the descendants of the son of Keturah (that is, Hagar), who made war in Libya;[2] or from Aphranes, son of Hagar: Hercules fought alongside Aphranes, and married his daughter.[3] [4]Africa begins to the east of the river Indus, and then extends westwards, but with a southern slant. Its first province is Libya, called after a queen of the same name.[4] [5]Libya begins at the city of Paraetonium and the mountains of Catabathmos; from there it stretches along the sea-coast as far as the Altars of the Philaeni. Beyond Libya, reaching to the southern ocean, are the Libyo-Ethiopian and Garamantian peoples. To the east of Libya is Egypt, to the north the Libyan Sea, to the west the Greater Syrtis and the Troglodytes (opposite whom is the island of Calypso), and to the south the Ethiopian Ocean.[5] [6]Now the Syrtes, the Greater and the Lesser, are sandbanks in the African Sea which draw everything to themselves, and anyone who comes near them sticks fast in the shallow water. They are in the vicinity of Egypt;[6] some people say they are reefs.

[7]Then comes Cyrenaica, named after the city of Cyrene, which was built by a queen of the same name. This region is also called the Pentapolis after its five cities: Berenice, Arsinoe, Ptolemais, Apollonia, and Syrene (spelt either with an S or, as others say, with a C). These cities all take their names from their founders' names.

[6] Here Gervase is drawing on Isidore (*Etym.* xiii. 18. 6), who refers to Sallust (see *Iug.* lxxviii. 3); above this marginal addition to the text, the author wrote: 'R. Salustius'. The Syrtes (now the Gulfs of Sidra and Cabes) were difficult to navigate owing to shoals and rocks.

[7–7] Inde . . . Inde Tripolis (p. 318)] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit. (excluding the parenthesis); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 5. 5.

Inde Tripolis,[7] Barbarica dicta ad differentiam Tripolis que in Siria est, non multum distans ab Anthiocia. Ab hac dicitur regio illa quam diximus [8]Tripolitana, que[n] et Subuentana, que et Arzugum regio dicitur, ubi Leptis ciuitas Magna est, quamuis Arzuges per longum Affrice limitem generaliter uocantur.[o] [8] Dicitur autem Tripolitana a tribus ciuitatibus, que sunt Occasa, Berece, et Leptis Magna.[9] [10]Habet Tripolitana ab oriente Aras Filenorum[p] inter Sirtes[q] maiores et Trogoditas, a septentrione mare Siculum[r] uel potius Adriaticum[s] et Sirtes minores, ab occasu Bisantium[t] et[u] lacum Salinarum, a meridie Getulos barbaros et Garamantes et Vatabros[v] usque ad occeanum Ethiopicum pertingentes.[10]

Post hanc est Bisace, a duabus urbibus sic dicta, hoc est Andronico[w] et Bisantio.[11] Est autem Bisantium ubi Adrumetus, ciuitas[12] magna. Nec intelligitur Bisancium Tracie, que est Constantinopolis, sed Bisancium Libie siue Bisace prouincie.

Deinde est [13]Zeugis, ubi Cartago magna, a Didone, ⟨que⟩[x] et[y] Elissa, constructa et Carthada, a Charta oppido, nominata; sed a Romanis deleta et denuo reedificata, Cartago appellata. Huius muri latitudo fuit decem et octo[z] cubitorum.

Post hanc est Getulia,[13] in quam ars piscandi non uenit, utpote nec oportuna nec necessaria. [14]Exhinc Numidia, ubi regnauit Iugurta.[15] In hac est Yppus Regius, ciuitas ubi presul fuit beatus Augustinus magnus,[14] qui Valerio accessit non successit, ut Ca. .vii. q. .i.: 'Non autem'.[16] In hac est Russicada ciuitas.[17] Habent autem he ciuitates [18]ab oriente Sirtes minores et lacum Salinarum, a septentrione mare

[n] que *om. XQ*
[o] uocentur *AC and Orosius*
[p] uel Philistinorum *add. after* Filenorum *XQ*
[q] Seces *N*
[r] Siricum *N*
[s] Ariaticum *N*
[t] Byzacium *Orosius*
[u] et *MSS;* usque ad *Orosius*
[v] Getulos barbaros et Garamantes et Vatabros *MSS;* Gaetulos Nathabres et Garamantas *Orosius*
[w] Adromeus *Honorius*
[x] que *Honorius; om. MSS*
[y] et] uel *I, presumably a scribal correction*
[z] decem et octo *MSS;* septem et decem *Honorius*

[8–8] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 90.

[9] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 5. 6.

[10–10] Habet . . . occeanum Ethiopicum pertingentes] Cf. Orosius, loc. cit.; Isidore, loc. cit.

[11] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 5. 7. The name *Andronico* in Gervase's copy of Honorius was a corruption of Hadrumetum, the chief city of Byzacium; Gervase failed to recognize it as the place mentioned in the following sentence, which he drew from Orosius. Byzacium was in fact the name of the province, not of a city; its corruption to the more familiar *Byzantium* occasioned the explanation which concludes the paragraph. The author wrote: 'C. de officio prefecti Affrice l. i et l. ii' in the margin beside this sentence; this is a reference to the *Code*, i. 27 ('De officio Praefecti Praetorio Africae et de omni eiusdem Dioeceseos statu'), which consists of two laws concerning Africa, dating from 534 AD; in law 1, §12, Byzacium is named as one of the provinces of Africa.

Next comes Tripolis,[7] called Barbarica to distinguish it from the Tripolis which is in Syria, not far from Antioch. The region we have mentioned is called the Provincia Tripolitana after Tripolis; it is [8]also called the Provincia Subventana, and the country of the Arzuges, though Arzuges is also the general name for the people who live along the whole length of Africa. The city of Leptis Magna is found here.[8] It is called the Provincia Tripolitana because of its three cities, which are Oea, Sabrata, and Leptis Magna.[9] [10]To the east this province has the Altars of the Philaeni, between the Greater Syrtis and the Troglodytes, to the north the Sicilian Sea, or rather the Adriatic, and the Lesser Syrtis, to the west Byzacium and the Salt-pan Lake, to the south the barbaric Gaetulians, Garamantes, and Nathabres, reaching as far as the Ethiopian Ocean.[10]

After Tripolis comes Byzace, so called because it contains two cities, namely Andronicum and Byzantium.[11] It is, moreover, Byzacium where the great city of Hadrumetum is found.[12] It is not the Thracian Byzantium, that is, Constantinople, that is meant, but the Libyan Byzantium, or the province of Byzace.

Then comes [13]Zeugis, where the great city of Carthage lies. Carthage was built by Dido, also known as Elissa, and it was named Carthada after the town of Cartha; but it was destroyed by the Romans, and when rebuilt again it was given the name of Carthage. Its walls were eighteen cubits thick.

After this comes Gaetulia,[13] a place which the art of fishing has never reached, being neither useful nor necessary there. [14]Then comes Numidia, where Jugurtha[15] reigned. In this province is Hippo Regius, the city where the great Saint Augustine was bishop.[14] Augustine did not succeed Valerius, but rather joined him, as it says in C. vii q. i, 'Non autem'.[16] Also in this province is the city of Rusiccade.[17] These cities [18]have the Lesser Syrtis and the Salt-pan Lake to the east, to the north our sea looking towards the

[12] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 92.

[13–13] Zeugis . . . hanc est Getulia] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 5. 8, xv. i. 30.

[14–14] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 31 (32) (ed. Flint p. 63 = *PL* clxxii. 130–1).

[15] i.e. the king of Numidia who was conquered by the Romans in the second century BC, as described by Sallust in his *Bellum Iugurthinum*.

[16] Cf. *Decretum*, C. 7 q. 1 c. 12. Augustine was initially consecrated in 395 AD as co-bishop of Hippo with Valerius.

[17] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 92; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 5. 9.

[18–18] ab oriente . . . ad occeanum Ethiopicum (p. 320)] Cf. Orosius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 5. 9. The subject of the sentence in Orosius is Byzacium, Zeugis, and Numidia.

nostrum quod spectat[a] ad Siciliam[b] et Sardiniam insulas, ab occasu Mauritaniam Sitifensem, a meridie montes Vzarae[c] et postea[d] Ethiopum gentes peruagantes usque ad occeanum Ethiopicum.[18]

Post Numidiam sequitur [19]Mauritania Sitifensis et Cesariensis,[e] habens ab oriente[f] Numidiam, a septentrione mare nostrum, ab occasu flumen Maluam, a meridie montem Astrixim qui diuidit inter uiuam[g] terram et arenas iacentes usque ad occeanum, in quibus oberrat gens Aulolum quam Gaulales uocant, et[h] Ethiopes.[19]

[20]Tingitana Mauritania ultima pars est Affrice. Hec habet ab oriente flumen Maluam, a septentrione mare nostrum usque ad fretum Gaditanum, quod inter Auenne et Calpis duo sibi contraria promontoria coartatur; ab occidente habet Athlantem[i] montem et occeanum Athlanticum, sub affrico Esperium montem, a meridie gentes Gaulolum usque ad occeanum pertingentes. Dicitur autem Tingitana a Tingi ciuitate, huius Mauritanie metropoli.[20]

Porro [21]uersus meridiem, ut diximus,[22] est Ethiopia, ab etere[j] dicta,[21] unde Ethiopes.[k] [23]Ethiopes uero[l] a Chus filio Cam dicuntur; Chus enim Ebraica lingua Ethiops interpretatur. Hi condam ab Indo flumine consurgentes, iuxta Egiptum inter Nilum et occeanum, in meridie sub ipsa uicinitate[m] solis insederunt. Quorum tres sunt populi: Esperi, Garamantes,[n] et Indi. Esperi sunt occidentes (ab f. 31^{r} espero stella), Garamantes Tripolitani, Indi orientales.[o] [23] | Interpretatur autem Ethiops 'tenebre' uel 'tenebrosus'. [24]Est autem Mauritannia a nigredine dicta;[24] suntque plurime Maurorum, hoc est nigrorum, gentes: Mauritania superior, in qua ciuitas Gneocesarea et ciuitas Tuburbitanorum;[p] [25] post hanc Tingitana,[q] et [26]uersus

[a] expectat *N*
[b] Siliciam *N*
[c] Nazare *XQ*
[d] post eos *Orosius*
[e] Cefariensis *N*
[f] ab oriente] a meridie *N*
[g] uiuam *CI and Orosius;* Vriam *N*
[h] oberrat . . . et] oberrant Gangines *Orosius*
[i] Athaltem *N*
[j] etere] Ethan *Honorius*
[k] unde Ethiopes *supplied by author N; om. ACβ*
[l] uero] autem *ACβ*
[m] uicinitate *supplied by author N*
[n] Caramantes *N*
[o] *At this point in the text of N, a marginal note by the author directs the reader to f.* 31^{r} *as follows:* uerte folium sequentem, et incipies Interprestatur (*sic*) autem, ubi est istud signum o–o
[p] in qua ciuitas . . . Tuburbitanorum] *supplied by author N; om. β*
[q] Tingitannia *N;* Tingintana *XQ*

[19–19] Mauritania . . . uocant, et Ethiopes] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 93; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 5. 11. Orosius describes the sandy desert as the home of the 'Gangines Ethiopes'; the 'gentes Autololum, quas nunc Galaules uocant' appear in §94 as inhabitants of Mauritania Tingitana.

[20–20] Tingitana . . . huius Mauritanie metropoli] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 94; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 5. 12; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 31 (32) (ed. Flint p. 63 = *PL* clxxii. 131).

[21–21] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 32 (33) (ed. Flint p. 64 = *PL* clxxii. 131).

islands of Sicily and Sardinia, to the west Mauritania Sitifensis, to the south the mountains of Zarec and beyond them, as far as the Ethiopian Ocean, the nomadic Ethiopian tribes.[18]

The next province after Numidia is [19]Mauritania, consisting of Mauritania Sitifensis and Mauritania Caesariensis. It has Numidia to the east, our sea to the north, the river Malvia to the west, and to the south Mount Astrixis, which divides the fertile land from the sands which stretch as far as the ocean; over these sands wander the Autololian people (whom they call the Gaulales) and the Ethiopians.[19]

[20]The last part of Africa is Mauritania Tingitana. This has the river Malvia to the east, and to the north our sea, as far as the Strait of Gibraltar, which is confined between the two facing promontories of Abyle and Calpe; to the west it has Mount Atlas and the Atlantic Ocean, to the south-west Mount Hesperius, and to the south the tribes of the Gaulales reaching as far as the ocean. It is called the Provincia Tingitana after the city of Tangiers, the chief city of this part of Mauritania.[20]

To turn now [21]to the south, we find, as we have said,[22] Ethiopia, which takes its name from *aether*, the upper air,[21] whence its people are called the Ethiopians. [23]Or else they are named after Cush, son of Ham; for Cush means Ethiopian in the Hebrew tongue. These people migrated long ago from the river Indus, and settled next to Egypt in the south, between the Nile and the ocean, right under the heat of the sun. They are divided into three tribes: the Hesperi, the Garamantes, and the Indi. The Hesperi live in the west (taking their name from Hesperus, the evening star); the Garamantes live in the region of Tripolis; the Indi in the east.[23] Ethiopian actually means 'darkness' or 'dark', while [24]the name Mauritania comes from its people's blackness.[24] There are indeed a great many nations of Moors, that is, black people: Upper Mauritania, including the cities of Neocaesarea and Tuburbitana;[25] beyond it, Mauritania Tingitana; [26]towards the south,

[22] *Otia*, ii. 4, pp. 214–15.

[23–23] Ethiopes . . . Tripolitani, Indi orientales] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 127–8; *Otia*, ii. 4 at n. 112.

[24–24] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 31 (32) (ed. Flint p. 63 = *PL* clxxii. 131); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 5. 10. Isidore explains: 'Graeci enim nigrum μαῦρον vocant' ('for the Greek word for black is μαῦρος').

[25] Now Henchir el Kasbate.

[26–26] uersus . . . cursu feras capiunt (p. 322)] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 32 (33) (ed. Flint p. 64 = *PL* clxxii. 131); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 5. 16, xiv. 5. 13, ix. 2. 129. Honorius and Isidore (*Etym.* xiv. 5. 16) distinguish two Ethiopias, one in the east and one in the west; Gervase's fourth and fifth Moorish peoples correspond to Honorius' first and second Ethiopias.

meridiem Ethiopia; quarta in oriente, in qua est urbs Saba de qua fuit regina Saba; ultima in occidente. Inter quas[r] sunt Garamantes, a Garama ciuitate sic dicti. Apud hanc[s] est fons ita[t] frigidus per diem ut non bibatur, et tam feruidus per noctem ut non tangatur. Istis uersus orientem coabitant Trogodite, qui celeri cursu feras capiunt.[26]

[u]In Affrica est ciuitas Ruspensis et ciuitas Affrica et Lucernaria et Tuniz et Bugia et Zepta, que Septem dicitur, in traiectu qui est contra Yspaniam, de quibus meminit lex Codicis, C. 'De officio prefecti Affrice', 'In nomine', c. .i.[u] [27]

[28]Vltra Ethiopiam uersus meridiem sunt maritima loca deserta,[v] ob solis ardorem et diuersa serpentum genera hominibus incognita. Deinde maximus est occeanus, qui solis calore feruere dicitur, ut cacabus. In extremis finibus Affrice ad occidentem est urbs Gades, a Fenicis[w] constructa, ex qua Gades insula et fretum Gaditanum[29] (ubi et Columpne Herculis uisuntur). In ipso uero occeano mons est Athlas[30] altissimus (habens Mauritaniam Tingitanam a sinistra), a quo Athlanticum mare dicitur. Athlas autem rex erat, frater Promethei, a quo mons nomen accepit, quia in eo residens astrologiam descripsit; unde et celum dicitur sustentare.[28]

Porro inter montem Athlantem, qui est ab occidente, et montes Gaulales (a quibus inhabitatores Gaulales dicuntur) ad affricum,[x] est ciuitas Esperidum, habens ab affrico Esperidum occeanum, ab austro Gaulales, a septentrione Theozoniam, continuo igne flammantem. [31]Sunt et illic insule Esperide, ab espero stella uel Esperida ciuitate dicte. In hac[y] oues albi uelleris habundant, que ad purpuram obtime sunt; unde dicitur fabulose aurea mala habuisse: *malon* enim dicitur ouis.[32] Vltra has fuit insula magna que, scribente Platone, cum populo

[r] inter quas *supplied by author N* [s] hanc] quam *Q;* quos *Honorius* [t] ita *supplied by author* (*correcting* tam) *N;* tam *Honorius* [u-u] In Affrica . . . 'In nomine', c. .i.] *supplied by author N; om. β* [v] deserta *supplied by author N* [w] Fenicibus *I and Honorius* [x] affricum *ed.;* Affricam *MSS* [y] hac *MSS;* his *Honorius*

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[27] Cf. *Code*, i. 27 (see above, n. 11). The opening words of law 1 are 'In nomine'; the phrase 'in traiectu, qui est contra Hispaniam, quod Septem dicitur' is found in law 2, §2, but the other names listed here do not appear in the *Code*.

[28-28] Vltra . . . celum dicitur sustentare] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 32 (33) (ed. Flint p. 64 = *PL* clxxii. 131); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 7, xiv. 8. 17. The phrases in parentheses were added by Gervase.

[29] The 'island of Cadiz' is the peninsula on which Cadiz is situated; its strait is the Strait of Gibraltar.

[30] See *Otia*, ii. 2, n. 22; for the idea that Atlas was the first astronomer, see Diodorus Siculus, iii. 60 and iv. 27.

Ethiopia; then there is a fourth nation in the east, containing the city of Sheba, where the queen of Sheba came from; and a last nation in the west. The Garamantes, so-called after the city of Garama, are among these peoples. At Garama there is a spring which is so cold during the day that one cannot drink from it, and so hot during the night that one cannot touch it. The eastern neighbours of the Garamantes are the Troglodytes, who run so fast that they can catch wild animals.[26]

Africa contains the cities of Ruspina, Africa, Lucernaria, Tunis, Bugia, and Zepta, this last being called Septem. These cities are on the strip lying opposite Spain; they are mentioned in the *Code*, under the title 'De officio prefecti Africe', law 1, 'In nomine'.[27]

[28]Beyond Ethiopia towards the south are desert lands bordering the ocean, unexplored by human beings on account of the heat of the sun and the various kinds of serpents there. Then comes the great expanse of the ocean, which is said to boil like a cauldron in the heat of the sun. On the frontier of Africa furthest to the west is the city of Cadiz, built by the Phoenicians, and giving its name to the island and strait of Cadiz;[29] that is also where the Pillars of Hercules are to be seen. Actually in the ocean is Atlas,[30] a very high mountain, with Mauritania Tingitana to its left; the Atlantic Sea is named after it. Atlas was in fact a king, the brother of Prometheus, and the mountain took its name from him because he lived on it while he wrote a description of the stars. That is why he is said to hold up the heavens.[28]

Now between Mount Atlas in the west, and the Gaulalian Mountains (whose inhabitants are called the Gaulales after them) to the south-west, is the city of Hesperida. This city has the ocean of the Hesperides to the south-west, the Gaulales to the south, and to the north Theozonia, continually ablaze with fire. [31]Also in that region are the islands of the Hesperides, named after Hesperus, the evening star, or else after the city of Hesperida. Here there are large numbers of white fleeced sheep, which are very good for making purple cloth; this gave rise to the legend that the Hesperides had golden apples (*mala*): for *μῆλον* means 'sheep'.[32] Beyond the Hesperides there was once a large island which, by Plato's account, sank together with its

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[31-31] Sunt . . . concretum est mare (p. 324)] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 35 (36) (ed. Flint p. 66 = *PL* clxxii. 132); Plato, *Timaeus*, 24E–25D; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 10.

[32] *μᾶλον* is the Doric form of *μῆλον*, an apple (cf. Latin *malum*); *μῆλον* is also a sheep or goat.

est submersa, que Asiam[z] et Europam sua uicit magnitudine, ubi concretum est mare.[31]

Porro inter zefirum et affricum, ex aduerso Auenne et Calpis, ut dixi, promontoriorum, [33]iuxta Athlantem, sunt in occeano insule Gorgones (sic dicte quia Gorgones eas inhabitauit), distantes a terra per bidui nauigacionem.[33]

Sane in ipso Gaditani freti confinio, uersus affricum, est [34]insula Fortunatorum, uocabulo suo illic omnia bona esse significans, et inhabitatores ad instar paradisi felices esse notans, loci amenitate fructuumque plenissima ubertate[a] cunctis gratissima sed paucis nota; que aliquando casu inuenta, postea diu quesita non est reperta, ideoque dicitur Perdita. Ad hanc traditur Brandanum, uirum sanctum, occeani exploratorem, tamdem deuenisse.[34] Est autem hec insula Fortunatorum secundum filosofos dicta, quam secundum poetas Elisium[b] Campum dicimus. Est autem Eliseus Campus secundum Virgilium[35] apud inferos, ubi piorum anime post corporis ac anime discretionem habitant. Vnde dicitur *apotoy liserios*,[36] id est interius, f. 35^r quasi post mortem[c] | inter animam et corpus in medio uel in sinu quodam suis felicitatibus plenum, quem quidam sinum Abrahe[37] dicunt, quia illic ante resurrectionem Christi Abraham cum reliquis sanctis expectabat redemptionem nostram et uictoriam Christi. Alii theologi dicunt locum esse iuxta lunarem[d] circulum, ubi inde[e] purior est aer.[38]

Sunt et in occeano sed uersus circium, ultra Hyberniam, [39]Orcades insule triginta tres,[f] quarum uiginti sunt deserte, tredecim coluntur.[39] Versus quoque septemtrionem sunt insule Islandia[g] (que est terra glacialis, ab *is*, quod in illorum ydiomate 'glaciem' sonat) et

[z] Asiam *MSS;* Africam *Honorius* [a] ubtate *N* [b] Elisum *N* [c] *A marginal note by the author reads:* reuerte ad folium precedentem et incipies Inter animam, ubi est crus. *The place in question, marked with a cross, is found at the beginning of the page now numbered f. 35^r* [d] *luna|narem N* [e] ubi inde *NCQ* (inde *supplied by author N*)*;* unde ibi *X;* ubi iam *I* [f] tringinta trex *N* [g] Illandia *N*

[33–33] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 9. The author wrote in the margin beside this passage: 'Infra titulo proximo'; see below, ii. 12, pp. 328–31, for the story of the Gorgon's head.

[34–34] insula . . . exploratorem, tamdem deuenisse] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 8; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 35 (36) (ed. Flint p. 66 = *PL* clxxii. 132–3); and see above, *Otia*, i. 9, n. 11, and ii. 10, n. 70.

[35] See e.g. *Aen.* vi. 743–4.

[36] This would appear to be a corruption of a Greek phrase meaning 'interius': perhaps ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσωτεροῦ. Alternatively there may be a connection with an etymology found in the Byzantine lexicographer Hesychius, s.v. ἠλύσιον, whereby the word is derived from οὐ

people; it surpassed Asia and Europe in its size, and the sea where it was has solidified.[31]

Next, to the west-south-west, opposite the promontories of Abyle and Calpe which I mentioned above, [33]and close to Atlas, the Gorgon Islands (so-called because the Gorgon lived there) lie in the ocean, two days' voyage away from the mainland.[33]

Also in the vicinity of the Strait of Gibraltar, towards the south-west, is [34]the Island of the Blessed. By its name it conveys that all good things are found there, and signifies that its inhabitants live in a state of happiness like that of paradise. The loveliness of the place and its richly-abundant fruitfulness ensure that it is greatly pleasing to all, and yet it is known only to a few. Sometimes someone comes upon it by chance, but however long they search for it afterwards they do not find it again; and so it is known as the Lost Island. Tradition has it that Brendan, the holy man and ocean explorer, eventually reached it.[34] It is this island, called the Island of the Blessed by the philosophers, which we call the Elysian Field following poetic usage. According to Virgil,[35] however, the Elysian Field is in the underworld, being the region where the souls of the just live after the separation of body and soul. And so it is called *apotoy liserios*,[36] that is to say, the inner region, a realm abounding in its own blessings, after death has come between the body and soul, in some middle place or recess (*sinus*); some call this place the Bosom (*sinus*) of Abraham,[37] because before Christ's resurrection Abraham waited there with the rest of the saints for our redemption and the victory of Christ. Other theologians say that the place is near the lunar circle, where the air is consequently purer.[38]

Also in the ocean but towards the north-west, beyond Ireland, are [39]the Orkneys: thirty-three islands, of which twenty are barren, while thirteen are inhabited.[39] Towards the north, too, are the islands of Iceland (that is, the land of ice, from *is*, which means 'ice' in the language of the people there) and Gotland. Arthur, king of the

λύσιον (lit. 'not releasing'), denoting a place where the soul is not parted from the body; this, however, is at variance with the medieval belief that the soul would only be reunited with the body at the end of time (cf. *Otia*, iii. 103, pp. 774–5). Whatever the origin of the phrase, Gervase clearly understands it as referring to an intermediate place between earth and heaven, where the blessed await the final consummation.

[37] Cf. Luke 16: 22–3; *Otia*, i. 17, at n. 3, iii. 103, at n. 14.

[38] Paradise was believed to lie near the lunar circle: cf. *Otia*, i. 10, at n. 16; see also *Glossa ordinaria*, Gen. 2: 8 (*PL* cxiii. 86); Peter Lombard, *Liber sententiarum*, ii. 17. 5 (*PL* cxcii. 686).

[39–39] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 5; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 78.

Guthlandia,[h] quas Britannie maiori subiecit rex Britonum Arturus, cuius facta[i] sunt tanto stupore plena quod etiam fabulosa, uel propter sui magnitudinem, uel propter nostri temporis defectum, esse censentur. Post cuius exacta regnandi tempora, ipsas iterum Britonum dicioni reddidit, eo quod ab eo desciuissent,[j] Malgio, ab Arcturo quintus, uir pulcherimus, robustus, et largissimus.[40]

Succedit [41]ultima Tyle, occeani insula inter[k] septemtrionalem et occidentalem plagam, a sole Tytane nomen faciens,[l] quia numquam estiuum solstitium facit.[41] [42]Huius arbores numquam folia deponunt. In hac sex mensibus estiuis dies est, ut dicunt, continua;[m] sex hybernis nox continua. Vltra hanc uersus aquilonem est mare glaciale frigusque perpetuum.[42] Verumptamen Orcades insulas, Islandiam, Gothlandiam, et Vltimam Tylem intra fines Europe censemus.

xii. *De insulis Mediterranei maris*

Et quoniam mare Mediterraneum a Meotidis paludibus, ut diximus,[1] incipiens, in modum Y Grece littere formatur,[2] dum ab eius[a] inicio usque ad insulam Ellespontum protractior[b] pars diuisionis extenditur, et a mari Alexandrie (quod mare Siricum dicitur) in alteram partem breuiorem sue diuisionis protenditur, Cicladibus insulis uelut meditullium[c] littere continentibus, inter quas unius littere particulas Asia minor ab orientali parte, qua ad Cappadociam Siriamque progreditur, nostroque mari uersus occeanum immergitur: postquam explicuimus longioris tractus insulas,[3] nunc breuioris tractus insulas explicemus, que in mari nostro uersus occeanum ab occasu descendunt.

Inter has prima Ciprus occurrit, que [4]ab oriente mari Sirie (quod sinum Issicum[d] uocant), ab occidente mari[e] Panfilico, a septentrione

[h] Gathlandia *N* [i] facta] fata *NC* [j] desciuissent *ed.*; descinissunt *N*, descusset *X*, descemissent *Q*, descissent *I* [k] inter *supplied by author N* [l] faciens] satiens *N* [m] continuus *Honorius*

[a] eis *N* [b] protractio *NX* [c] medutillium *N* [d] Issicum *Orosius*; Siricum *MSS* [e] Sirie (quod sinum . . . mari] *supplied by author N*

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[40] For Arthur's conquest of Iceland and the addition of Gotland and the Orkneys to his realm, see Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, c. 153 (= ed. Griscom, ix. 10); and for their reconquest by Malgo, ibid. c. 183 (= ed. Griscom, xi. 7).

[41–41] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 4. Isidore actually says: 'a sole nomen habens, quia in ea aestivum solstitium sol facit, et nullus ultra eam dies est' ('taking its name from the sun, because the sun makes its summer solstice on this island, and beyond it there is no day'). Titan was the son of Hyperion, the sun-god.

Britons, subjected these islands to Great Britain. The deeds of this king are so utterly astounding that they are even regarded as being legendary: this is a result either of Arthur's own greatness, or of the decline that is a feature of our time. When the days of his reign were past, Malgo, the fifth in line from Arthur, and a very good-looking, strong, and most generous man, brought them back into subjection to the Britons (for they had revolted against him).[40]

Beyond these lands [41]lies Ultima Thule, an island in the ocean between the northern and western quarters; it takes its name from the sun-god, Titan, because it never has a summer solstice.[41] [42]The trees of this land never shed their leaves. For the six months of summer there is, so they say, continual daylight here; for the six months of winter, continual night. Beyond this land to the north is a sea of ice and unremitting cold.[42] In fact, however, we regard the Orkney Isles, Iceland, Gotland, and Ultima Thule as being within the bounds of Europe.

12. *The Islands of the Mediterranean Sea*

Now the Mediterranean Sea, which begins, as we have said,[1] at Lake Maeotis, is formed in the shape of the Greek letter *Y*.[2] The longer side of the fork extends from the sea's beginning to the island of the Hellespont, and from the Sea of Alexandria (which is called the Syrian Sea) it stretches up into the other, shorter side of its fork, with the islands of the Cyclades forming, as it were, the central point of the letter. Between these two parts of the one letter is Asia Minor on the eastern side, leading to Cappadocia and Syria, while in the direction of the ocean the Mediterranean merges into our sea. Since we have already described the islands of the longer branch of the Mediterranean,[3] let us now describe those of the shorter branch, the ones in our sea, leading towards the ocean in the west.

First among these comes Cyprus, which [4]is surrounded by the Sea of Syria (which they call the Gulf of Issus) to the east, the Sea of Pamphylia to the west, the Cilician Aulon to the north, and the

[42–42] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 29 (31) (ed Flint pp. 62–3 = *PL* clxxii. 130).

[1] *Otia*, ii. 7, pp. 252–3.

[2] A rough drawing of the supposed shape of the sea, with 'Asia' written in, was provided by the rubricator at the bottom of f. 35^r in *N*.

[3] *Otia*, ii. 7, pp. 252–5.

[4–4] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 96.

Aulone Cilico,[f] a meridie Sirie ac Fenicis pelago cingitur,[4] ab euro Sidonem et montem Libani in Siria respicit. [5]Est autem Ciprus a Cipro ciuitate dicta;[5] cuius spacium in longo tenet milia passuum centum septuaginta quinque, in lato milia passuum centum uiginti[g] quinque.[6] In hac unicus est metropolita Nicosiensis, et tres episcopi: Pafenensis, Limochensis, Famagustanus.[7] In hac sunt Salamina, Cirrium, et Laphita, et Pafus,[h] nobilis olim carminibus poetarum, que frequente terre motu[i] lapsa, quid olim fuerit[j] ostendit suarum ruinarum uestigiis.[8]

Insula [9]Creta a Creto rege dicta, eademque Centopolis a centum urbibus dicitur,[9] quarum una Gortina.[k] [10]Finitur ab oriente Carpatio[l] mari, ab occasu et septemtrione mari Cretico, a meridie mari Libico, quod et Adriaticum ab Adria ciuitate diximus. Habet autem Creta in longo milia passuum centum septuaginta duo, in lato quinquaginta.[10]

f. 35v | [11]Ciclades insule dicuntur quod in rotundo sunt posite: *ciclon* enim Grece 'orbis' Latine. Sunt autem quinquaginta quatuor, in Egeo mari contra Asiam posite. Harum prima Rodos ab oriente[11] (unde lex Rodia de iactu nuncupatur),[12] [13]a ciuitate eiusdem nominis[m] dicta. In hac fertur ereus[n] colosus[o] fuisse, septuaginta cubitorum altus.[13] Inter hanc et Maltas[14] ad Ciprum est transitus per Cicladas. Inter hanc et Ciprum sunt Sirtes que uulgo gulfus Satalie nominantur, ubi caput Gorgonis in mare proiectum dicunt; respiciuntque Sataliam urbem, que ad soldanum Iconii dicitur pertinere.[15] Tradunt autem Gorgonem meretricem fuisse, que sua pulcritudine homines mentis impotes reddebat, cuius caput Perseus in mare[p] proiecit.[16]

[f] Cilicio *Orosius* [g] uinginti *N* [h] *sic QI;* passus *NAX* [i] motum *N* [j] fuerit *Cβ;* fuerat *N* [k] quarum una Gortina *supplied by author N; om. Cβ* [l] Carpatio *I;* Carfacio *NXQ* [m] civitate eiusdem nominis *Honorius;* nomine ciuitatis eiusdem *MSS* [n] ereus *I;* crius *NXQ* [o] colosus *Honorius;* colloffus *I;* colonus *NXQ* [p] mari *AXQ*

[5–5] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 33 (34) (ed. Flint p. 64 = *PL* clxxii. 131); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 14.

[6] Cf. Orosius, loc. cit.

[7] Cf. *PR* 932–5 (ed. Weidenbach, p. 276).

[8] Cf. Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*, xxx. 2 and 4, ed. Bastiaensen, p. 136 (= *PL* xxiii. 50 and 51); Auctor incertus (?Jerome), *Liber nominum locorum ex Actis*, s.v. Paphos (*PL* xxiii. 1303); Bede, *De nominibus locorum* (*CCSL* cxxi. 174 = *PL* xcii. 1039). It seems that Gervase did not recognize the word *Passus* in his source (see apparatus) as the city of Paphos he had just mentioned.

[9–9] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 15.

[10–10] Finitur . . . in lato quinquaginta] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 97; Honorius, loc. cit.

[11–11] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 19 20; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 98.

Syrian and Phoenician Seas to the south;[4] to the south-east it faces Sidon and Mount Lebanon in Syria. [5]Cyprus takes its name from the city of Cyprus.[5] It is a hundred and seventy-five miles long and a hundred and twenty-five miles wide.[6] There is just one archbishop on Cyprus, at Nicosia; there are three bishops, at Paphos, Limassol, and Famagusta.[7] The island also contains the cities of Salamis, Kyrenia, and Lapithos; Paphos is there too, a city once celebrated in the songs of poets, but destroyed by repeated earthquakes; one can tell what it once was from what remains of its ruins.[8]

The island of [9]Crete, named after King Cretus, is also called Centopolis from its hundred cities.[9] One of these cities is Gortyn. [10]The island is bounded to the east by the Carpathian Sea, to the west and north by the Cretan Sea, and to the south by the Libyan Sea, which we have also called the Adriatic, after the city of Adria. Crete is a hundred and seventy-two miles long, and fifty miles wide.[10]

[11]The Cyclades are so-called because they are arranged in a circle: for κύκλος is the Greek equivalent of the Latin *orbis*, a circle. There are fifty-four of these islands, lying in the Aegean Sea opposite Asia. Starting from the east, the first of the Cyclades is Rhodes[11] (which gave its name to the Rhodian law of jettison);[12] [13]the island is called after a city of the same name. There is said to have been a bronze colossus on this island, seventy cubits high.[13] The route through the Cyclades to Cyprus passes between Rhodes and Meis.[14] Between Rhodes and Cyprus is a dangerous gulf which is commonly called the *Gouffre de Satalie;* they say that the Gorgon's head was thrown into the sea here. This gulf looks towards the city of Satalia, which is said to belong to the sultan of Iconium.[15] They say that the Gorgon was actually a harlot, who took away men's power of thought by her beauty; it was Perseus who threw her head into the sea.[16]

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[12] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* v. 17; *Digest*, xiv. 2.

[13–13] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 22. On the colossus of Rhodes, see e.g. Pliny, *Hist. nat.* xxxiv. 18. 41.

[14] Meis, or Kastellorizon, off the coast of Turkey, would seem to be the island in question here, not Malta.

[15] On the asssociation here of the classical myth of Medusa with the local legend of the *Gouffre de Satalie* which follows, see L. Harf-Lancner and Marie-Nolle Polino, 'Le Gouffre de Satalie: Survivances médiévales du mythe de Méduse', *Le Moyen Age*, xciv (1988), 73–101, esp. pp. 88 ff. The Gorgon legend is discussed in Brednich, *Enzyklopädie*, iv. 1404–9. *Gouffre de Satalie* was the name by which the Crusaders referred to the Gulf of Antalya, north-west of Cyprus; the name probably derived from the Greek εἰς Ἀττάλειαν. Antalya was taken over by the Turks in 1207.

[16] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 224–6; Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 6, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1275).

Indigene[q] referunt militem quendam reginam adamasse, cuius stupro cum frui non posset, ipsam mortuam et sepultam furtiuo coitu cognouit, ex qua genuit caput tantum monstruosum. In conceptione miles per uocem in aere audiuit: 'Quod pariet suo intuitu omnia conspecta perdet et consumet.' Post nouem mensium decursum, miles aperto tumulo caput repperit, a cuius facie se semper auertit,[r] et cum hostibus illud ostendebat, ipsos statim cum urbibus perdebat. Tandem in mari nauigans in gremio amasie obdormiuit, que clanculo clauem scrinii, in quo repositum erat caput, surripuit, et cum stulta speculatrix caput respexerat, statim[s] obiit. Expergefactus miles, re comperta doloreque tactus, caput erexit et ab erecto uultu conspectus cum naue periit. Hinc tradunt in capite septennii caput faciem ad superiora uertere, et ex hoc periculum in mari et nauigantibus generari.[17]

[18]A septentrione Tenados insula, a ciuitate Thene; a meridie Carpathos contra Egyptum posita, unde Carpatium mare et Carpatie naues; ad occasum est Cithera, a Cithero monte dicta; hec et Porphirius,[18] de qua poeta:

Est Amathus et clara michi Pafos atque Cithera.[19]

[20]Delos insula in medio Cicladum sita,[t] a ciuitate eiusdem nominis dicta. Hec post diluuium in Achaia factum diebus Iacob, et sub Ogige[u] rege qui urbem Acimclusim nominauerat, prima comparuit; unde *delos*, quod sonat 'manifestum', nomen accepit. Hec et Ortica[v] ab *ortigometris*, hoc est coturnicibus, sic dicta, quia illic primum[w] |
f. 31^{r} uise[x] sunt.[20] [21]Icharia insula ab Ycaro puero Cretense sic dicta, a quo[y]

[q] De capite Gorgonis *add. as title before* Indigene *XQ* [r] aduertit *NX* [s] statum *N* [t] sita *supplied by author N* [u] *sic I;* Ogigio *Honorius;* Agige *NXQ* [v] Ortiga *Honorius,* Ortygia *Isidore* [w] *After* primum *the rest of f. 35^{v} in N is blank, and a note at the bottom in the author's hand reads:* reuerte ubi dimisisti Quia illic, ubi est tale signum o+o. *The same sign is found on f. 31^{r}, where the text continues* quia illic primum uise . . . [x] uise *supplied by author N* [y] qua *Honorius*

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[17] Versions of this legend are also to be found in Walter Map (*De nugis curialium*, iv. 12) and Benedict of Peterborough (*Gesta Henrici II*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS xlix (2) (1867), 195–6 (year 1191); further, Roger de Hoveden took over the story from Benedict (*Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS li (3) (1870), 158–9). It also reappears in a thirteenth-century Arthurian romance, *Le Livre d'Artus*, and in *Mandeville's Travels* (*c.*1356); see L. Harf-Lancner and Marie-Nolle Polino, art. cit., pp. 73–86; J. Hinton, 'Notes on Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*', *Studies in Philology*, xx (1923), 448–68, at pp. 458–60; Liebrecht, pp. 92–4; *MI* D581, D2061. 2. 1, D2071, D2098, T466, and T584. 2. 1.

[18–18] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 33 (34) (ed. Flint p. 64 = *PL* clxxii. 131); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 23–5; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 98. Carpathian ships were particularly large and spacious: cf. Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, xii. 5 (*PL* cxi. 356).

The locals tell a story of how a certain knight fell in love with a queen, and having been unable to enjoy carnal relations with her in life, he made love to her in secret when she was dead and buried, and begot by her a head of awful monstrosity. At the moment of conception the knight heard a voice in the air proclaim: 'The thing which she will bear will by its glance destroy and annihilate everything that meets its eyes.' When nine months had elapsed, the knight opened the tomb and found the head, but kept his eyes constantly averted from its face; whenever he displayed it to his enemies, he destroyed them instantly together with their cities. Then one day, while sailing on the sea, he fell asleep in his mistress's lap, and she stealthily took the key to the chest in which the head was kept: as soon as the foolish meddler had set eyes on the head, she promptly died. When the knight woke up and discovered what had happened, he was grief-stricken; he lifted the head up high, and meeting the gaze of the face as he held it, he perished, and the ship with him. They say that since then, once every seven years, the head has turned its face towards the surface of the water, and the sea there is rendered dangerous by this, putting sailors at risk.[17]

[18]The northernmost of the Cyclades is the island of Tenedos, named after the city of Tene; the southernmost is Carpathos, situated opposite Egypt; the Carpathian Sea and Carpathian ships take their name from this island. The westernmost of the islands is Cythera, named after Mount Cytherus; this island is also called Porphyrius.[18] The poet spoke of it as follows:

Amathus is mine, and bright Paphos, and Cythera.[19]

[20]In the middle of the Cyclades lies the island of Delos, called after a city of the same name. It was the first island to be seen after the flood which occurred in Achaea in the days of Jacob, during the rule of King Ogyges, who had given the city of Eleusis its name; that is why the island was named δῆλος, which means 'manifest'. It is also called Ortygia, from ὀρτυγομήτραι, that is, quails, because they were first seen there.[20] [21]The island of Icaria takes its name from the Cretan

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[19] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* x. 51: 'Est Amathus, est celsa mihi Paphus atque Cythera.'

[20–20] Delos . . . primum [f. 31^{r}] uise sunt] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 33 (34) (ed. Flint pp. 64–5 = *PL* clxxii. 131–2); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 21, xiii. 22. 3; Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 76 (*PL* cxcviii. 1116). The ὀρτυγομήτρα, or quail-mother, is the bird which leads the quails in their migrations across the sea.

[21–21] Icharia . . . qua mastix oritur (p. 332)] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 33 (34) (ed. Flint p. 65 = *PL* clxxii. 132); Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 26–30.

et mare Ycarium, in quo submersus, dicitur. Naxon[z] insula Dionisii, qui et Bachus.[a] Melos, que[b] et Storia insula, rotunda insula.[22] Paron,[c] a ciuitate eiusdem nominis, a Iasonis nepote constructa. Hec gignit marmor candidissimum, quod Parium dicitur; hic etiam sardius lapis nascitur. Cidon[d] est insula in qua mastix oritur.[21]

[23]Finiuntur autem Ciclades insule ab oriente littoribus Asie, ab occidente mari Ycario, a septentrione mari Egeo, a meridie mari Carpatio.[e] Tenent autem a septentrione in meridiem milia passuum quingenta, ab oriente in occasum milia ducenta.[23]

Sicilia insula, de qua supra in tractatu Italie diximus,[24] a Siculo fratre Itali nomen accepit,[25] uel a *sic* et *oleos*, hoc est a ficu et holeastro, que due arbores Grecis ipsam inhabitantibus ad conspectum primum apparuerunt; [26]*sic* enim Grece ficus,[f] unde *sicomorus*, ficus fatua.[26] [27]Dictam etiam quandoque perhibent Sicaniam, a Sicano rege, sed et Trinacriam, a tribus promontoriis,[g] quasi a tribus acris, Peloro, Pachunno, et Lilibeo, quare et Triquadra dicitur, quasi per tres quadras diuisa.[27] [28]Pelorum aspicit aquilonem, cui Messena ciuitas proxima est; Pacinnus, sub quo ciuitas Siracusana, respicit ad euroaustrum; Lilibeus, ubi ciuitas eiusdem nominis sita est, dirigitur ad occasum. Sunt ergo a Peloro in Pachinum milia passuum centum quadraginta nouem,[h] a Pachinno in Lilibeum centum septuaginta septem.[i] [28]

[29]Sane Sicilia ab Italia modico freto distinguitur, in quo Scilla est et Caribdis, marine uoragines, quibus nauigia absorbentur aut colliduntur,[29] quem locum Farum nominant.[30] In hunc[j] referunt ex coactione regis Siculi Rogeri[31] descendisse Nicholaum Pipam,[32] hominem de

[z] *sic I and Honorius;* Haxon *N*, Axon *XQ* [a] Bachus (*presumably a scribal correction*) *I, and Honorius;* abacus *NACXQ* [b] quę *Honorius;* quoque *MSS* [c] Paton *N* [d] Cidon *I and Honorius;* Chios *Isidore;* Ciclon *NXQ* [e] Carpatio *I;* Carfacio *NXQ* [f] Latine *add. after* ficus *β* [g] promontoris *N* [h] CLVIIII *Orosius* [i] CLXXXVII *Orosius* [j] hunc *supplied by author N*

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[22] Gervase here produces a corrupt version of Honorius, who in turn had produced a corrupt (and abbreviated) version of Isidore. The text in Isidore reads: 'Melos ex numero Cycladum, una omnium insularum rotundissima; unde et nuncupata. Historia dicit ex Ias⟨i⟩one natum . . .' ('Melos belongs to the number of the Cyclades, being of all the islands the one that is most round; hence its name. History relates that Jason's son . . .').

[23–23] Finiuntur . . . occasum milia ducenta] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 98.

[24] *Otia*, ii. 8, pp. 260–1.

[25] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 32; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 34 (35) (ed. Flint p. 65 = *PL* clxxii. 132).

[26–26] Cf. Celsus v. 18. 7; Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, xxvii. 46 (*CCSL* cxliii (B). 1392 = *PL* lxxvi. 445); Bede, *In Lucae evangelium expositio*, v. 19 (*CCSL* cxx. 334 = *PL* xcii. 560); *Glossa ordinaria*, Luke 19: 4 (*PL* cxiv. 326); Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 94 (*PL* cxcviii. 1596).

youth, Icarus; the Icarian Sea, in which he was drowned, is also named after him. The island of Naxos belongs to Dionysus, who is also called Bacchus. The island of Melos, also called Storia, is a round island.[22] Then there is Paros, called after a city of the same name, built by Jason's grandson. This island produces the very white marble called Parian marble; the cornelian stone is also found here. Chios is an island on which mastic is produced.[21]

[23]The islands of the Cyclades are bounded to the east by the shores of Asia, to the west by the Icarian Sea, to the north by the Aegean Sea, and to the south by the Carpathian Sea. They occupy an area of five hundred miles from north to south, and two hundred from east to west.[23]

The island of Sicily, of which we spoke above in our treatment of Italy,[24] took its name from Siculus, the brother of Italus,[25] or else from συκῆ and ἀγριέλαιος, that is, from the fig and the wild olive, since these two trees were the first things to meet the eyes of the Greeks who settled there. [26](συκῆ is the Greek for a fig-tree, whence we get *sycomorus*, the fool fig, or sycamore fig-tree.)[26] [27]They say that it is also sometimes called Sicania, after King Sicanus, or Trinacria, from its three promontories or headlands (ἄκρα), Pelorus, Pachynum, and Lilybaeum; from these it also derives its name of Triquadra, signifying 'divided into three parts'.[27] [28]Pelorus faces north-east; the city of Messina is very close to its point. Pachynum, with the city of Syracuse nearby, looks towards the south-east. Lilybaeum, where a city of the same name is situated, points to the west. The distance from Pelorus to Pachynum is a hundred and forty-nine miles, and from Pachynum to Lilybaeum a hundred and seventy-seven.[28]

[29]Sicily is divided from Italy by a narrow strait. This is where Scylla and Charybdis are found, whirlpools in the sea, by which ships are sucked down or smashed to pieces;[29] they call the place Faro.[30] People say that on the orders of King Roger of Sicily,[31] Nicholas Pipe[32] dived

[27–27] Dictam . . . tres quadras diuisa] Cf. Isidore, loc. cit.; Honorius, loc. cit.

[28–28] Pelorum . . . centum septuaginta septem] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 99–100; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 7. 4–6.

[29–29] Cf. Isidore, loc. cit.; Honorius, loc. cit.

[30] i.e. Cape Faro, the modern name for Pelorus.

[31] i.e. Roger II, count of Sicily from 1103, who founded the Norman monarchy there in 1130, and ruled until his death in 1154; cf. *Otia*, iii. 112, n. 6.

[32] This story is also told by Walter Map (*De nugis curialium*, iv. 13); for other versions, see J. Hinton, 'Notes on Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*', *Studies in Philology*, xx (1923), 448–68, at pp. 460–1; Liebrecht, pp. 94–5. Gervase's treatment of this episode is discussed by K. J. Heinisch, *Der Wassermensch. Entwicklungsgeschichte eines Sagenmotivs* (Stuttgart, 1981), pp. 34–6.

Appulia oriundum, cuius mansio fere continuo erat in profundo maris. Hic a marinis beluis quasi notus ac familiaris uitabatur ad f. 31v malum; maris | sedulus explorator, currentibus in pelago nauibus, nautis instantes tempestates prenuntiabat, et cum de repente a mari nudus prorumpebat, nihil preter oleum a transeuntibus postulabat, ut eius beneficio fundum abissi maris speculatius intueri posset atque rimari. Hic in Faro[k] nemorosam abissum esse dicebat: ex arborum itaque oppositis obicibus fluctus collidi inuicem proponebat, asserens in mari montes esse et ualles, siluas et campos et arbores glandiferas, ad cuius rei fidem nos quoque glandes marinas in littore maris sepe prospeximus.

[33]Porro Sicilia quondam patria fuit Ciclopum, et postea nutrix semper tirannorum.[33] Erant autem Ciclopes unicum in fronte oculum habentes, quales India gignit.[34] Hec prima omnium terrarum commissis seminibus aratro procissa legitur, ut ait Ysidorus.[35] Hec ab oriente cingitur mari Adriatico, a meridie mari Affrico, quod est contra Subuentanos et Sirtes minores; ab occidente habet mare Tirrenum, a borea usque subsolanum[l] fretum Adriaticum, quod diuidit Tauromenitanos Sicilie ac Brutios Italie.[36] Est autem Taurominitanus mons Sicilie asper, et lapides eius plurimum acuti. Est et ciuitas Taurominium[37] Sicilie.[m]

[38]In Sicilia mons est Ethna, cuius exustu sulphurea[n] fiunt incendia.[38] In cuius[o] confinio est ciuitas Catheniensis, in qua[p] gloriosissimus corporis beate Agate,[39] uirginis ac martiris, thesaurus ostenditur, suo beneficio ciuitatem illam seruans ab incendio. Hunc autem montem uulgares Muntgibel[40] appellant. In huius deserto narrant indigene Arcturum magnum nostris temporibus apparuisse. Cum enim uno aliquo die custos palefridi episcopalis Catheniensis[q] commissum sibi equum depulueraret, subito impetu lasciue pinguedinis equus exiliens ac in propriam se recipiens libertatem fugit. Ab

[k] Faro *supplied by author N*   [l] solanum *NX*   [m] Est autem Taurominitanus . . . Cilicie (*sic*)] *supplied by author N;* Est et ciuitas . . . Sicilie] *om. β*   [n] sufurea *N*   [o] cuius *supplied by author N*   [p] qua *supplied by author N*   [q] Catenensis *N*

[33–33] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 33; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, ii. 14. 1; Honorius, loc. cit.

[34] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xi. 3. 16.   [35] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 33.

[36] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 100.

[37] Now Taormina.

[38–38] Cf. Honorius, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 32. Gervase's text here is a corrupt version of Honorius: 'In hac est mons Ethna, cuius sulphurea exestuant incendia' ('On this island is Mount Etna, whose sulphurous fires break out').

under the sea here. He was a man of Apulian origin, who spent nearly all his time at the bottom of the sea. The sea-creatures left him alone without bothering him, as being a well-known and friendly figure. He was an assiduous explorer of the sea, and when ships were ploughing over the deep, he used to give the sailors warnings of approaching storms; when he suddenly emerged naked from the sea, he would ask nothing from the people sailing past save only oil, which he used to enable him to observe and investigate more closely the depths of the sea's abyss. This man used to claim that there was a wooded ravine under the water at Faro: and so he explained that it was the barriers of the trees on either side which caused the waves to surge against each other there, asserting that under the sea there were mountains and valleys, woods, plains, and acorn-bearing trees. We can confirm this last fact, because we too have often seen marine acorns on the seashore.

[33]Now Sicily was once the home of the Cyclopes, and has ever afterwards been the nurse of tyrants.[33] The Cyclopes were creatures with a single eye in their forehead; India produces such creatures.[34] It is recorded that Sicily was the first of all lands to be furrowed by the plough and sown with seeds, as Isidore says.[35] It is bounded to the east by the Adriatic Sea, and to the south by the African Sea, which is opposite the Subventani and the Lesser Syrtis; to the west it has the Tyrrhenian Sea, and from the north to the east the Adriatic Straits, which divide the Tauromenitani of Sicily from the Bruttii of Italy.[36] There is a mountain of Tauromenium in Sicily, which is steep, with very jagged stones; Tauromenium[37] is also a Sicilian city.

[38]Mount Etna is in Sicily, a volcano from whose furnace come sulphurous fires.[38] Nearby is the city of Catania, in which is displayed the glorious treasure of the body of Saint Agatha,[39] virgin and martyr, which preserves the city from fire by its protection. Now the common folk call this mountain Mondjibel,[40] and the locals relate that in our own times the great Arthur has appeared in an unfrequented region of it. One day the man who looked after the bishop of Catania's palfrey was rubbing down the horse entrusted to his care, when in a sudden burst of frolicsome well-being, the horse reared up, broke free, and

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[39] Agatha was venerated at Catania from earliest times; for the legend that she protected the city from fire, see e.g. *Butler's Lives*, i. 255–6.

[40] Mondjibel is the Arab name for Etna; it means 'the mountain' *par excellence* (Le Goff, *Naissance*, p. 276, n. 2, transl. Goldhammer, p. 204, n. 44; Duchesne, *Livre*, p. 173, n. 372).

insequente ministro per montis ardua precipitiaque quesitus, nec inuentus, timore pedissequo sucrescente, circa montis opaca perquiritur. Quid plura? Artissima semita sed plana inuenta, puer in spatiosissimam planiciem iocundam omnibusque deliciis plenam aduenit, ibique in palatio miro opere constructo repperit Arcturum in strato regii apparatus recubantem. Cumque ab aduena et peregrino causam sui aduentus percontaretur, agnita causa itineris, statim palefridum episcopi fecit adduci, ipsumque presuli reddendum ministro commendat, adiciens se illic, antiquis in bello cum Modredo nepote suo et Cilderico duce Saxonum pridem commisso uulneribus quotannis recrudescentibus, saucium diu mansisse. Quin immo, ut ab indigenis accepi, exenia sua ad antistitem illum destinauit, que a multis uisa et a pluribus fabulosa nouitate admirata fuerunt.[41]

Sed et in siluis[r] Britannie maioris aut minoris consimilia contigisse referuntur, narrantibus nemorum custodibus (quos *foristarios* quasi indaginum ac uiuariorum ferinorum aut regiorum nemorum uulgus nominat) se alternis diebus circa horam meridianam et in primo noctium conticinio[42] sub plenilunio luna lucente sepissime uidere militum copiam uenantium et canum et cornuum strepitum, qui sciscitantibus se de sosietate et familia Arcturi esse affirmant.[43] His ergo uelut ad instar fabularum decursis, ad materiam redeamus.

Non enim sine iusta dubitatione queritur unde in Sicilia tanta fiunt incendia[s] ac terremotus. Respondeo quod [44]in terra est abissus, id est

[r] in siluis] in insulis *N*   [s] incendia *supplied by author N*

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[41] Gervase is the earliest known source for this story, which vividly illustrates the encounter between the Norman kingdoms of the north and the south; see A. Graf, 'Artù nell'Etna', in *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del Medio Evo* (Turin, 1892–3, repr. Milan, 1971), pp. 321–38; A. Pioletti, 'Artù, Avallon, l'Etna', *Quaderni Medievali*, xxviii (1989), 6–35; and Brednich, *Enzyklopädie*, iv. 42–58, on the themes of the long sleep and the transportation of the body. Because of the mysterious fires of Etna, Sicily had long been regarded as a place of access to the other world (see e.g. Gregory the Great, *Dial.* iv. 33–7, ed. Moricca, pp. 278–85 = *PL* lxxvii. 373–89; cf. *Otia*, iii. 17, n. 3). Here Arthur is found in a miraculous other world, which bears similarities to the land of the antipodes described in *Otia*, iii. 45 (where also a lost animal is restored); it is therefore interesting to note that in Étienne de Rouen's poem *Draco Normannicus*, composed between 1167 and 1170, Arthur is living on as king of the antipodes (Pioletti, p. 22; cf. R. S. Loomis, 'King Arthur and the Antipodes', *Modern Philology*, xxxviii (1940–1), 289–304). A version of this story (without Arthur) later served Étienne de Bourbon as an *exemplum* concerning purgatory (*Tractatus de diversis materiis predicabilibus*, in *Anecdotes*, pp. 32–3, reproduced by Pioletti, p. 34). However, the pagan colouring of the story as it is told by Gervase is no indication (*contra* Le Goff, *Naissance*, p. 276, transl. Goldhammer, p. 203) that he was unaware of contemporary notions of Purgatory: indeed, such a view is contradicted by the *courtoisie* here shown to the bishop in returning his horse, *Otia*, iii. 103.

galloped off. The groom went in hot pursuit over the steep and rocky terrain of the mountain, but looked for the horse in vain; dogged by mounting anxiety, he pursued his search in the dark recesses of the mountain. Why prolong my tale? Finding a very narrow but level path, the servant came out onto an immensely wide and beautiful plain, full of delights of every kind; there, in a palace constructed with marvellous workmanship, he found Arthur reclining on a couch of royal splendour. The king inquired of the unknown stranger the reason for his arrival, and on learning why he had come, he promptly had the bishop's palfrey led out, and handed it over to the groom to be restored to the prelate. He went on to say that he had been living there for a long time, suffering from some old wounds received when he had joined battle long ago with his nephew Mordred and Chelric, duke of the Saxons; these wounds broke open afresh every year. What is more, I have it on the authority of the people of that place that he sent gifts from himself to the bishop; many people have seen these gifts, and even more have wondered at the extraordinary story of their origin.[41]

Moreover, similar things are reported to have happened in the forests of Great Britain or Brittany. The keepers of the woods (whom the people call foresters, that is, keepers of the parks and game preserves or royal woodlands) recount that, some days at about noon, and other days soon after nightfall[42] when a full moon is shining, they very often see a band of knights out hunting, accompanied by the din of dogs and horns. If they are questioned, these knights claim to be of the company and household of Arthur.[43] Well, having dealt with these things which have a legendary ring about them, let us return to our subject.

It is quite legitimate to ask how there come to be such great fires and earthquakes in Sicily. My answer is that [44]there is an abyss in the

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[42] i.e. the privileged times for apparitions. For mid-day, cf. *Otia*, iii. 58, and see R. Caillois, 'Les démons de midi', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, cxvi (1937), 142–73; and for the *conticinium* of the night (literally the time when all becomes silent and still), cf. *Otia*, iii. 59, p. 670, and iii. 83, p. 712.

[43] This mysterious hunting troop is suggestive of the Wild Hunt: see Liebrecht, p. 95; Pioletti, p. 28; C. Luttrell, 'Folk Legend as Source for Arthurian Romance: the Wild Hunt', *Essays in memory of Lewis Thorpe*, ed. K. Varty (Glasgow, 1981), pp. 83–100; Orderic Vitalis, *HE* viii. 17 (ed. Chibnall, iv. 236–51, esp. 242, and commentary, ibid. pp. xxxviii–xl); Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, i. 11 and iv. 13; cf. also *Otia*, iii. 58.

[44–44] in terra . . . spiritus procellarum dicuntur (p. 338)] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 38 and 41 (ed. Flint pp. 67–8 = *PL* clxxii. 133 and 134); Isidore, *Etym.* xiii. 20. 1.

immensa[t] profunditas, sic dicta quia abest fondus, nobis scilicet imperscrutabilis; de qua abisso scriptum est: 'Rupti sunt omnes fontes abissi magne.'[45] Iuxta hanc sunt loca cauernosa et spelunce late patentes. In his uenti de spiramine aquarum concipiuntur, qui etiam spiritus procellarum dicuntur.[44] Montes enim et aque uentos faciunt, montes suo obstaculo—natura enim impetus est ut contra fortes plus pugnet, et obstaculum materia est pugne; sed et aqua ex sui leuitate mota, flatum excitat ac generat. Vnde iuxta fluenta Rodani uigent flatus, et homines generantur uentosi, inanes, inconstantes, et in promissis suis maxime mentientes. Qualis enim materia, talis materiatus: qualis aer, talis in humano corpore complexio. Nec ad id solum effectum suum extendit aer quod generat, sed et uelut pix, omnes sua labe inficit, in totum uel in parte, quos[u] tangit.[46]

Vnde est quod tibi, princeps sacratissime, dico, et domine, quod sacius esset imperium minui in dimentione terrarum quam sic sine correptione a sua iniquitate corrumpi, propter tue[v] defectum iustitie. Ecce enim audacter loquor: fidelitate qua tibi teneor, denuntio quod inter omnes imperii tui regiones non est angulus sic imperio tuo commodus, sic omnibus confinibus tuis, regi Francorum, regibus Yspanorum, barbaris gentilium, terre sancte, Italie tue regno[47] f. 32r Sicilieque dominio, conterminalibus tuis | terribilis, aut oportunus ac necessarius.[w] Regnum enim Arelatense quod,[x] ut in antiquissimis imperii registris continetur, Bisuntina, Tarentasiense, Lugdunense, pro capite suo antiquissimo Viennense, Arelatense,[y] Aquense, Ebredunense prouinciis circumcluditur, quasi nodus retiaculi, comminatoriam facit[z] sententiam; sua strenuitate, accessusque facilitate regno Francorum maritimo potenti,[a] adituque facili terre Yspanorum ac gentilium Affricanorum, leui ac breui Alpium Cotiarum transitu multitudini Lonbardorum, Ianuensibus, Pisanis ac Siculis, aliisque tuo imperio subiectis, adiutorium ex tua uoluntate ferre potest aut ex contrario tuo motu nocumentum. Est enim gens quam Prouincialem

[t] immensa] uniuersa *N* [u] quod *β* [v] propter tue] perpetue *N* [w] necessiarius *N* [x] quod *supplied by author N* [y] Erelatense *N* [z] facit] factus *N* [a] potenti *supplied by author N*

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[45] Gen. 7: 11.

[46] Cf. Ecclus. 13: 1.

[47] Lit. 'the kingdom of your Italy'. At the convention of Neuss (8 June 1201), Otto had made sweeping concessions with regard to Italy and Sicily, which he repudiated after his coronation in 1209: see pp. xxxii, l–li, and liv; Hucker, *Otto IV.*, pp. 110–14, 187–200, and esp. 207–10, where this passage is discussed.

earth, that is, a vast depth, so-called because it is without (*abest*) a bottom: at any rate, it is impenetrable to us. Of this abyss it is written: 'The fountains of the great deep were broken up.'[45] Alongside this abyss there are hollow places and widely-yawning caverns. In these, winds are produced by the breathing (*spiramen*) of the waters, and so they are called breaths (*spiritus*) of wind.[44] For mountains and water produce winds, mountains by acting as an obstacle—for it is the nature of a violent force to strive all the more against strong opposition, and an obstacle fosters strife; water too, which is set in motion by its own lightness, stirs up and engenders a breeze. That is why there are strong breezes near the fast-flowing waters of the Rhône, and windy people are born there, who are empty-headed, inconstant, and extremely unreliable in their promises. For the finished product is no better than the raw material: whatever the nature of the air, that will be the nature of the temperament in the human body. And the air does not only have its effect on that which it generates but, like pitch, it contaminates with its stain, wholly or partly, all whom it touches.[46]

And so I say to you, most worshipful Prince and Lord, that it would be better for the empire to be diminished in the extent of its territory, than for it to be falling into ruin as it is as a result of its own iniquity, meeting no check, on account of your failure to uphold justice. See how boldly I speak! Out of the loyalty by which I am bound to you, I declare that among all the regions of your empire there is no corner so serviceable to your rule, so capable of inspiring dread or of proving useful, even necessary, to all your neighbours, to the king of France, the kings of Spain, the heathen barbarians, the Holy Land, your own kingdom of Italy[47] and dominion of Sicily, and all the countries which lie on your borders. The kingdom of Arles, which, as stated in the oldest imperial records, is surrounded, like a knot in a net, by the provinces of Besançon, Tarascon, Lyons, Vienne (its ancient capital), Arles, Aix, and Embrun, creates a menacing impression: by reason of its own strength, and the ease of access it affords to the powerful maritime kingdom of France, the easy route to the land of the Spaniards and the African heathens, and the convenient, short crossing of the Cottian Alps to the multitude of Lombards, it can bring help if you so wish, or, given a contrary disposition on your part, do harm to the Genoans, the Pisans, and the Sicilians, and the other peoples subject to your empire. Its people, whom we call the Provençals, are shrewd in judgment, untrustworthy

apellamus consilio perspicax, promissis fallax, opere cum uult[b] efficax, sine armorum pondere bellicosa, pro sua paupertate in cibando larga, in nocendo insidiosa, inter probra taciturna; cum locus aut tempus suppetit malefacta memorat, bello nauali circumspecta et uictoriosa, caloris patiens ac frigoris, famis ac saturitatis, gens in substantia tenuis quia uult, et ex habundancia[c] pacis affluens quando uult. Si dominum continuum haberet quem timeret, nulla[d] gens cicius frangeretur ad bonum, nec ulla, quia non est a quo regatur, paracior ad malum. Terra pre omnibus fructuosa, salibus, piscibus, carnibus, omnimodis uenationibus, lapidicinis, stagnis, montibus, lacubus, paludibus, fontibus, riuis, fluuiis, nemoribus, siluis, ac pascuis deliciosa, cum in omnibus habundet, in solo rectore bono ac principe egena est. Tibi hoc est, domine, quod imputetur, qui caput tenes imperii, et cum membra extranea moderaris, quod non minus esset commodum regere ac moderari contempnis.[48] Hec actenus; ad materiam redeamus iam ceptam.

Venti, ut diximus, de spiramine aquarum concipiuntur, qui, ut premisimus, spiritus procellarum dicuntur, et [49]hi suo spiramine aquas maris per patentes terrarum cauernas in abissum attrahunt et ea inundante iterum magno impetu repellunt. De his quoque uentis fit terre motus. Nam uenti concauis locis inclusi, dum erumpere gestiunt, terram horrore et horribili tremore[e] concuciunt eamque tremere faciunt.[49]

[50]Hinc etiam fit terre yatus, dum loca concaua, continuis aquis fragilia, uentis concussa rumpuntur, et introrsus cadentia in yatum aperiuntur, unde multe ciuitates absorte sunt. Hoc autem[f] est in terra tremor, quod in[g] nube tonitruum; hic yatus, quod ibi fulmen. Fiunt autem cum terre motu inundationes maris, eo uidelicet spiritu infuse,[h] uel residentes,[i] sinu recepte.[j] Vnde tellus Sicilie, cauernosa ac sulphurea[k] et bitumine strata, uentis et ignibus tota patet,

[b] uult *supplied by author N* [c] habundacia *N* [d] nulla *supplied by author N* [e] horrore et horribili tremore *MSS;* horribili fremore *Honorius* [f] autem *supplied by author N* [g] in *supplied by author N* [h] infusi *Honorius* [i] residentis *Honorius* [j] recepti *Honorius* [k] sulfurnea *N;* sulphure *Honorius;* fulgura *X*, fulgurea *Q*

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[48] Otto never visited the kingdom of Arles. By the time he received this exhortation, he was in no position to act upon it: see above, p. xxxii. Gervase's remarks may be a criticism of Otto's claim to be king of Sicily; see previous note, and Hucker, *Otto IV*, pp. 149–55.

in their promises, hard-working when they want to be, warlike though only lightly-armed, generous in offering food in spite of their poverty, cunning in mischief-making, silent in suffering abuse; they remember injuries when the time or place is right, they are wary and successful in naval warfare, used to enduring heat and cold, hunger and plenty, a people of scant possessions because they so choose, and rich in the blessings of peace when they so choose. If they had a permanent ruler to fear, there is no people that would more quickly be broken in to good, just as now there is none more disposed towards evil as a result of having no one to govern them. Their land is fruitful above all others, well-endowed with salt, fish, livestock, all kinds of game, stone-quarries, pools, mountains, lakes, marshes, springs, streams, rivers, groves, woods, and pastures; having an abundance of everything, it lacks only a good ruler and governor. It is you, my lord, who are to blame for this, for you hold the supreme power in the empire, and while you exercise control over states that are not yours, you disdain to guide and rule a land which would prove no less worthy of your attention.[48] Enough of this; let us return to the matter in hand.

Winds, as we have said, are produced by the breathing of water, and are called, as noted above, breaths of wind. [49]These winds, by their breathing, draw the waters of the sea through the hollow caverns of the earth into the abyss, and when it fills up they force the waters back again with a great blast. It is also these winds that cause earthquakes. For the winds get pent up in pot-holes, and in their efforts to break out, they shake the earth with dreadful tremors and shuddering, and make it quake.[49]

[50]This is the cause of the cracking of the earth's surface too, in that the pot-holes, worn away by the constant flow of water, are ruptured by the battering of the winds and fall in on themselves, causing a chasm to open in the earth's surface; many cities have been swallowed up in such chasms. That, then, which is thunder in a cloud, is a quake in the earth; what is lightning there is a chasm here. Along with earthquakes there also occur floods of sea-water, hurled up, evidently, by this breath, and subsiding back again into the depths of the sea. The whole island of Sicily, in fact, being cavernous, sulphurous, and

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[49–49] hi . . . eamque tremere faciunt] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 41–2 (ed. Flint pp. 68–9 = *PL* clxxii. 134).

[50–50] Hinc . . . et Iehennam portendit (p. 342)] Cf. ibid. i. 43–6 (43) (ed. Flint p. 69 = *PL* clxxii. 134).

spirituque introrsus cum igne certante, multis sepe locis fumum aut uapores uel flammas eructuat, uentoque acrius incumbente arenarum lapidumue moles excitat. Inde mons Ethna, ad exemplum Iehenne, tam diutinum eructuat incendium, quod insularum Eolidum dicunt undis nutriri, dum aquarum concursus spiritum in imum profundum secum rapiens, tam diu suffocat donec, terre uenis diffusus, fomenta ignis accendat. Hinc Scillei canes latrare finguntur, dum procul nauigantes undarum fremore terrentur quas,[l] sorbente uoragine, collidit[m] estus;[51] similique de causa in aliis etiam terris incendium surgit et Iehennam portendit.[50]

Ad[n] hec iuxta Siciliam sunt posite [52]Eolie insule, ab Eolo[o] rege dicte, qui rex uentorum fabulose describitur; que etiam Lappares dicuntur,[52] quarum undis, ut diximus, ignem Ethne affirmant enutriri. Porro inter Siciliam et Eolias est insula Capsum,[p] [53] Cartaginem Affrice a meridie respiciens.

[54]Sardinia[q] insula, a Sardinio rege, Herculis filio, dicta, uicinam habet Corsicam, paruo freto uiginti miliariorum diuisam. Hec habet a meridie contra Numidiam Caralitanos,[r] contra Corsicam, hoc est contra septentrionem, Vlbienses. Huius in longum spacium tenet milia[s] passuum ducenta[t] triginta, in latum octoginta.[u] Hec habet ab oriente et borea Tirrenum mare, quod spectat ad portum urbis Rome, ab occasu mare[v] Sardum,[w] ab affrico[x] insulas Baleares longe positas, a meridie Numidicum sinum, a septentrione, ut dixi, Corsicam. Porro, ut aiunt, in Sardinia nec lupus ex antiquo nec serpens gignitur. In ea est solifugum,[y] [55] animal morsu homines perimens. In ea est herba similis apiastro,[z] que comedentes rictibus[a] contrahit et quasi ridentes

[l] quas *Honorius;* quos *MSS* [m] collidit *Honorius;* colligit *MSS* [n] De Eoliis insulis uel Laparibus (uel L. *om. A*) *add. as title before* Ad *ACXQ;* De insulis Eoliis *written in margin by rubricator N* [o] Elo *N* [p] Capsus *C,* Tapsum *I* [q] De Sardinia *add. as title before* Sardinia *ACXQ;* Sardinia *written in margin by rubricator N;* Capsum Sardiani *as title I* [r] contra Numidiam Caralitanos *Orosius;* contra Caralitanos Numidiam *MSS* [s] milia *ACβ;* milium *N* [t] ducenta *I* (*presumably a scribal correction*); ducentos *NACXQ* [u] LXXX *Orosius;* .cc. octoginta *MSS* [v] quos (*sic*) spectat ad . . . mare] *supplied by author N* [w] Sardum *I and Orosius;* Sardium *NAXQ* [x] affrica *N* [y] solifuga *I and Honorius* [z] *sic C and Honorius;* aptastro *NAβ* [a] comedentes rictibus *MSS;* comedentibus rictus *Honorius*

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[51] Gervase's text of Honorius was faulty at this point; the MSS read: 'quos sorbente uoragine colligit estus', i.e. the people sailing past, not the waves, are being pulled into the whirlpool.

[52–52] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 36–7; Honorius, *De imagine mundi,* i. 34 (35) (ed. Flint p. 65 = *PL* clxxii. 132).

seamed with bitumen, freely admits wind and fire, and as a result of the breath striving with the fire in its depths, there are many points at which it frequently belches out smoke, steam, or flames; when the pressure of the wind is particularly violent, it hurls up great quantities of sand or stones. This is why Mount Etna, providing an image of Gehenna, has been belching out fire for so long: the fire is fed, so they say, by the waves of the Aeolian Isles, for the rush of the waters carries the wind with it to the bottom of the sea and chokes it down there for a long time, until it is driven into the veins of the earth, where it ignites fuel for the fire. This is the origin of the notion that it is the dogs of Scylla barking, when people sailing past at a distance are terrified by the roar of the waves which the seething water hurls together as the whirlpool gulps them down.[51] In other lands too a similar process causes fire to break out, presaging Gehenna.[50]

To continue, [52]the Aeolian Isles lie close to Sicily. They are named after King Aeolus, who is portrayed in legend as the king of the winds. These islands are also called the Lipari Islands,[52] and people claim that it is by their waves, as we have said, that Etna's fire is fed. There is, in addition, the island of Thapsus[53] between Sicily and the Aeolian Isles, looking towards the African city of Carthage to the south.

[54]The island of Sardinia is named after King Sardis, son of Hercules; it has Corsica as its neighbour, being separated from it by a narrow channel, twenty miles across. Sardinia contains the Caralitani in the south, opposite Numidia, and the Ulbienses opposite Corsica, that is, facing north. The island is two hundred and thirty miles long, and eighty miles wide. To the east and north-east it has the Tyrrhenian Sea, which faces the port of the city of Rome; to the west it has the Sardinian Sea; lying far away to the south-west, the Balearic Islands; to the south, the Numidian Gulf; and to the north, as I have said, Corsica. Now no wolf or snake, so they say, has been found on Sardinia from early times. But the solipuga[55] is found there, an animal whose bite is fatal to human beings. And a herb resembling wild-parsley grows there; this herb contracts the face of anyone who

[53] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 35. Thapsus was actually a peninsula and city in Sicily (now Magnisi).

[54–54] Sardinia . . . furibus inferentes cecitatem (p. 344)] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos,* i. 2. 101–2; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 39–40; Honorius, *De imagine mundi,* i. 35 (36) (ed. Flint p. 65 = *Pl* clxxii. 132).

[55] The *solipuga* or *solifuga* was a kind of venomous ant or spider (see Pliny, *Hist. nat.* xxix. 29. 92, xxii. 25. 81; Solinus, *Collect.* iv. 3 and 6).

interimit. In hac sunt fontes calidi, infirmis medelam, furibus inferentes cecitatem.[54]

[56]Corsica[b] insula, a Corso rege dicta, aut ut alii autumant a Corsa muliere, contra Liguriam sita; que primitus taurum suum querens illuc uenit, et referens loci fertilitatem, a Liguribus eam fecit inhabitari. Hec et Cyrne[c] a Cyrno[d] Herculis filio dicta, quia ab eo est inhabitata. Hec multis promuntoriis est angulosa, habens ab oriente Tirrenum mare et portum urbis Rome, a meridie Sardiniam, ab occasu Baleares insulas, a circio et septemtrione Ligusticum sinum. Tenet autem in longum milia passuum .clx., | in lato milia uiginti sex.[56] f. 32v

Sunt[e] et insule Sicecades[f] contra portum Massiliensem[g] ab oriente site, parua plaga ab ipsa ciuitate distantes.[57]

Sticados[h] insula, qua Rodanus mare nostrum imfluit, ab oriente et occidente septentrioneque fluuio Rodano per tria bracia diuiso clauditur, a meridie mari nostro, habens in longum milia passuum duodecim, in latum[i] milia passuum quinque et paulo plus.

[58]Bofus[j] insula, aut ut[k] alii dicunt Ebofus,[l] contra Yspaniam sita est. Hanc fugiunt serpentes; nec longe ab illa est Columbria insula, anguibus plena.[58]

[59]Insule[m] Baleares due sunt, maior et minor, quibus insunt bina opida. Maior, que Maiorica dicitur, Terraconam Yspanie ciuitatem, minor, que uulgo Minorica nominatur, Barcinonam uersus septentrionem contra se habent, ab oriente Sardiniam, ab aquilone mare Gallicum, a meridie et[n] affrico Mauritanicum pelagus, ab occasu Ibericum mare.[59]

Nunc episcopatus Sardinie cum suis metropolitanis enumeremus; habet enim tres metropoles.

[b] De Corsica *add. as title before* Corsica *ACXQ;* Corsica *written in margin by rubricator N* [c] Cyrne *I;* Carme *NX,* Carine *ACQ* [d] Cyrno *I;* Carmo *NX,* Carino *ACQ* [e] De Sicecadibus *CXQ,* Sicecades (Sicerades *A*) insule *AI add. as title before* Sunt; Sicecades insule *written in margin by rubricator N* [f] Stecades *I* [g] Massiliensium (Marsi- *X*) *XQ* [h] Sticados *add. as title before* Sticados *ACβ;* Sticaados *written in margin by rubricator N* [i] latum *β;* lato *N* [j] Bofus uel Ebofus (Ebosus *Q*) *CXQ,* Bofus *A,* Bosus *I add. as title before* Bofus (Bosus *I*); Bofus *written in margin by rubricator N* [k] ut *supplied by author N* [l] Ebosus *QI* [m] Baleares *add. as title before* Insule *Aβ;* Baleares *written in margin by rubricator N* [n] et *om. NA*

[56–56] Corsica . . . milia uiginti sex] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos,* i. 2. 103; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 41 2; Honorius, *De imagine mundi,* loc. cit.

eats it into a grin, and kills them with laughing, so to speak. There are hot springs on Sardinia, which confer healing on the sick, but blindness on thieves.[54]

[56]The island of Corsica, which lies opposite Liguria, is named after King Corsus or, as others would have it, after a woman called Corsa, who originally went there in search of a bull of hers; she took back a report of the fertility of the place, and so caused the Ligurians to settle there. The island is also called Cyrne after Hercules' son Cyrnus, because he lived there. Its coastline is jagged with many promontories; it has the Tyrrhenian Sea and the port of the city of Rome to the east, Sardinia to the south, the Balearic Islands to the west, and the Ligurian Gulf to the north-west and north. It is a hundred and sixty miles long, and twenty-six miles wide.[56]

There are also the Stoechades Islands, opposite the port of Marseilles; they are situated to the east, and are separated from the city itself by a narrow stretch of water.[57]

The island of Sticados, in the estuary where the Rhône flows into our sea, is bounded to the east, west, and north by this river, which divides into three channels there, and to the south by our sea. It is twelve miles long, and a little over five miles wide.

[58]The island of Biza or, as others call it, Ibiza, is situated opposite Spain. Snakes shun this island, but the island of Colubraria, not far from it, is full of snakes.[58]

[59]There are two Balearic Islands, a larger one and a smaller one, on each of which there are two towns. The larger island, which is called Majorca, has opposite it to the north the Spanish city of Tarragona, while the smaller one, which is commonly called Minorca, has Barcelona opposite it; they have Sardinia to the east, the Gallic Sea to the north-east, the Mauritanian Sea to the south and south-west, and the Iberian Sea to the west.[59]

Let us now list the bishoprics of Sardinia along with its metropolitans; for it has three metropolitan sees.

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[57] These islands are mentioned by Orosius (*Adversum paganos,* i. 2. 66), Isidore (*Etym.* xiv. 6. 38), and Honorius (*De imagine mundi,* i. 34 (35) (ed. Flint p. 65 = *PL* clxxii. 132)). Orosius and Isidore both locate them 'qua Rhodanus fluuius in mare exit' ('where the river Rhône flows out into the sea'); Gervase uses a similar phrase of the island of Sticados in the following paragraph. On the identity of these islands, see above, ii. 10, n. 27.

[58–58] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 43; Honorius, *De imagine mundi,* i. 35 (36) (ed. Flint p. 66 = *PL* clxxii. 132).

[59–59] Insule . . . occasu Ibericum mare] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos,* i. 2. 104; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 6. 44; Honorius, loc. cit.

Vrbes Sardinie

[60]Calaritanus habet suffraganeos Sulcitanum, Doliensem, Suwellensem. Turritanus hos habet suffraganeos: Sorrensem, Plauacensem,[o] Ampuniensem,[p] Gisarlensem,[q] Castrensem, Othanensem, Bosanensem.[r] Arborensis hos habet suffraganeos: Vsellensem, episcopatum sancte Iuste, de terra Alba, Ciuitatensem domini pape, Castellinensem[s] domini pape.[60]

xiii. *De mari et[a] eius natura*

Descripsimus orbis occeano inclusi partitiones, nec pretereundum arbitror quod [1]occeanus quasi zonarum limbus dicitur; quinque enim zonas mundi in modum limbi ambit.[1] [2]Estque occeani unus accessus unusque recessus, et lunam sequitur, cuius aspiratione retro trahitur et impulsu refunditur. Cotidie autem bis effluere et refluere cernitur, maxime in nostro Britannico mari. Cum luna crescit aut decrescit; cum luna est in equinoctio, maiores occeani fluctus surgunt, et maxime in Marcio et[b] Septembri; in solsticio minores, ob lune longinquitatem.[c] [2] [3]In exortu lune, uorago maiore estu fluctus inuoluit[d] et reuomit.[e] Hec est uorago que omnes aquas et niues[f] absorbet et reuomit.[g] [3]

[4]Sicut autem calor ex igne, ita frigus ex aqua nascitur. Vnde extreme partes occeani frigido[h] gelu perpetuoque frigore horrent, quia calore solis semper aut sepe carent. Pars autem occeani que medium orbem diuidit ideo semper calore feruet, quia solis iter supra se respicit.[4]

Porro [5]occeanus fluminum incursu[i] non augetur, quia fluenta dulcia partim undis[j] salsis consumuntur uel uentis aut uapore solis arripiuntur, partim in suos amnes per occultos meatus reuertuntur.[5]

[o] Planacensem *β* [p] *sic β;* Arapuniensem *N,* Ampuriensem *PR* [q] G- *altered (by author?) to* Cisarlensem *N;* Gisardensem *PR* [r] Rosanensem *ACβ* [s] Catellinensem *PR*

[a] et *supplied by author N* [b] in *add. after* et *Aβ* [c] longiquitatem *N* [d] involvit *Honorius;* reuoluit *MSS* [e] revomit *Honorius;* remouet *MSS* [f] naves *Honorius* [g] reuomit *supplied by author N* [h] rigido *Honorius* [i] occursu *Honorius* [j] vadis *Honorius*

[60–60] Calaritanus . . . Castellinensem domini pape] Cf. *PR* 619–36 (ed. Weidenbach, p. 272).

[1–1] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 39 (ed. Flint p. 68 = *PL* clxxii. 133).

The Cities of Sardinia

[60]Cagliari has as its suffragans Sulcis, Doglia, and Suelli. Torres has the following suffragans: Sorra, Ploaghe, Ampurias, Gerace, Alghero, Ottana, and Bosa. Arborea has the following suffragans: Ales, the bishopric of Santa Giusta, Terralba, Tempio (subject to the lord pope), and Galtelli (subject to the lord pope).[60]

13. *The Sea and its Nature*

We have described the different parts of the world's circle, which is enclosed by the ocean. I think it should also be noted that [1]the ocean is said to form a kind of girdle of the zones; for, like a girdle, it encircles the five zones of the world.[1] [2]And the ocean has a single flow and a single ebb, following the moon: it is drawn back by the moon's breathing, and flows forward again under its impulse. It is also perceived to ebb and flow twice every day, especially in our British Sea. It waxes or wanes together with the moon; when the moon is at the equinox, the ocean tides rise higher, particularly, that is, in March and September; at the solstice the tides are lower, on account of the moon's remoteness.[2] [3]When the moon rises, the whirlpool pulls the waves down and spews them up again with a stronger surge. It is this whirlpool which gulps down and spews up again all the waters and snows.[3]

[4]Now just as heat comes from fire, so cold comes from water. And so the furthest regions of the ocean shudder with icy cold and perpetual chill, because all or most of the time they are deprived of the heat of the sun. On the other hand, the part of the ocean which passes through the middle of the world is always boiling hot, because it is exposed to the sun travelling directly over it.[4]

Further, [5]the reason why the level of the ocean does not rise as a result of the rivers flowing into it, is that the streams of fresh water are in part absorbed by the salt waves or evaporated off by the winds or the warmth of the sun, and in part return to their own rivers through hidden channels.[5]

[2–2] Estque . . . ob lune longinquitatem] Cf. ibid. i. 40 (ed. Flint p. 68 = *PL* clxxii. 133); the references to the British Sea and to March and September were added by Gervase.

[3–3] Cf. ibid. i. 41 (ed. Flint p. 68 = *PL* clxxii. 134).

[4–4] Sicut . . . supra se respicit] Cf. ibid. i. 47 (44) (ed. Flint p. 70 = *PL* clxxii. 134).

[5–5] Cf. ibid. i. 48 (45) (ed. Flint p. 70 = *PL* clxxii. 134).

Sane [6]mare dicitur ab amaritudine. Quod per uenas terre occulto meatu decurrens,[k] amaritudinem ex[l] terra deponit, dulcedinem in fontibus eructuat, et in se ipsum refluit.[6] [7]Dicitur tamen quod aque duplex sit natura: salsa et dulcis. Salsa maris, et est[m] grauior; dulcis fontium, et est leuior, sicut et fluminum. Cum ergo legitur[n] quod Deus fontem produxit et in quatuor fluminibus totam terram rigare precepit, dicitur quod eruptio omnium fontium ac fluuiorum dulcis aque de fonte illo decurrit,[o] et in matricem eiusdem fontis abissum refluit. Que licet uniuersa maria influat, amaris tamen aquis non immiscetur; sed ut puta leuis, super aquas salsas ut grauiores labitur, et in occultum suum cursum reuertitur. Inde est quod mare non redundat cum illud omnia subintrent flumina. Sed et supprema maris unda non est adeo amara sicut illa que in imo posita est.[7] Verum his obuiare uidetur quod in maris fundo scaturigines dulcissime ebulire perhibentur, quod tamen ex ui scaturiginis uicinas aquas potius quam superiores ac magis remotas facit dulcescere.

[8]Porro quod quedam aque calide, quedam frigide prodeunt, ex eo prouenit quod aqua frigida naturaliter est, uerum[p] quandoque accidentaliter ex contagione terre sulfuree calida est. Si uicinior ignito sulfuri calidior, si remotior tepida comparet. Vnde et ex fetore sulfuris putida[q] fit;[8] ex calore eius et siccitate scabiem curat. [9]Sic ex inhabitatione[r] serpentum uicina inficitur aqua, que dum de terra corrupta exurgit, bibentes interimit.[9] Ex hoc prouenit [10]quod mare Mortuum a uentis non mouetur et in se nihil uiuere patitur, quod ex ui bituminis lacus Asfaltidis creditur euenire, ex quo glutino turris Babel dicitur edificata.[10]

Est illud etiam notandum quod cum [11]pisces et aues ideo aquis commorentur et ex eis nutriantur quia de ipsis facta leguntur, tamen aues aere, pisces aqua portantur; aer enim ut aqua humidus est, et terra aque permixta. Vnde et quedam bestie de terra oriuntur et

[k] discurrens *A*; discurrit *Honorius* [l] in *Honorius* [m] et est *supplied by author* (*correcting* et) *N*; et *A and Honorius*; est et *CQI*; est *X* [n] legatur *Honorius* [o] decurrat *Honorius* [p] uerum] unde *N* [q] putrida *ACXQ* [r] ex inhabitatione] in exhabitatione *N*

[6–6] Cf. ibid. i. 51 (46) (ed. Flint p. 70 = *PL* clxxii. 135); Isidore, *Etym.* xiii. 14. 1; *Otia*, i. 13, pp. 78–81.

[7–7] Dicitur . . . imo posita est] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 52 (47) (ed. Flint p. 71 = *PL* clxxii. 135); Gen. 2: 10–14.

[8–8] Porro . . . sulfuris putida fit] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 53 (48) (ed. Flint p. 71 = *PL* clxxii. 135).

[9–9] Cf. ibid. i. 54 (49) (ed. Flint p. 72 = *PL* clxxii. 135).

[10–10] Cf. ibid. i. 55 (50) (ed. Flint p. 72 = *PL* clxxii. 135) (ἄσφαλτος = bitumen).

[6]The word for sea, *mare*, comes from *amaritudo*, meaning 'bitterness'. Sea-water, running through the veins of the earth in a hidden channel, has its bitterness extracted by the action of the earth; it then gushes up in springs as fresh water, and flows back into the sea.[6] [7]However, it is also claimed that there are two different kinds of water: salt and fresh. The water of the sea is salt, and is heavier; the water of springs is fresh, and is lighter—likewise that of rivers. When one reads, therefore, that God produced a spring and ordered it to divide into four rivers so as to water the whole earth, it means that the gushing forth of all springs and rivers of fresh water emanates from that one spring, and that they flow back into the abyss which is the same spring's source. Although all this fresh water flows into the sea, it does not mingle with the bitter water but, being light, floats over the top of the salt water, which is heavier, and returns to its own hidden course. That is why the sea does not overflow even though all the rivers run into it. It is also a fact that the uppermost water of the sea is not as bitter as the water which is found at the bottom.[7] But this theory seems to be contradicted by the fact that springs of completely fresh water are said to bubble up on the sea-bed, which means that the surrounding water is sweetened by virtue of these springs, rather than the water nearer the surface, which is further away.

[8]Further, the reason why some springs are hot, and some cold, is that water is naturally cold, but it is sometimes accidentally heated by contact with sulphur in the earth. If a spring is quite close to burning sulphur it emerges very hot, if not so close it emerges lukewarm. The foul smell of sulphur also makes the water stink,[8] and its heat and dryness make it effective in curing scabies. [9]In a similar way water is infected if there are snakes living close by: as the earth from which it issues is polluted, it kills anyone who drinks it.[9] The reason why [10]the Dead Sea is not ruffled by the wind and allows nothing to live in it, is that this sea, called Lake Asphaltites, is believed to derive its quality from the stiffening force of bitumen; the tower of Babel is said to have been built using bitumen as cement.[10]

It should also be noted that [11]it is because fish and birds are said to have originated from water that they live in or on it, and derive their nourishment from it; however, while fish are supported by water, birds are supported by air: for air is moist like water. Earth too is mixed with water; and so there are some animals which are born on

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[11–11] pisces . . . ut sunt [f. 33r] cocodrilli (p. 350)] Cf. ibid. i. 56 (51) (ed. Flint p. 72 = *PL* clxxii. 136).

tamen ampliorem in aquis potentiam habent, aquis potius[s] ut potentius immorantes, ut sunt | cocodrilli,[t] [11] quorum potencia ac uirtus in terra modica, in aqua maxima, ita ut omnia que sub aquis comprehendit ad se trahat.[12] f. 33ʳ

xiv. *De ducibus Israel et regibus Lacii et excidio Troiano*

Explicuimus[a] iam tocius tripartiti orbis seriem, et quoniam, ut[b] superius diximus,[1] post Babilonium regnum orientale, Macedonicum a septentrione, et Affricanum a meridie, nouissimum monarchie locum[c] Romanum tenet imperium, ad quod te, serenissime[d] imperator, Deus elegit, illud unde prodierit, quibusue temporum[e] condicionibus succreuerit, breuiter subiungamus.

Constat ergo excidium[f] Troie Romani regni[g] extitisse principium.[h] Cum enim ab exordio mundi usque ad annum primum egressionis filiorum Israel de Egipto computentur anni duo milia .ccccliiii.,[2] iuxta Ebraicam ueritatem Moyses eductum ab Egipto populum rexit annis quadraginta,[3] a quo usque ad Salamonem et edificationem templi fiunt anni quadringenti sexaginta tres;[4] et tunc uitis inuenitur in Grecia.[5]

Post Moysen Iosue nonaginta sex annis populum rexit, qui terram Palestinorum sorte populo distribuit.[6] Post quem[i] Othoniel de tribu Iuda annis quadraginta populum rexit, cuius tempore subiecti fuerunt Ebrei Cusan Rasatharin regi Mesopotamie octo annis;[7] et tunc

[s] quam *add. after* potius *N* [t] cocodrilli *A;* cocodrilli (crocodilli *I*) et *NCβ;* corcodrilli et ypotami *Honorius*

[s] quam *add. after* potius *N* [a] explicuinus *N* [b] ut *om.* *N* [c] ad occidentem *add. after* locum *XQ* [d] serenisse *N* [e] temporum] ipsum *β* [f] excidium *supplied by author N* [g] regni *supplied by author N* [h] principum *N* [i] post quem *Q;* postquam *NACXI*

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[12] The singular form of *comprehendit* and *trahat* is surprising, given that the implied subject is *cocodrilli.*

[1] *Otia*, ii. 1, pp. 174–5.

[2] This conflicts with the commonly-accepted figure of 3,184 years from Adam to the birth of Abraham (see below, n. 42).

[3] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 181; Deut. 29: 5. The phrase 'the Hebrew Truth' goes back to St Jerome, and is used regularly by medieval authors to refer either to the Hebrew Bible itself, or to the Vulgate version, translated from the Hebrew, as opposed to other versions based on the LXX. The words *Cathalogus regum et ducum* are written by the rubricator in the margin of *N* alongside this paragraph; as above (ii. 10, n. 16), this is a reference to Jerome's *Chronica*, from which much of the information in this chapter and the next is derived.

land and yet are more powerful in water, and spend more time in water because they are more effective there. Crocodiles are like this:[11] their power and strength are limited on land, but very great in water, so that they can drag into their grip everything which they catch hold of underwater.[12]

14. *The Leaders of Israel, the Kings of Latium, and the Destruction of Troy*

We have now explained the arrangement of the whole world, divided as it is into three parts. Since, as we said above,[1] following on from the Babylonian kingdom in the east, the Macedonian in the north, and the African in the south, the Roman empire now finally occupies the position of supreme power—that empire to which God, most serene Emperor, has appointed you—let us continue with a brief account of its origins and the historical circumstances which led to its rise.

It is well-known that the destruction of Troy was the origin of the kingdom of Rome. Now the number of years from the beginning of the world to the first year of the exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt is reckoned to be 2,454;[2] then Moses, who had led the people out of Egypt, ruled them for forty years, according to the Hebrew Truth;[3] a further 463 years take us from Moses to Solomon and the building of the temple.[4] At this time the vine was discovered in Greece.[5]

After Moses, Joshua ruled the people for ninety-six years; it was he who divided the land of Palestine among the people by lot.[6] After him Othniel of the tribe of Judah ruled the people for forty years; in his time the Hebrews were subject to Chushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, for eight years.[7] It was then that Cadmus gave the

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[4] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 183; the figure given by Jerome, however (following 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 6: 1), is 480 years. See R. Landes, '"Lest the Millennium should be fulfilled": apocalyptic expectations and the pattern of western chronography 100–800 CE', in *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, eds. W. Verbeke, D. Verhelst, and A. Welkenhuysen (Louvain, 1988), pp. 137–211, for the constant reworking of these chronological totals in the first millennium and the reasons behind it.

[5] Cf. ibid. 186.

[6] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 199; Josh. 13–19.

[7] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 203–5; Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 5 (*PL* cxcviii. 1274); Judg. 3: 8–11.

Cadmus litteras Grecas dedit.[8] Post quem[j] rexit populum Aioth filius Gera, filii Gemini[k] annis octoginta, cuius tempore seruiuit Israel Eglon regi Moab annis octodecim, donec eum percussit.[9] Tunc Troia conditur.[10] Huic successit Delbora profetissa de tribu Effraim, et tunc oppressit Israel Iabin rex Canaan annis uiginti.[11]

[l]Hic notandum erit quod [12]eodem anno quo nati sunt Iacob et Esau, regnum Argiuorum exortum est sub Ynaco patre Ysidis,[13] primo rege. Cucurrit autem usque ad duodecimum[m] annum Delbore,[n] durans usque ad ultimum Acrisium per reges quatuordecim et annos quingintos quadraginta quatuor. Quo a Perseo occiso, transtulit Perseus regnum in Mecenas. Quod autem dicitur processisse ab Ynaco ad Helenum,[o] dic[14] Enachi posteros regnasse usque tunc, et datum regnum Danao, qui ex regio genere[p] non erat.[l][12]

Exhinc rexit Gedeon de tribu Manasse, sub quo seruiuit Israel Madianitis et Amalechitis annis sex, sed Gedeon pugnante liberatus est; et tunc Tirus condita.[15] Cui successit filius Gedeonis Abimelech, qui regnauit in Sichem annis tribus.[16] Post hunc Tola filius Phoa[q] de Ysachar annis uiginti tribus.[17] Post hunc Iair annis uiginti duobus.[18] Tunc Hercules (qui et Alcides, ab *alce*[r] quod est uirtus,[19] et *ydea* quod est forma, quia fortis erat et formosus)[s] agonem Olimpiacum constituit; a quo usque ad primam olimpiadem supputantur anni quadringenti triginta.[20] Tunc Theseus rapit Elenam, quam Castor et Pollus recuperant, capta matre Tesei.[t][21] Tunc Carmentis[u] litteras Latinas repperit,[22] et Cartago conditur.[23]

[j] post quem *AQI;* postquam *NCX* [k] Ieronini(?) *N* [l–l] Hic . . . non erat] *supplied by author N* [m] decimum quintum *Comestor* [n] Dolbore *N* [o] Telenum *Comestor, for* Sthelenum [p] regio genere] regione *N* [q] Fhoa *N* [r] arce *N* [s] qui et Alcides . . . formosus] *supplied by author N* [t] Tunc Theseus rapit . . . Tesei] *supplied by author N* [u] Tunc armentis *altered to* Carmentis *N*

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[8] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* i. 3. 6; v. 39. 10.

[9] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 211–13; Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 6 (*PL* cxcviii. 1274–5); Judg. 3: 12–30. Gera is described as 'the son of Jemini' in the D.V. (translating *filii Iemini*), but as 'a Benjaminite' in the A.V.

[10] Cf. Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 6, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1275).

[11] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 227–9; Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 7 (*PL* cxcviii. 1275–7); Judg. 4–5.

[12–12] eodem . . . genere non erat] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.* c. 67 (*PL* cxcviii. 1110–11); Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 126, 192, and 232.

[13] Io, daughter of Inachus, was driven to Egypt by Hera's jealousy; she was worshipped by the Egyptians as Isis (cf. *Otia*, i. 20, at n. 117).

[14] The somewhat awkward construction: 'Quod autem dicitur . . ., dic' replaces: 'Si legeris in historiis . . ., intelligitur' in the Comestor's text.

[15] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 239 and 241; Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 8 and Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1277–81); Judg. 6–8. In Judg. 6: 1 Israel is said to have been subject to Midian for seven years, not six.

Greeks their alphabet.[8] After Othniel Ehud, son of Gera, son of Jemini, ruled the people for eighty years; in his time Israel served Eglon, king of Moab, for eighteen years, until Ehud struck him down.[9] At this time Troy was founded.[10] Deborah, a prophetess of the tribe of Ephraim, succeeded Ehud, and in her days Jabin, king of Canaan, oppressed Israel for twenty years.[11]

At this point it will be useful to note that [12]the kingdom of the Argives began in the same year in which Jacob and Esau were born; its first king was Inachus, the father of Isis.[13] It lasted until the twelfth year of Deborah's rule, enduring for 544 years, in which time there were fourteen kings, the last being Acrisius. He was killed by Perseus, who then transferred the kingdom to Mycenae. The succession, however, is said to have been continuous only from Inachus to Sthelenus, in that[14] the descendants of Inachus reigned up to the time of Sthelenus, and then the kingdom was given to Danaus, who did not belong to the royal family.[12]

The next ruler after Deborah was Gideon, of the tribe of Manasseh; in his time Israel served the Midianites and the Amalekites for six years, but Gideon did battle with them, and Israel was liberated. At this time Tyre was founded.[15] Gideon's son Abimelech succeeded him, and ruled in Shechem for three years.[16] After him Tola, the son of Puah, of the tribe of Issachar, ruled for twenty-three years.[17] After him Jair ruled for twenty-two years.[18] At this time Hercules (also called Alcides, from ἀλκή, which means 'strength',[19] and ἰδέα, which means 'form', because he was strong and comely) founded the Olympic Games; 430 years are counted from then to the first olympiad.[20] At this time too Theseus carried off Helen, and Castor and Pollux rescued her, taking Theseus' mother captive.[21] Also at this time Carmentis invented the Latin alphabet,[22] and Carthage was founded.[23]

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[16] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 247; Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 9 (*PL* cxcviii. 1281–2); Judg. 9.

[17] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 249; Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 10 (*PL* cxcviii. 1283); Judg. 10: 1–2.

[18] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 253; Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 11 (*PL* cxcviii. 1283); Judg. 10: 3–5.

[19] Cf. Servius, *Commentarii*, ii. 62.

[20] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 258.

[21] Cf. ibid. 254; Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 11, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1283).

[22] Cf. Comestor, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* i. 4. 1; v. 39. 11; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, iii. Tertia aetas (ed. Flint p. 133 = *PL* clxxii. 172).

[23] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 256; Comestor, loc. cit.

Exhinc Iepte Galaadites annis sex populum rexit.[24] Post Iepte iudicauit populum Abessam de Iuda, cuius tempore Agamenon imperauit Mecenis et Menelaus Lacedemonibus.[25] Post hec iudicauit populum Achilon de Zabulon decem annis; tunc Paris Elenam rapit, et Troia obsidetur.[26] Post hec iudicauit populum Abdon octo[v] annis.[27] Tunc clades facta est in Beniamin[w] pro uxore Leuite;[28] et Troia anno eius tercio capitur ab Assiriis.[29] Eneas et Frigius fratres profugi Troiam exeunt.

Post euersionem uero Troie anno sexto regnauit Eneas in Latio,[30] et tunc Sanson de tribu Dan rexit populum Israel, et seruiuit Israel Filisteis.[31] Enee successit Ascanius, cui nomen Iulo,[32] et post ipsum Siluius[x] Eneas, Ascanii frater et filius Enee secundus. Verum Ascanius filium habuit Siluium,[33] ex quo prodiit Brutus, a quo Britannia tam maior quam minor nomen accepit. Siluio Enee successit Siluius Latinus,[34] post hunc Siluius Albanus,[35] post hunc Siluius Epitus,[36] post hunc Capudh filius Epiti,[37] post hunc Prochas,[38] post hunc Numitor,[39] de quo illud:

Ilia cum Lauso de Numitore sati.[40]

Post hunc Rea Siluia, post quam Roma surrexit, a filiis eius fundata.[41]

Est autem annorum summa hec: ab Adam usque[y] ad Ninum, sub quo natus est Abraham anno regni eius quadragesimo tertio, sunt tria

[v] septem *XQ* [w] Bebanum *N* [x] Siluius] filius *N* [y] usque *supplied by author N*

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[24] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 261; Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 12 (*PL* cxcviii. 1283–5); Judg. 11: 1–12: 7.

[25] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 258 and 262–3; Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 13 (*PL* cxcviii. 1285); Judg. 12: 8–10.

[26] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 262 and 265; Comestor, *Iud.* c. 14 and Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1285); Judg. 12: 11–12.

[27] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 265; Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 15 (*PL* cxcviii. 1285); Judg. 12: 13–15.

[28] Cf. Comestor, loc. cit.; Judg. 19–20.

[29] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 265–6; Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 15, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1285); *Otia*, ii. 10, n. 17.

[30] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 271–2; Comestor, loc. cit. Jerome states that Aeneas began to rule in the third or eighth year after the capture of Troy, the Comestor in the third or fifth.

[31] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 271; Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 16 (*PL* cxcviii. 1285–6); Judg. 13–16.

[32] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 272; Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 20 (*PL* cxcviii. 1290).

[33] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 280; Comestor, *I Reg.*, c. 7, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1300). Both Jerome and the Comestor give Ascanius' son's name as Julius; here Gervase

Next Jephthah the Gileadite ruled the people for six years.[24] After Jephthah, Ibzan of Judah judged the people; in his time Agamemnon was king of Mycenae, and Menelaus of Sparta.[25] After this Elon of Zebulon judged the people for ten years; it was then that Paris carried off Helen, and Troy was besieged.[26] After this Abdon judged the people for eight years.[27] At this time destruction was inflicted on Benjamin on account of the Levite's wife;[28] and in the third year of Abdon's rule Troy was taken by the Assyrians.[29] The brothers Aeneas and Phrygius left Troy and went into exile.

Now in the sixth year after the overthrow of Troy Aeneas became king in Latium;[30] at this time Samson, of the tribe of Dan, ruled the people of Israel, and Israel served the Philistines.[31] Ascanius, called Iulus, succeeded Aeneas;[32] after him came Silvius Aeneas, the brother of Ascanius and second son of Aeneas. Ascanius did, however, have a son, Silvius,[33] the father of Brutus, from whom both Great Britain and Brittany took their names. Silvius Latinus succeeded Silvius Aeneas,[34] then Silvius Alba,[35] then Silvius Epitus,[36] then Capys, the son of Epitus,[37] then Procas,[38] and then Numitor,[39] referred to in the line:

Ilia and Lausus were born to Numitor.[40]

After Numitor came Rhea Silvia, and after her reign, Rome came into being, founded by her sons.[41]

There follows a computation of the years: from Adam to Ninus, in whose time, in the forty-third year of his reign, Abraham was born,

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introduces elements from Geoffrey of Monmouth's version of events: see *HRB*, c. 6 (= ed. Griscom, i. 3).

[34] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, c. 27 (= ed. Griscom, ii. 7); Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 290 and 294; Comestor, *I Reg.*, c. 28, Incidentia, and *III Reg.*, c. 3, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1324 and 1350).

[35] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, c. 27 (= ed. Griscom, ii. 8); Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 302; Comestor, *III Reg.*, c. 27, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1372).

[36] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, c. 29 (= ed. Griscom, ii. 9); Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 308; Comestor, *III Reg.*, c. 30, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1375).

[37] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, loc. cit.; Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 314; Comestor, *III Reg.*, c. 32 (*PL* cxcviii. 1377).

[38] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 338–40; Comestor, *IV Reg.*, c. 21, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1403–4). Between Capys and Procas Gervase omits five kings of Alba given by Jerome and the Comestor (see *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 318, 320, 326, and 330; Comestor, *III Reg.*, c. 40, Incidentia, *IV Reg.*, c. 17, Incidentia, and *IV Reg.*, c. 19, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1386, 1399, and 1401).

[39] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 344–6.

[40] Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 54.

[41] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 356 and 364; Comestor, *IV Reg.*, c. 24, Incidentia, and c. 25, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1405–6). Rhea Silvia is another name for Ilia.

milia centum octoginta quatuor;[42] exhinc usque ad subuertionem Pentapolis ducenti quadraginta, ad sumnium uero Pharaonis et Ioseph .ccc. octo minus; a Nino usque[z] plagas Egipti quingenti, a Nino usque ad raptum Elene octingenti octoginta. Post decennium capta Troia, anno sexto, ut dixi, regnauit Eneas in Latio, perempto Turno rege Rutilorum,[a] ducta Latina[b] filia Latini; cui successit Iulus.

xv. *De regno Romanorum, Israel, Medorum, Macedonum, Egipti, et Persarum*[a]

Iam nunc excidium Troie, quod Romani regni seminarium[b] fuit, ad successiuam Latii gubernationem protraximus, cum regimine populi Israelitici. Tempora ducum Israel et regum continuantes, post Samsonem Heli sacerdos annis quadraginta populum rexit, aut[c] secundum septuaginta interpretes annis uiginti;[1] post Heli Samuel annis duodecim, ut ait Egisippus.[2] Exhinc Iudeorum regnum sumpsit exordium a Saule qui, primus[d] Ebreorum rex, regnauit annis undecim,[3] in primis sinplex ut puer unius anni,[e] in quo quarta etas cepit.[4]

Sauli successit Dauid et regnauit annis quadraginta. Tunc Effesus condita est.[5] Post hunc regnauit Salomon annis totidem. Hic quarto anno regni sui templum cepit edificare.[6] Post hunc Roboam regnauit annis septendecim, et Ieroboam de tribu Effraim separauit decem tribus a domo Dauid.[7] Huius anno quinto Sesac rex Egipti Ierosolimam[f] et templum spoliauit.[8] Post hec Abias filius Roboam regnauit annis tribus.[9] Post hunc filius eius[g] Asa annis quadraginta uno; hic

[z] a Nino usque *supplied by author N;* ad *add. after* usque *XI* [a] Rutiliorum *N* [b] Lauinia *I* (*presumably a scribal correction*)

[a] De . . . et Persarum (et *om. X*) *Cβ;* De regno Romanorum *as title, extended in the margin first by the rubricator:* Israel Mema *and then by the author:* -ertii Persarum *N* [b] semmiarium *N* [c] aut] autem *N* [d] fuit *add. after* primus *Cβ* [e] in primis . . . anni] *supplied by author N* [f] Iherosolimam (*sic*) *supplied by author N* [g] eius *supplied by author N*

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[42] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 110; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 1. 5; Hugh of Fleury, *HE*, Prooemium (*PL* clxiii. 824).

[1] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 277; Comestor, *I Reg.*, c. 7 (*PL* cxcviii. 1300); 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 4: 18.

[2] Hegesippus treats of Eli and Samuel in *Historiae*, v. 16. 1 (*CSEL* lxvi (1). 323–33), but does not mention the period of twelve years; this is, however, found in Josephus, *Ant.* vi. 294; see also Bede, *In Samuelem prophetam allegorica expositio*, ii, prologue (*PL* xci. 547); Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, iii. Tertia aetas (ed. Flint p. 130 = *PL* clxxii. 170).

3,184 years are counted;[42] from then to the destruction of the Pentapolis, 240 years, and to Pharaoh's dream and Joseph, 292 years; from Ninus to the plagues of Egypt, 500 years; from Ninus to the abduction of Helen, 880 years. Troy was taken after ten years, and in the sixth year after that, as I have said, Aeneas became king in Latium, having killed Turnus, king of the Rutulians, and married Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus; he was succeeded by Iulus.

15. *The Kingdoms of Rome, Israel, Media, Macedonia, Egypt, and Persia*

We have now followed the destruction of Troy, which was the seed-bed of the kingdom of Rome, through to the succession of rulers in Latium, giving a parallel account of the leadership of the people of Israel. To continue the chronology of the leaders and kings of Israel: after Samson, Eli the priest ruled the people for forty years, or according to the Septuagint, for twenty years;[1] after Eli, Samuel ruled for twelve years, as Hegesippus says.[2] Then the kingship of the Jews came into being with Saul, who reigned for eleven[3] years as the first king of the Hebrews; he was one of the most guileless of men, like a one-year-old boy. With Saul the fourth age began.[4]

David succeeded Saul and reigned for forty years. At this time Ephesus was founded.[5] After David, Solomon reigned for the same number of years. In the fourth year of his reign he began to build the temple.[6] After him, Rehoboam reigned for seventeen years, and Jeroboam, of the tribe of Ephraim, separated the ten tribes from the house of David.[7] In the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign, Shishak, king of Egypt, plundered Jerusalem and the temple.[8] After this, Abijam, son of Rehoboam, reigned for three years.[9] After him, his son Asa reigned for forty-one years; he destroyed the idols and cleansed

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[3] Gervase's 'undecim' (.xi.) is probably the result of a misreading of 'quadraginta' (.xl.); cf. Acts, 13: 21; Isidore, *Etym.* v. 39. 12.

[4] For the scheme of the six ages of the world, derived from Augustine, see e.g. Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, c. 92 (*CCSL* xxxix. 1291 = *PL* xxxvii. 1182), and *De diversis quaestionibus*, c. 58 (*CCSL* xliv (A). 106 = *PL* xl. 43–4); Isidore, *Etym.* v. 39; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, iii (ed. Flint pp. 123–51 = *PL* clxxii. 165–88); *Otia*, ii. 26.

[5] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 293 and 297.

[6] Cf. ibid. 299.

[7] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 305; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 12.

[8] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 309; Comestor, *III Reg.*, c. 30 (*PL* cxcviii. 1374–5); 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 14: 25–6.

[9] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 311; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 15: 1–8.

ydola destruxit et templum mundauit.[10] Post hunc filius eius Iosafath annis uiginti quinque.[11] Tunc prophetauit Elias.[12] Post hunc Ioram filius eius annis octo, et Helias raptus est.[13]

Post hunc Acazias uel Azarias[h] filius eius anno uno.[14] Post hunc Atalia mater eius[i] Acazie annis sex.[15] Post hanc Ioas filius Acasie annis f. 33v quadraginta.[j] [16] Post hunc Amasias | filius eius annis uiginti nouem.[17] Tunc Eliseus propheta sepelitur in Samaria,[18] et Asael rex Sirie afflixit Israel.[19] Post hunc Acarias,[k] qui et Ozias, filius Amasie regnauit annis quinquaginta duobus.[20] Huius anno sexto Arbaces[l] Medus[m] Assiriorum destruxit imperium, interfecto Sardanapallo.[21]

Post Oziam filius eius Ioathan regnauit annis sexdecim.[22] Tunc Ysaias prophetauit,[23] et [24]olimpias prima ab Eliensibus constituitur, Eliis agentibus agonem et quinquennale certamen, quatuor mediis annis uacantibus; et ob hoc Elidum certaminis tempus olimpiadem uocauerunt, quadriennio in una olimpiade supputato,[24] sicut indictio[25] dicta est, quasi ualde dictio, quindecim annorum spatium continens. Cum enim per tres orbis partitiones, Europam, Asiam, et Affricam, Augustus Cesar censum indixisset ad supplementum rei publice, prima indictio in Europa facta est per quinque annos, et quinto anno, censu Romam perlato, urbs illustrabatur lampadibus; unde et lustrum[26] nominatum est, quasi spatium quinque annorum. Sexto anno Affrica censu consimili lustrabatur, et sic aliud lustrum fiebat. Vndecimo anno aliud lustrum in Asia fiebat, sicque quinto

[h] uel Azarias *supplied by author N; om. ACβ* [i] eius *om. ACβ* [j] annis quadraginta *om. β* [k] Acazias *ACβ* [l] Arbades *Cβ* [m] Mediis *N*

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[10] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 341; Comestor, *III Reg.*, c. 32 (*PL* cxcviii. 1376–7); 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 15: 9–24.

[11] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 317; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 22.

[12] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 321.

[13] Cf. Jerome, loc. cit.; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 8: 16–19, 2: 11.

[14] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 323; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 8: 25—9: 29.

[15] Cf. Jerome, loc. cit.; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs) 11.

[16] Cf. Jerome, loc. cit.; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 11–12.

[17] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 331; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 14: 1–20.

[18] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 329; Comestor, *IV Reg.*, c. 18 (*PL* cxcviii. 1400); 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 13: 20.

[19] Cf. 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 13: 22.

[20] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 335; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 15: 1–7.

[21] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 337 and 339.

[22] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 355; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 15: 32–8.

[23] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 357.

[24–24] olimpias . . . una olimpiade supputato] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* v. 37. 1; Comestor, *Iud.*, c. 15, Additio 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1285). The historian Timaeus (*c.*346–*c.*250 BC) was the first to

the temple.[10] After him, his son Jehoshaphat reigned for twenty-five years.[11] At this time the prophet Elijah was active.[12] After Jehoshaphat his son Jehoram reigned for eight years, and Elijah was taken up.[13]

After Jehoram his son Ahaziah or Azariah reigned for one year.[14] After him Athaliah, the mother of this Ahaziah, reigned for six years.[15] After her Joash, son of Ahaziah, reigned for forty years.[16] After him his son Amaziah reigned for twenty-nine years.[17] At this time the prophet Elisha was buried in Samaria,[18] and Hazael, king of Syria, oppressed Israel.[19] After Amaziah his son Azariah, also called Uzziah, reigned for fifty-two years.[20] In the sixth year of his reign Arbatus the Mede destroyed the empire of the Assyrians, having killed Sardanapalus.[21]

After Uzziah his son Jotham reigned for sixteen years.[22] At this time the prophet Isaiah was active,[23] and [24]the first olympiad was instituted by the people of Elis. The Eleans hold competitive games every fifth year, leaving four years without games in between; the term olympiad was adopted from this regular occurrence of the games of the Eleans, counting a four-year period as one olympiad.[24] The Roman indiction[25] (*indictio* being a stronger form of *dictio*, a proclamation) corresponds to the olympiad, but a full indiction contains a period of fifteen years. When Augustus Caesar had proclaimed a census throughout the three parts of the world, Europe, Asia, and Africa, to supplement the public funds, the first indiction, lasting five years, was held in Europe. In the fifth year, when the census was brought to Rome, the city was lit up (*illustrabatur*) by torches; consequently the term *lustrum*[26] was adopted to designate a period of five years. In the sixth year the census was similarly completed in Africa, and so there was another lustrum. In the eleventh year there was a further lustrum in Asia. Finally in the

fix chronology with reference to the olympiads, beginning from 776 BC. The games were held every fourth year, not (as Isidore says; cf. also Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, ii. 4. 1), every fifth year.

[25] An indiction was a fiscal period of 15 years, used as a point of referral for reckoning chronology from the reign of Constantine, and continuing through the Middle Ages. Sequential numbers were usually not assigned to the indiction cycles, but only to years within them: see Bede, *Opera de temporibus*, ed. C. W. Jones (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), pp. 382–4; A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford, 1993), ii. 92; and *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History*, ed. C. R. Cheney, rev. M. Jones (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 2–4.

[26] The word *lustrum* referred to the purificatory sacrifice made by the censors for the people every five years, after completing the census; the verb *lustrare* means 'to purify by means of a propitiatory offering', as well as 'to illuminate'.

decimo anno[n] in custodia archiui publici collocabatur, et septenis diebus, expletis quindecim annis, urbs illustrabatur. [o]Sunt qui dicant[p] ideo dici [27]indictiones per quinos annos distingui, quia primis quinque annis dabatur aurum, aliis quinis argentum, aliis quinis es, et sic complebatur indictio per spatium quindecim annorum.[o] [27]

Hoc autem indictionis annum argumento poteris inuenire. Sume annos incarnationis Domini, quotquot fuerint in presenti, uerbi gratia .mccxi., adde semper tria, quia quarta indictione natus est Christus secundum Dionisium.[28] Fiunt ergo .mccxiiii. Hos partire per quindecim: sunt ergo in uno quoque centenario sex indictiones et decem, fiuntque[q] ex .mcc.[r] octoginta indictiones. Remanent undecim ex principali numero et tres ex primo ternarii additamento, et sic iuncta faciunt quatuordecim.[s] Quarta ergo decima est indictio. Si uero nihil remanet, quinta decima erit. Incipiunt autem indictiones ab octauo Kalendis Octobris, ibidemque terminantur.[29] Sed et annos incarnationis quidam a natiuitate Domini, quidam ab annunciatione computant, ideoque diuersi sunt.[t]

Sane post Ioatan regnauit filius eius Acaz annis sexdecim.[30] Huius tempore Roma condita est in monte Palatino undecimo Kalendis Maii a geminis Remo et Romulo,[u] Ree Siluie filiis.[31] Post Acas regnauit Ezechias filius eius annis uiginti nouem,[32] cuius anno sexto Salmanasar rex Assiriorum, capta Samaria, transtulit Israel in Assirios.[33] Sed et mortuo Romulo, qui regnauit triginta octo annis, successit ei Numa Pompelius, et regnauit annis quadraginta.[34] Exhinc Manasses filius Ezechie[v] regnauit in Israel annis quinquaginta quinque, qui ob scelera sua captiuus ductus est in Babilonem, sed postea restituitur[w] in regnum.[35] Romanorum tercius Tullius Ostilius regnauit annis triginta duobus.[36]

[n] aliud lustrum in Asia . . . anno] *supplied by author N* [o–o] Sunt . . . spatium quindecim annorum] *supplied by author N* [p] dicunt *ACβ* [q] fiunt qui *N* [r] ex .mcc. *supplied by author N* [s] .viiii. *N* [t] Sed et annos . . . sunt] *supplied by author N* [u] Romulo *supplied by author N* [v] Ezechiel *N* [w] restitutus est *XQ*; restauratur *I*

[27–27] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, ii. 76–7 (73–4) (ed. Flint pp. 109–10 = *PL* clxxii. 156). The order in Honorius is bronze, silver, gold.

[28] These calculations derive from Dionysius Exiguus, *Argumenta paschalia*, c. 2 (*PL* lxvii. 499); cf. 'Dionysius de annis' in Bede, *Carmina dubia* (*PL* xciv. 637).

[29] The indiction as originally instituted by Constantine was reckoned from 1 September; the practice of reckoning it from 24 September arose from an inference of Bede (see the works cited in n. 25 above).

[30] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 361; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 16.

fifteenth year the whole census was deposited in the keeping of the state archives, and to mark the complete fifteen years the city was lit up for seven days. There are some who maintain that [27]indictions are said to be divided into five-year periods because for the first five years of the census gold was given, for the next five silver, and for the last five bronze, the whole indiction thus being completed in a period of fifteen years.[27]

Now you will be able to work out where in its indiction any year falls by the following method. Take the number of years from the Lord's incarnation to the present, say for instance 1211; then always add 3, because Christ was born, according to Dionysius,[28] in the fourth year of an indiction: so that makes 1214. Divide this by 15: there are 6 indictions plus 10 years in every century, so in 1200 years there are 80 indictions. That leaves 11 from the original number, plus the 3 added on to begin with, so joined together they make 14. This, then, is the fourteenth year of the indiction. If there is no remainder, it will be the fifteenth year. Indictions begin on 24 September, and end on the same date.[29] But since some count the years of the incarnation from the Lord's nativity, and others from the annunciation, there is disagreement between them.

To continue, after Jotham his son Ahaz ruled for sixteen years.[30] In his time Rome was founded on the Palatine Hill, on 21 April, by the twins Remus and Romulus, the sons of Rhea Silvia.[31] After Ahaz, his son Hezekiah reigned for twenty-nine years.[32] In the sixth year of his reign, Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, took Samaria and carried Israel away into Assyria.[33] When Romulus died, after reigning for thirty-eight years, Numa Pompilius succeeded him, and reigned for forty years.[34] Then Manasseh, son of Hezekiah, reigned in Israel for fifty-five years; he was led captive into Babylon on account of his wickedness, but was subsequently restored to his kingdom.[35] Tullus Hostilius reigned for thirty-two years as the third king of Rome.[36]

[31] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 364; Comestor, *IV Reg.*, c. 25, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1406); Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, c. 32 (= ed. Griscom, ii. 15).

[32] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 369; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 18–20.

[33] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 365–8; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 17: 3–6. Samaria fell in 722/1 BC.

[34] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 364 and 380.

[35] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 379; Comestor, *IV Reg.*, c. 32–3 (*PL* cxcviii. 1414–5); 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 21: 1–18.

[36] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 390; Comestor, *IV Reg.*, c. 33, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1415).

Manasse successit Amon filius eius, et regnauit annis duobus,[37] post quem Iosias filius Amon annis triginta uno.[38] [x]Hic a Necaone rege[y] Egipti peremptus est[z] in prelio.[39] Romanorum quartus Ancus Marcius Nume ex filia nepos regnauit annis uiginti tribus, post quem[a] Tarquinius Priscus annis triginta octo.[x][40] Tunc apud Medos[b] regnauit Cixares[c] annis triginta duobus, qui Niniuen subuertit.[41] Post quem regnauit in Israel Ioacas filius Iosie[d] mensibus tribus,[42] quem Nechao rex uinctum duxit in Egiptum, instituens pro eo regem[e] Eliachim[f] filium[g] Iosie primogenitum, quem mutato nomine nominauit Iohachim, ut mutatio nominis signum esset subiectionis.[h][43]

Huius anno tercio Nabucodonosor cepit Ierusalem,[i] et populum captiuum et uasa templi transtulit in Babilonem.[44] [45]Successit et Ioacim, qui et Ieconias, qui regnauit mensibus tribus et diebus decem, et Caldeis obsidentibus Ierusalem ductus est in Babilonem cum populo suo, [j]eo quod ad uocem Ieremie sponte se tradidit Nabucodonosor.[k] Vnde eius et matris et suorum dicta est 'transmigratio', quasi spontanea migratio, illorum qui postea captiui ducti sunt dicitur 'capitiuitas Iude'; et ab hac transmigratione, scilicet ab octauo anno regni Nabucodonosor,[l] incohant quidam septuaginta annos captiuitatis.[j][45] Post quem Sedecias regnauit annis undecim.[46] Tunc apud Medos regnauit Astiages.[47] Apud Romanos sextus regnauit Seruius annis triginta quatuor.[48] Anno uicesimo sexto post euersam Ierusalem, qui est annus tricesimus septimus[m] transmigrationis regis Ioachim, 'subleuauit Euil-merodac rex Babilonis capud Ioachim de carcere.'[49] Post quem regnauit Egesar filius eius, cui successit filius

[x–x] Hic . . . annis triginta octo] *supplied by author N* [y] a Necaone rege *ed.*; Anecaonem (Necaonem *XQ*) regem *MSS* [z] peremptus est *ed.*; peremit (perhemit *N*) *MSS* [a] post quem] *Here and in most succeeding occurrences in this chapter NCXI have an abbreviation for* postquam [b] Medos *supplied by author N* [c] Eixares *NAXQ* [d] Iosue *N* [e] rege *N* [f] Chachim *N* [g] filium *om. XQ* [h] primogenitum, quem mutato . . . subiectionis] *supplied by author N* [i] Israelem *N* [j–j] eo quod . . . septuaginta annos captiuitatis] *supplied by author N* [k] Nabugordonosor *N* [l] Nabugordonosor *N* [m] tricesimus septimus *ed.*; .xxvii. *MSS*

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[37] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 393; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 21: 19–26.

[38] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 397; Comestor, *IV Reg.*, c. 34 (*PL* cxcviii. 1415); 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 22: 1–23: 28.

[39] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 405; Comestor, *IV Reg.*, c. 37 (*PL* cxcviii. 1418); 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 23: 29–30. Josiah was killed at Megiddo in 609 BC.

[40] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 402–4; Comestor, *IV Reg.*, c. 37, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1418).

[41] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 401–3. Nineveh fell in 612 BC.

Manasseh was succeeded by his son Amon, who reigned for two years.[37] After Amon his son Josiah reigned for thirty-one years;[38] he was killed in battle by Pharaoh Nechoh of Egypt.[39] Ancus Marcius, Numa's grandson through his daughter, reigned for twenty-three years as the fourth king of Rome, after whom Tarquinius Priscus reigned for thirty-eight years.[40] At this time Cyaxares reigned over the Medes for thirty-two years, and overthrew Niniveh.[41] After Josiah his son Jehoahaz reigned in Israel for three months.[42] Then Pharaoh Nechoh led him bound into Egypt, making Josiah's first born son, Eliakim, king in his stead. He changed Eliakim's name to Jehoiakim, intending the changing of his name to be a sign of his subjection.[43]

In the third year of Jehoiakim's reign Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem, and carried the people away captive into Babylon, along with the vessels of the temple.[44] [45]Jehoiachin, also called Jeconiah, succeeded Jehoiakim. He reigned for three months and ten days, and then when the Chaldaeans took Jerusalem by siege, he was led into Babylon together with his people; for at the command of Jeremiah, he voluntarily gave himself up to Nebuchadnezzar. That is why his going into exile with his mother and his household is called 'the transmigration', suggesting a voluntary removal, whereas the exile of those who were subsequently led away captive is called 'the captivity of Judah'. Some people date the seventy years of the captivity as starting from this transmigration, that is, from the eighth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.[45] After Jehoiachin Zedekiah reigned for eleven years.[46] At this time Astyages reigned over the Medes.[47] Servius reigned over the Romans for thirty-four years as their sixth king.[48] In the twenty-sixth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, that is, in the thirty-seventh year of the transmigration of King Jehoiachin, 'Evil-merodach, king of Babylon, lifted up the head of Jehoiachin out of prison.'[49] Evil-merodach's son, Egesar, reigned after

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[42] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 407; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 23: 31.

[43] Cf. Jerome, loc. cit.; Comestor, *IV Reg.*, c. 38 (*PL* cxcviii. 1419); 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 23: 33–24: 6.

[44] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 407–9; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 24: 10–16. Jehoiakim reigned 609–598/7 BC; the first deportation to Babylon actually took place in 597, after Jehoiachin's reign of three months.

[45–45] Successit . . . septuaginta annos captiuitatis] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 411; Comestor, *IV Reg.*, c. 39 (*PL* cxcviii. 1421); 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 24: 8–16; Jer. 27.

[46] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 411; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 24: 17–25: 7. Zedekiah reigned 597–587 BC; in 587 Jerusalem was destroyed, and the second deportation to Babylon took place.

[47] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 413.

[48] Cf. ibid. 420.

[49] Cf. 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 25: 27; Jer. 52: 31.

Laborsardioch, quo mortuo ad Balthasar transiuit imperium, qui a Ciro et Dario occisus est.[50]

Persarum itaque rex primus Cirus regnauit annis triginta. Hic, ut ait Orosius,[51] subuerso Astiage rege Medorum, destruxit imperium Medorum, quod in illo finem accepit. Romanorum septimus Tarquinius Superbus regnauit annis triginta quinque.[52] Post Cirum regnauit Cambises filius eius annis octo.[53] Hic in Egipto Babilonem edificans,[n] [54] ab Ebreis Nabucodonosor secundus dicitur; sub quo Iudith ystoria scripta est, in qua sic continetur: 'Anno duodecimo regni Nabucodonosor, qui regnauit[o] Assiriis in ciuitate magna[p] Niniue, in diebus Arfaxat regis qui regnauit in Medis, quem interfecit Nabucodonosor,'[55] et cetera. [q]Et nota quod [56]usque ad Habraam fuerunt in Egipto dinastie sexdecim, hoc est summe potestates, et a natiuitate Habrahe dinastiam decimam septimam obtinuerunt Thebei, pastores et reges sic dicti. Octauam decimam Diopolitani,[r] qui et pharaones dicuntur,[s] per reges sexdecim. Variate autem[t] sunt dinastie per diuersa regum genera usque ad hunc Cambisem, sub quo primo Perse imperauerunt Egipto.[q] [56]

Post Cirum Darius regnauit annis triginta sex,[57] et [58]apud Romanos regum finis est, a Romulo usque ad[u] Tarquinium Superbum annis .ccxliii. Tunc pulsis regibus primum consules creantur, deinde tribuni plebis ac dictatores, et rursum consules per annos .cccclxiiii., usque ad Iulium Cesarem. Primus consul Brutus fuit.[58]

Post Darium regnauit Xerses filius eius annis uiginti.[59] Hic Egiptum, que a Dario recesserat, cepit.[60] Post quem Artaxerses, qui

[n] edificans *supplied by author N*   [o] in *add. after* regnauit *CXQ*   [p] magna *supplied by author N*   [q–q] Et nota . . . Perse imperauerunt Egipto] *supplied by author N*   [r] Dioplitani *N;* Thiopolitani *Comestor*   [s] dicti sunt *ACβ*   [t] Variate autem] uarietate *N*   [u] ad *om. QI*

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[50] Cf. Comestor, *Dan.*, c. 5 (*PL* cxcviii. 1453); Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, iii. Quinta aetas (ed. Flint p. 137 = *PL* clxxii. 175); Josephus, *Ant.* x. 231. Babylon was conquered by Cyrus in 539 BC.

[51] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 19. 6–10; Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 425–7. Cyrus defeated Media *c.*550 BC.

[52] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 432; Comestor, *Dan.*, c. 19, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1474).

[53] Cambyses, 529–522 BC; cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 435.

[54] Cf. Comestor, *Iudith*, c. 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1479; *Otia*, ii. 4, at n. 97.

[55] Cf. Judith 1: 5; Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 435; Comestor, *Dan.*, c. 20 (*PL* cxcviii. 1474–5); Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, iii. Quinta aetas (ed. Flint p. 137 = *PL* clxxii. 175).

[56–56] usque . . . Perse imperauerunt Egipto] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 64 (*PL* cxcviii. 1109). According to the Comestor, there were fifteen dynasties up to the time of Abraham; the sixteenth was that of the Thebans, the seventeenth the shepherd-kings, and the

him; he was succeeded by his son, Laborsardioch; after his death the empire passed to Belshazzar, who was killed by Cyrus and Darius.[50]

And so Cyrus reigned for thirty years as the first king of the Persians. He overthrew Astyages, king of the Medes, as Orosius says,[51] and destroyed their empire, which ended with Astyages. Tarquinius Superbus reigned for thirty-five years as the seventh king of Rome.[52] After Cyrus his son Cambyses reigned for eight years.[53] He built the Egyptian city of Babylon,[54] and is called a second Nebuchadnezzar by the Hebrews; in his time was written the story of Judith, which includes the following passage: 'In the twelfth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, who ruled over the Assyrians in the great city of Nineveh, in the days of King Arphaxad who ruled over the Medes, and who was killed by Nebuchadnezzar',[55] etc. Note, also, that [56]up to the time of Abraham there were sixteen dynasties, that is, ruling powers, in Egypt. After the birth of Abraham the Thebans, the so-called shepherd-kings, acquired the seventeenth dynasty, and the Thiopolitani, who are also known as the pharaohs, acquired the eighteenth, which lasted through sixteen reigns. There was in fact a succession of various dynasties passing through different families of kings up to the time of this Cambyses, under whom the Persians first established their rule in Egypt.[56]

After Cyrus, Darius reigned for thirty-six years,[57] and [58]among the Romans the rule of the kings came to an end. It had lasted, from Romulus to Tarquinius Superbus, for 243 years. Then, after the kings had been driven out, first consuls were created, then tribunes of the plebs and dictators, and then consuls again, over a period of 464 years, up to the time of Julius Caesar. The first consul was Brutus.[58]

After Darius, his son Xerxes reigned for twenty years.[59] He conquered Egypt, which had revolted from Darius.[60] After Xerxes,

eighteenth the 'Thebaei, vel Thiopolitani, qui et Pharaones, per Reges septemdecim'. According to the conventional chronology, the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth dynasties were contemporaneous, the fifteenth and sixteenth being Hyksos or shepherd-kings (invaders who arrived from the Levant *c.*1640 BC), and the seventeenth Thebans, the native Egyptians who eventually succeeded (*c.*1525 BC) in driving out the invaders and establishing the powerful eighteenth dynasty (see e.g. D. Rohl, *A Test of Time* (London, 1995), pp. 17, 20, and 286–9). Egypt was under Persian rule from 525 to 401 BC.

[57] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 437; Comestor, *Iudith*, c. 2 (*PL* cxcviii. 1480). Darius I (522–486 BC) succeeded Cambyses, not Cyrus.

[58–58] apud . . . consul Brutus fuit] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 442; Comestor, *Iudith*, c. 3, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1483).

[59] Xerxes I (Ahasuerus), 486–65; cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 445.

[60] Cf. ibid. 444 and 446; Comestor, *Iudith*, c. 4 (*PL* cxcviii. 1483).

et Longimanus, regnauit annis quadraginta.[61] Post quem Darius cognomento Nothus annis octodecim, sub quo Egiptus iterum recessit a Persis.[62] Post quem Artaxerses Mnemon Darii[v] et Parisatidis filius regnauit annis quadraginta.[63] Tunc tribuni pro consulibus esse ceperunt.[64] Post hunc Artaxerses, qui et Ochus, regnauit annis uiginti sex. Hic Egiptum comminutam ferro Persis subiecit;[65] cui successit Xerses filius eius annis quatuor.[66]

Tunc Alexander Magnus uicesimo etatis anno regnare cepit in Macedonia,[67] que est in Europa.[w] Post Xersen Ochi filium regnauit in Persis Darius Arsani filius annis sex.[68] [69]Tunc Alexander, compressis f. 34r celeriter Grecorum | motibus, contra Illirios et Trachas uiriliter[x] dimicans, Tebanos deleuit; Acaiam, Tessaliam uectigales[y] fecit; profectus ad bellum Persicum, omnes cognatos ac proximos suos interfecit. Post multas pugnas triumphans, Alexandriam in Egipto condidit, nec mora, Dario interfecto, Babilonem obtinuit, in quo regnum Persarum cecidit postquam steterat annis .ccxxxi. Hic post mortem Darii imperauit annis quinque, Yrcanos et Scitas edomuit, sicque Babilonem regressus, duodecimo anno regni sui ueneni haustu interiit.[z] [69]

Translato itaque in multos imperio, Ptolomeus Lagi filius Egiptum; Macedonas Filippus, qui et Eridanus, frater Alexandri; Siriam, Babilonem, et omnia regna orientis Seleucus Nicanor; Asiam Antigonus, post quem Demetrius; Lidiam, Traciam, et Elespontum

[v] Dari *N* [w] In huius conceptione mater Olimpias uisa per quietem est cum ingenti serpente uolutari, nam profecto maius humana mortalitate opus utero tulit. Die qua natus est, due aquile prepetes tota die super culmen domus sederunt, omen duplicis imperii Asie et Europe preferentes; eadem die nuncium duarum uictoriarum pater accepit, belli Illirici certaminisque Olimpiaci, in quo quadrigarum currus miserat. Puericia exacta, per quinquennium sub Aristotile creuit. A nullo superatus, omnes quas obsedit urbes cepit, omnes quas adiit gentes calcauit *add. after* Europa *XQ* (*cf. Julius Valerius*) [x] uirliter *N* [y] uectigale *N* [z] Vixit autem annis .xxxii. (triginta et tres *Julius Valerius*) condiditque urbes .xii. suo nomine uocatas: Alexandriam Bucefali, Alexandriam Montuosam (Babillonis *X*), Alexandriam apud Porum, Alexandriam in Scithia, Alexandriam Babilonis, Alexandriam Massegetam (apud Massagetas *Julius Valerius*), Alexandriam apud Egiptum, in qua sepultus est, Alexandriam apud Orgalia (Crigala *Q*, Origala *Julius Valerius*), Alexandriam apud Granicum, Alexandriam apud Troodam, Alexandriam apud Tigridem fluuium, Alexandriam apud Scantum (Sanctum *Julius Valerius*). Has omnes insigniuit Grece primis litteris harum dictionum: Alexander Rex (Imperator *Julius Valerius*) Genus Iouis Fecit. Hic ferro belloque inuictus, uino ac ueneno superatus ac extinctus, occubuit *add. after* interiit *XQ* (*cf. Julius Valerius, iii. 60*)

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[61] Artaxerxes I (Longimanus), 465–424; cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 449; Comestor, *Iudith*, c. 5 (*PL* cxcviii. 1483).

[62] After the brief reigns of Xerxes II and Sogdianus (423), Darius II ruled 423–404; cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 457; Comestor, *Iudith*, c. 10 (*PL* cxcviii. 1490).

Artaxerxes, also called Longimanus, reigned for forty years.[61] After him, Darius, called Nothus, reigned for eighteen years; in his time Egypt again revolted from the Persians.[62] After him, Artaxerxes Mnemon, the son of Darius and Parysatis, reigned for forty years.[63] At this time tribunes first took the place of consuls.[64] After Artaxerxes Mnemon, Artaxerxes, also called Ochus, reigned for twenty-six years. He reduced Egypt and subjected it to the Persians by the sword.[65] His son Arses succeeded him, reigning for four years.[66]

At this time Alexander the Great began to reign in Macedonia in Europe, at the age of twenty.[67] After Arses, son of Ochus, Darius, son of Arses, ruled over the Persians for six years.[68] [69]At this time Alexander swiftly suppressed the risings of the Greeks, and making a powerful onslaught on the Illyrians and the Thracians, annihilated the Thebans; he imposed tribute on Achaea and Thessaly; and setting out to make war on Persia, he killed all his close relatives. In triumph after many battles, he founded Alexandria in Egypt, and immediately went on to take Babylon. Darius was killed, and with him the kingdom of Persia fell, having stood for 231 years. Alexander reigned from Babylon for five years after the death of Darius. He subdued the Hyrcanians and the Scythians, and then returned to Babylon, where in the twelfth year of his reign he perished from a draught of poison.[69]

Thereupon his empire passed to a number of successors: Ptolemy, son of Lagus, acquired Egypt; Philip, also called Arrhidaeus, Alexander's brother, acquired Macedonia; Seleucus Nicator acquired Syria, Babylon, and all the kingdoms of the east; Antigonus, followed by Demetrius, acquired Asia; and Lysimachus acquired Lydia,

[63] Artaxerxes II (Mnemon), 404–358; cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 459; Comestor, *Iudith*, c. 10, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1490).

[64] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 464; Comestor, *Esther*, c. 1, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1494).

[65] Artaxerxes III, 358–338; cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 467 and 469; Comestor, *Esther*, c. 2 (*PL* cxcviii. 1495).

[66] Arses, 338–336; this ruler is called Arses by Jerome (*Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 471), and Arsamus by the Comestor (*Esther*, c. 3 (*PL* cxcviii. 1495)); Honorius (*De imagine mundi*, iii. Quinta aetas (ed. Flint p. 138 = *PL* clxxii. 176)) has 'Arses qui et Xerses'.

[67] i.e. in 336 BC; cf. Jerome, loc. cit.; Comestor, *Esther*, c. 4 (*PL* cxcviii. 1496).

[68] Darius III, 336–331; cf. Jerome, loc. cit.; Comestor, loc. cit. In combining his different sources Gervase failed to realize the identity of Xerxes and Arsamus (see n. 66).

[69–69] Tunc . . . ueneni haustu interiit] Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 474–6, is a partial source for this passage. Alexander actually died of fever, exacerbated by drinking too much wine, in 323 BC. For the rumour that he was poisoned, see Appendix i. 8, n. 6; though ignored by Jerome, this rumour persisted, and is reported by e.g. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, iii. Quinta aetas (ed. Flint p. 138 = *PL* clxxii. 176), and the Comestor, *Esther*, c. 5 (*PL* cxcviii. 1498).

Lisimacus obtinuit.[70] Tercio decimo Ptolomei anno, Seleucus Sirie, Babilonie, et orienti imperans,[71] primus post Alexandrum;[a] a tempore suo, secundum Macabeorum hystoriam, Grecorum incipit regnum.[72] Seleucus, in Cilicia[b] capto Demetrio, Sirie et Asie pariter imperauit.[c] [73] Seleucus Seleuciam,[d] Laodiciam, Antiochiam, Apamiam, Edissam, Beroeum,[e] et Pellum[f] urbes condidit, et in eas Iudeos transtulit.[74]

Tunc legati Alexandrinorum a Tolomeo transmissi Romanorum amicitiam petierunt.[75] Post quem Tolomeus Filadelfus regnauit annis triginta quatuor; hic Iudeos Egipti liberauit, et per septuaginta interpretes legem restituit.[76] Post quem frater eius[g] Tolomeus Euergites regnauit annis uiginti sex,[77] post quem Tholomeus Philopator[h] filius eius annis septendecim,[78] post quem filius eius Tholomeus Ephifanes annis uiginti quatuor.[79]

Apud Siriam Seleucus Philopator[i] annis duodecim,[80] post quem [81]Antiocus Epifanes annis undecim; hic Iudeos diis gentium immolare cogebat, uerum Mathathias sacerdos leges patrias uindicat. Tunc regnum Macedonum Romani deponunt eosque tributarios faciunt.[81]

Post hec Tholomeus Filometor regnauit annis triginta quinque,[82] post quem[j] [83]Tolomeus Euergites annis uiginti nouem, sub quo Ionathas dux Iudeorum et pontifex cum Romanis et Spartanis amicitiam facit. Tunc Brutus Yspaniam subegit.[83] Post hec[k] Tolomeus Soter,[l] qui et Fiscon, regnauit annis septendecim.[84] [85]Tunc, Yrcano pontifice Iudeorum deficiente (filio Simonis, qui fuit ultimus filiorum Mathatie; hic autem Yrcanus per cognomentum dictus Iohannes uocabatur),[m] [85] Aristobolus successit, primogenitus Yrcani.

[a] primus post Alexandrum *supplied by author N* [b] Cilicia *Jerome;* Sicilia *NQ,* Cicilia *X, context om. I* [c] pariter imperavit *Jerome;* partes rexit *MSS* [d] silentiam *N* [e] Beroeam *Jerome* [f] Pellam *Jerome* [g] eius *om. XQ* [h] Philopator *Jerome;* Philofator *C;* Filosofator *NAβ* [i] Philopator *Jerome;* Filosofator *MSS* [j] quem] hec *X;* hunc *Q* [k] hoc *AXQ* [l] socer *N* [m] filio Simonis, qui . . . uocabatur] *supplied by author N*

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[70] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 475–80.

[71] Cf. ibid. 480. One would expect a main verb here, since *incipit* (below) appears to be intransitive. Ptolemy I (Soter) ruled in Egypt 323–285 BC; Seleucus I (Nicator or, in Jerome, Nicanor) ruled in Mesopotamia and Syria 312/11–280.

[72] Cf. ibid. 478. According to 1 Macc. 1: 11, Antiochus Ephiphanes began to rule 'in the hundred and thirty-seventh year of the kingdom of the Greeks'—counting, that is, not from the beginning of the reign of Alexander, but from the first year of Seleucus Nicator.

[73] Cf. ibid. 484. Gervase's *partes rexit* (see apparatus) is clearly derived from Jerome's *pariter imperauit*, but gives an unsatisfactory meaning ('Seleucus ruled parts of Syria and Asia').

[74] Cf. ibid. 480 and 484.

[75] Cf. ibid. 482.

Thrace, and the Hellespont.[70] In the thirteenth year of Ptolemy's reign, Seleucus became the first since Alexander to control Syria, Babylonia, and the east;[71] it was in Seleucus' time, according to the History of the Maccabees, that the rule of the Greeks began.[72] After capturing Demetrius in Cilicia, Seleucus became king of Asia as well as Syria.[73] He founded the cities of Seleucia, Laodicea, Antioch, Apamea, Edessa, Beroea, and Pella, and removed the Jews to these places.[74]

At this time ambassadors sent by Ptolemy from Alexandria sought an alliance with the Romans.[75] After this Ptolemy, Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned for thirty-four years; he liberated the Jews of Egypt, and restored the law by means of the seventy translators.[76] Next Philadelphus' brother, Ptolemy Euergetes, reigned for twenty-six years.[77] Then Euergetes' son, Ptolemy Philopator, reigned for seventeen years.[78] Then Philopator's son, Ptolemy Epiphanes, reigned for twenty-four years.[79]

In Syria, Seleucus Philopator reigned for twelve years,[80] after whom [81]Antiochus Epiphanes reigned for eleven years. He tried to force the Jews to sacrifice to the gods of the gentiles, but Mattathias the priest upheld the laws of their fathers. At this time the Romans overthrew the kingdom of the Macedonians, and imposed tribute on them.[81]

After this, Ptolemy Philometor reigned for thirty five-years.[82] After him, [83]Ptolemy Euergetes reigned for twenty-eight years; in his time the Jewish leader and high priest, Jonathan, made an alliance with the Romans and the Spartans. At this time Brutus subdued Spain.[83] After this, Ptolemy Soter, also called Physcon, reigned for seventeen years.[84] [85]Then, on the death of Hyrcanus, high priest of the Jews (and son of Simon, who was the last of the sons of Mattathias; this Hyrcanus was known by the name of John),[85] his first born son,

[76] Ptolemy II (Philadelphus), 285–246; cf. ibid. 483 and 486. Jerome gives the length of his reign as 38 years.

[77] Ptolemy III (Euergetes I), 246–221; cf. ibid. 489.

[78] Ptolemy IV (Philopator), 221–203; cf. ibid. 493.

[79] Ptolemy V (Epiphanes), 203–181; cf. ibid. 495.

[80] Seleucus IV (Philopator), 187–175; cf. ibid. 500.

[81–81] Antiochus IV (Epiphanes), 175–163; cf. ibid. 504–6.

[82] Ptolemy VI (Philometor), 181–145; cf. ibid. 499.

[83–83] Ptolemy VII (Euergetes II), 145–116; cf. ibid. 511–12. Jerome gives the length of his reign as 25 years. It was generally this Ptolemy (not his successor, as Gervase, following Jerome, states) who was known as Physcon (= Pot-belly); see e.g. Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 235.

[84] Ptolemy VIII (Soter II), 116–108/7 and 88–80; cf. ibid. 517.

[85–85] Cf. ibid. 516.

Hic restituit regnum Iudee, quod interruptum fuerat a Sedhechia annis .cccclxx. quinque et mensibus tribus,[n] qui rex pariter et[o] pontifex primus fuit apud Iudeos.[86] Post quem regnauit in Iudea Ianeus, qui et Alexander; tunc capta est a Romanis urbs Tolosa.[87]

Post hec regnauit in Egipto Ptolomeus, qui et Alexander, annis decem;[88] cuius anno septimo Siria[p] cessit in Romanam dicionem, capto Filippo, qui post Antiocum duobus annis regnauerat.[89] Post hunc Ptolomeus filius Cleopatre regnauit annis octo.[90] Tunc Plocius Gallus artem rethoricam primus Rome docuit.[91]

Post hec[q] Tolomeus Dianus[r] regnauit annis triginta.[92] Ab huius anno quinto, Alexandra, que et Salina, Alexandri pontificis Iudeorum uxor, post mortem uiri regnauit annis octo;[s] ex quo tempore Iudeos rerum confusio uarieque clades oppresserunt.[93] Post huius mortem [94]Aristobolus et Yrcanus filii eius, de regno intra se dimicantes, occasionem prebuere Romanis ut Iudeam inuaderent. Tunc Pompeius, omnium moderatissimus, Siriam Coelem, Fenicem, Arabesque perdomuit. Ierusalem uix tercio mense expugnat, muros deleuit, templum succendit. Aristobolo uincto[t] ducto, pontificatum confirmat Yrcano.[94] [95][u]Fertur autem Cornelius Sille filius primus templum inuasisse, irruentesque Romani prophanauerunt templum, in ipso equos stabulantes. Vnde traditur numquam Pompeium de cetero pugnasse quin uinceretur.[u][95] Tunc bella Pompeius cum uiginti duobus regibus orientis gessit,[96] ortumque est bellum ciuile inter ipsum et Cesarem,[97] fugiensque Pompeius in Alexandriam, a Ptolomeo Diano perimitur.[98] Cesar Alexandriam uenit, et Ptolomeus

[n] primogenitus Yrcani. Hic . . . tribus] *supplied by author N* [o] pariter et *supplied by author N* [p] Siria *om. XQ* [q] hunc *ACQI; context om. X* [r] Dianus *MSS;* Dionysus *Jerome* [s] nouem *CXQ,* 9 *Jerome* [t] uincit *AXQ*
[u–u] Fertur . . . pugnasse quin uinceretur] *supplied by author N*

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[86] Aristobulus, 106–105; cf. ibid. 519–20; Comestor, *II Machab.*, cc. 3 and 4 (*PL* cxcviii. 1525).

[87] Alexander Janneus, 104–78; cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 521–2.

[88] Ptolemy IX (Alexander I), 108/7–88; cf. ibid. 523.

[89] Cf. ibid. 526.

[90] i.e. Ptolemy VIII, who regained the kingdom from 88 to 80 BC (see n. 84 above). Ptolemy X (Alexander II), son of Ptolemy IX, ruled briefly in 80 BC; Jerome confuses his reign with the second part of that of Ptolemy VIII (*Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 525).

[91] Cf. ibid. 528.

[92] Ptolemy XI (Auletes, father of Cleopatra VII), 80–51; cf. ibid. 529. Gervase's *Dianus* appears to be a corruption of *Dionysus*, the name given to this Ptolemy in the *Chronica*.

[93] Alexandra Salina, 75–67; cf. ibid. 529–30.

[94–94] Aristobolus . . . pontificatum confirmat Yrcano] Cf. ibid. 532–4; Comestor, *II Machab.*, cc. 8 and 9 (*PL* cxcviii. 1528–9). Jerusalem fell to Pompey in 63 BC.

Aristobulus, succeeded him. He restored the kingship of Judaea, which had been interrupted for 475 years and three months from the time of Zedekiah, and became the first to rule over the Jews as both king and priest.[86] After him, Janneus, also called Alexander, reigned in Judaea; at this time the city of Toulouse was captured by the Romans.[87]

After this, Ptolemy, also called Alexander, reigned in Egypt for ten years.[88] In the seventh year of his reign, Syria fell under Roman rule, and Philip, who had reigned for two years after Antiochus, was captured.[89] After Alexander, Ptolemy, son of Cleopatra, reigned for eight years.[90] At this time Plotius Gallus became the first to teach the art of rhetoric in Rome.[91]

After this, Ptolemy Dionysus reigned for thirty years.[92] From the fifth year of his reign, Alexandra, also called Salina, the wife of Alexander, high priest of the Jews, reigned for eight years after her husband's death; from this time a troubled state of affairs and all kinds of disasters afflicted the Jews.[93] After her death [94]her sons Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, fighting over the kingship between themselves, gave the Romans the opportunity to invade Judaea. Then Pompey, the most moderate of all men, subjugated Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, and the Arabs. After some difficulty he took Jerusalem in the third month, whereupon he destroyed the walls, and set fire to the temple. He carried Aristobulus off in chains, and confirmed Hyrcanus as high priest.[94] [95]It is said that Cornelius, son of Sulla, was the first to break into the temple; the Romans then rushed in and profaned it, stabling their horses in it. Tradition has it that as a result, Pompey never fought again without being conquered.[95] At this time Pompey waged war with twenty-two kings of the east,[96] and civil war broke out between him and Caesar;[97] Pompey fled to Alexandria, where he was murdered by Ptolemy Dionysus.[98] Caesar then came to Alexandria, and Ptolemy laid a plot against him, but while fleeing in a

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[95–95] Cf. Comestor, *II Machab.*, c. 9 (*PL* cxcviii. 1529).

[96] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, iii. Quinta aetas (ed. Flint p. 142 = *PL* clxxii. 179).

[97] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 536.

[98] Cf. ibid. 538; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, iii. Quinta aetas (ed. Flint p. 139 = *PL* clxxii. 176). In 48 BC Pompey was stabbed in the back by Septimius, formerly one of his centurions but then in the service of Ptolemy XII. This Ptolemy, called Dionysus like his father, was the brother and husband of Cleopatra VII; he reigned jointly with her from 51 to *c.*49 BC, and died in *c.*48.

insidias Cesari parans, in congressu nauali scafa fugiens, in Nilo submergitur; Cesar Egiptum Cleopatre sorori Ptolomei, ad quam stupri consuetudinem habuerat, contulit.[99] Cleopatra regnauit annis duobus,[100] Cesarque Romam rediens monarchiam primus imperii tenuit, a quo alii imperatores Cesaris nomen accipiunt.[101] In cuius morte bos ad arantem dixit in breui magis desituros homines quam frumenta.[102]

xvi. *De imperio Romanorum et ortu Gottorum et Longobardorum*[a]

Romanum incipit imperium[b]

Explicuimus regna Iudee, Egipti, Rome, Medie, Macedonum, Persarum. Nunc imperium Romanorum, quibus auctoribus creuerit atque dominationem suam auxerit aut diminuerit, explicemus. Sicut ergo a Romulo Romanum regnum nomen accepit, sic a Iulio Cesare nomen accepit imperii.[1] Cui successit nepos eius Octouianus | f. 34v Augustus, Romani augmentator pre omnibus imperii, a quo nomen Augusti[c] ceperunt imperatores,[2] qui uniuersum orbem descripsit,[3] qui tantam pacem continuauit quod post duodecim annos portas Iani rubigo clausas obsederat.[4] [5]Huius tempore, uidentes eum senatores tante pulcritudinis quod in eius faciem nemo poterat diutius intueri, et tante felicitatis et pacis quod totum orbem sibi fecerat tributarium, dixerunt: 'Adorare te uolumus, quia deitas est in te. Si enim hoc non esset, non ita[d] omnia tibi prospere succederent.' Qui renitens inducias postulauit et, uocata Sibilla Tiburtina, que a senatu conceperat exposuit. Hec, acceptis triduanis induciis quibus artum fecit ieiunium, post diem tercium respondit: 'Hoc pro certo erit, imperator:

[a] De imperio . . . Longobardorum] *Cβ; written in margin by rubricator of N*
[b] Romanum incipit imperium *om. CXQ*
[c] Augisti *N*
[d] ita *supplied by author N; om. Mirabilia*

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[99] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 538; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, iii. Quinta aetas (ed. Flint p. 139 = *PL* clxxii. 176).

[100] Cleopatra VII reigned 51–30 BC in association successively with her brothers Ptolemy XII and Ptolemy XIII and her son Ptolemy XIV (Caesarion); cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 535, where the length of her reign is given as 22 years.

[101] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, iii. Quinta aetas (ed. Flint p. 143 = *PL* clxxii. 179).

[102] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 540; Comestor, *II Machab.*, c. 16 (*PL* cxcviii. 1532); *Otia*, iii. 53, nn. 4 and 6.

[1] Cf. Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, iii. Quinta aetas (ed. Flint p. 143 = *PL* clxxii. 179). Caesar established himself as sole ruler after crossing the Rubicon in 49 BC.

[2] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 540. Augustus ruled as *princeps* from 27 BC until 14 AD;

small boat during a naval engagement, he was drowned in the Nile; Caesar conferred Egypt on Ptolemy's sister, Cleopatra, with whom he had formed an illicit liaison.[99] Cleopatra reigned for two years,[100] while Caesar, returning to Rome, became the first sole ruler of the empire. The later emperors are called Caesars after him.[101] On his death an ox said to his ploughman that soon they would be putting men in the ground rather than corn.[102]

16. *The Empire of the Romans and the Rise of the Goths and the Lombards*

The Roman Empire Begins

We have dealt with the kingdoms of Judaea, Egypt, Rome, Media, Macedonia, and Persia. Let us now treat of the empire of the Romans, showing who were the people responsible for its development and for the rise and fall of its power. Well then, just as Romulus initiated the kingdom, which was called Roman after him, so Julius Caesar initiated the empire, and its Caesars were named after him.[1] He was succeeded by his nephew Octavian Augustus, who did more than anyone else to build up the Roman empire; the emperors took the name of Augustus from him.[2] He taxed the whole world,[3] and established such uninterrupted peace that after twelve years rust had attacked the closed gates of Janus.[4] [5]In his time the senators, observing that he was so fair that no one could look at his face for any length of time, and that such were the blessings and peace he brought that he had made the whole world his tributary, said: 'We wish to worship you, because there is divinity in you. If it were not so, all things would not turn out favourably for you as they do.' Augustus opposed their wishes, and asked for time. Then he summoned the Tiburtine Sibyl, and put before her the proposal he had received from the senate. She withdrew for three days, during which she kept a strict fast, and after the third day she gave this response: 'This will surely come to pass, O Emperor:

Gervase, however, gives the length of his reign as 56 years (see below), which would fix its beginning in 42 BC, the year of the battle of Philippi.

[3] Cf. Luke 2: 1.

[4] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vi. 22. 2 and vii. 3. 4; on the gate of Janus, see *Otia*, i. 10, n. 13.

[5–5] Huius . . . Maria Ara Celi (p. 374)] Gervase's source for this legend is the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* (ed. Valentini and Zuchetti, c. 11, pp. 28–9). The work is referred to here in the margin of *N* as the *Gesta Romanorum*; cf. *Otia*, iii. 121 (n. 8), where it is called the *Historia Romanorum*. For the history of this legend and a bibliography, see *Mirabilia*, pp. 29–30, n. 1.

Iudicii signum, tellus sudore madescet,
E celo rex adueniet per secla futurus,
Silicet in carne presens, ut iudicet orbem,'

et cetera.[6] Ilico apertum est celum et nimius splendor irruit super eum; uiditque Augustus in celo pulcherrimam uirginem stantem super altare, puerum tenentem in brachiis, audiuitque uocem: 'Hec ara Filii Dei est.' Qui statim procidens in terram adorauit. Visionem istam scenatoribus rettulit, et[e] admirati sunt uniuersi. Fuit autem hec uisio in camera Octouiani imperatoris, ubi nunc est basilica gloriose Virginis in Capitolio, que et dicitur sancta Maria Ara Celi.[5]

[7]Ad honorem huius Augusti nomen Sextilis[8] mensis obtinuit, ob insignem uictoriam quam de Antonio sororio suo,[9] quem cum ad imperium aspirasset et, spreta sorore Octouiani, Cleopatram reginam Egipti duxisset, sicque in manu opulenta et forti Romam impugnaturus uenisset, apud Epirum[10] occurrens Augustus, conserto bello fugaque persecutum[11] occidit, Cleopatra, sugentibus tipsanis[12] serpentibus ubera, fati sompnum capiente. Vnde triumphanti Augusto[13] de Egipto et[f] Alexandria totoque orientis imperio, in Sextilibus Kalendis Octouianus urbem laureatus ingreditur, ob cuius insignia populus Romanus mensi nomen dedit Augusti, ut omni anniuersario die Calendarum Sextilium urbs floreat et gaudeat. Verum mortuo Arcadio imperatore, Eudoxia eius uxor cum filio Teodosio utiliter feliciterque[g] gerens rei publice dominationem, ob insignia munera cathenarum apostoli Petri, sibi a Iudeis collata, solempnitatem memorie imperatoris demortui conuertit ad memoriam imperatoris eterni eiusque serui Petri, principis apostolorum, cuius cathenas illo die Sextilium Calendarum in ciuitatem Romanam, cum papa Pelagio uniuersoque senatu, triumfans laudibus et orationibus inuexit.[7]

[e] et *repeated N*   [f] et *om. N*   [g] feliciterque] ac feliciter (fideliter *X*) *XQ*

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[6] On this prophecy, see *Otia*, iii. 121, n. 7.

[7–7] Ad honorem . . . et orationibus inuexit] Cf. *Mirabilia*, c. 18, pp. 40–2. On this story, explaining the origin of the church of San Pietro in Vincoli in Rome, see *Mirabilia*, pp. 42–3, n. 1.

[8] The Roman year began on 1 March.

[9] In paraphrasing and abbreviating his source, Gervase has produced an anacoluthon: *quam* is not the object of any verb.

[10] i.e. the battle of Actium, 31 BC.

[11] Note the use of the past participle of the deponent verb *persequor* with a passive meaning.

[12] Cf. *Mirabilia*, p. 40: 'posuit ad mamillas duas ptisanas, quod est genus serpentis' ('she put to her breasts two *ptisanae*, that is, a kind of serpent'). The word *ptisana* actually means peeled barley, or barley water; in this context it may be a corruption of *dipsas*, a venomous serpent.

As a sign of judgment the earth shall be damp with sweat,
A king shall come from heaven to endure for ever,
Present indeed in the flesh, that he may judge the world,'

and so on.[6] At once heaven was opened and a dazzling radiance shone upon Augustus; he saw in heaven a most beautiful virgin standing upon an altar, holding a boy in her arms, and he heard a voice saying: 'This is the altar of the Son of God.' He immediately fell prostrate on the ground and worshipped. He reported the vision to the senators, and they were all amazed. Now this vision occurred in the chamber of the emperor Octavian, where the basilica of the glorious Virgin now stands on the Capitol; this basilica is known as Santa Maria in Aracoeli.[5]

[7]In this emperor's honour the sixth[8] month acquired the name of August, in token of the glorious victory which he won over his brother-in-law Antony.[9] Antony had aspired to become emperor himself; spurning Octavian's sister, he had married Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, and so had come with a strong and opulent force to attack Rome. Augustus met him at Epirus[10] and they joined battle. Antony took to flight, but was pursued[11] and killed by Octavian; Cleopatra brought on the sleep of death by letting poisonous snakes[12] suck her breasts. And so Octavian Augustus celebrated his triumph[13] over Egypt and Alexandria and the whole of the eastern empire, and entered the city of Rome crowned with the laurel wreath on the first day of the sixth month; to honour him, the Roman people gave the month the name of August, decreeing that on every anniversary of the first of August the city should be decked with flowers and rejoice. But after the death of the emperor Arcadius, when his wife Eudoxia, in association with their son Theodosius, was exercising effectively and successfully the supreme power in the state, she received the remarkable gift of the chains of Peter the apostle, conferred on her by the Jews. On this account she converted the celebration of the memory of a dead emperor to a commemoration of the eternal Emperor and of his servant Peter, prince of the apostles, whose chains she brought to the city of Rome on that first day of the sixth month, celebrating the event with prayers and praises, along with Pope Pelagius and the whole senate.[7]

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[13] The phrase *triumphanti Augusto* appears to be an ablative absolute; the endings in -i or -e of third declension adjectives and participles are frequently confused (see above, p. xc). Augustus is, however, the subject of the sentence: another example of a rather clumsy abbreviation of a source.

[14]Huius Octouiani Cesaris anno undecimo, deficiente in Iudea pontifice, Herodes a Romanis suscepit principatum quem tenuit annis triginta sex. [h]Octouiani Cesaris anno quinquagesimo secundo nascitur Christus, circa cuius tempora defecit unctio in Iudea, secundum illud: 'Non auferetur sceptrum de Iuda'[15] et cetera. Nam usque ad transmigrationem fuerunt reges de Iuda, exhinc duces usque ad Yrcanum, et iterum reges, sed Herodes alienigena fuit.[h][14]

Postquam regnauerat Augustus quinquaginta sex annis et mensibus sex, successit ei defuncto Tiberius,[16] priuignus Augusti, Libie uxoris eius ex alio uiro filius. Hic Burgundiones ex insula Scatanauia burgos ultra Renum custodire coegit.[i][17] Hunc per Pilatum libenti animo miracula uirtutesque Christi suscepisse narrat *Ystoria*.[18] Sed et Orosius asserit ipsum de mansuetissima oue seuissimum lupum effectum,[j] totum dampnasse diuersis moriendi torquendique ac proscribendi generibus senatum, eo quod religionem christiane fidei, ipso mandante, non suscepissent.[19] Sed[k] hec in libro quem *De uita Beate Virginis et discipulorum*[20] dictaui plenius ordinaui. Quid plura? Tiberio successit Gaius,[21] Gaio Claudius,[22] Claudio Nero,[23] primus christianorum persecutor.[24] Sane anno duodecimo Tiberii Pilatus in Iudeam procurator dirigitur.[25] Cui successit Festus[26] preses; cui successit Albanus.[l][27] Post quem[m] Florus,[28] cuius luxuriam et auariciam ceteraque flagitia non ferentes, Iudei a Romana ditione desciuerunt, ideoque per Vespasianum deleti sunt;[29] et sic regnum Iudeorum cum templo finitur.[30]

Neroni quippe Vespasianus[31] successit, cui Titus, uir omni[n]

[h–h] Octouiani . . . Herodes alienigena fuit] *supplied by author N* [i] Hic Burgundiones ex . . . coegit] *supplied by author N* [j] exfectum *N* [k] et *add. after* Sed *ACβ* [l] Albinus *Q and Jerome* [m] post quem] postquam *NI* [n] omni *C;* omnium *NAβ*

[14–14] Huius . . . Herodes alienigena fuit] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 544–7 and 560; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, iii. Quinta aetas (ed. Flint p. 143 = *PL* clxxii. 180). Herod (the Great), an Idumaean, son of Antipater, was first appointed procurator of Judaea; then Antony obtained for him the title of king in 40 BC, and he reigned until his death in 4 BC. According to Jerome, Christ was born in the forty-second year of Augustus' reign.

[15] Gen. 49: 10.

[16] 14–37 AD; cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 566.

[17] Cf. *Otia*, ii. 7, n. 10.

[18] A reference to Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 4. 5. The rest of the chapter owes much to this work, as well as to Jerome's *Chronica* and the *Chronicon Moissiacense* (see n. 86 below). The story of Pilate's report to Tiberius and of Tiberius' unsuccessful attempt to induce the senate to declare Jesus a god had already been concocted by the time of Tertullian: see *Apologeticum*, c. 5 (*CCSL* i. 94–5); cf. James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 153; *Otia*, ii. 10, n. 45; iii. 25, n. 3.

[14]In the eleventh year of this Octavian Caesar, when the high priest in Judaea died, Herod received the sovereignty over the Jews from the Romans, and held it for thirty-six years. In the fifty-second year of Octavian Caesar, Christ was born. So it was around the time of Christ that the anointing of rulers ceased in Judaea, in accordance with the text: 'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah'[15] etc.. For up to the transmigration there were kings of Judah, then Jewish leaders up to the time of Hyrcanus, and then kings again; but Herod was a foreigner.[14]

After Augustus had reigned for fifty-six years and six months, he died, and was succeeded by his step-son Tiberius,[16] the son of his wife Livia by another husband. Tiberius compelled the Burgundians from the island of Scandinavia to guard the fortified towns beyond the Rhine.[17] The *History*[18] tells us that when he heard of the miracles and virtues of Christ through Pilate, he welcomed them with glad acceptance. Orosius also asserts that he turned from the mildest of sheep into the fiercest of wolves, and condemned the whole senate to various modes of death, torture, and proscription, because they had not accepted the Christian faith as their religion at his command.[19] But I have treated these things more fully in the book which I composed on *The Life of the Blessed Virgin and her Disciples*.[20] To be brief, then, Gaius[21] succeeded Tiberius, Claudius[22] succeeded Gaius, and Nero,[23] the first persecutor of the Christians,[24] succeeded Claudius. In the twelfth year of the reign of Tiberius, Pilate was sent to Judaea as procurator.[25] The governor Festus[26] succeeded him, and Albinus[27] succeeded Festus. After Albinus came Florus.[28] Then the Jews, finding his licentiousness, greed, and other vices more than they could bear, revolted from Roman rule, and so they were destroyed by Vespasian;[29] and thus the kingdom of the Jews along with the temple came to an end.[30]

Vespasian[31] was Nero's successor. After him came Titus, a man remarkable for every kind of virtue, and extremely fluent in both uirtutum genere mirabilis, utraque lingua peritissimus; inter ocia f. 36r cotidiana dicebat: 'Amice, hodie perdidi diem.'[o] [32] | Tito successit Domicianus,[33] frater[p] Titi iunior, cui Nerua,[34] cui Traianus,[35] cui Elius Adrianus. Hic Iudeos secundo rebellantes occidit, ipsisque introitum Ierusalem interdixit,[q] ipsam reintegrans et ex nomine suo Eliam nominans.[36] Elio successit Antoninus[r] cognomento Pius, cum filiis suis Aurelio et Lucio. Iste Romanis censum relaxat; inde[s] Pater Patrie appellatur.[37] Cui successit Marcus Antonius Verus[38] cum fratre Lucio Aurelio Commodo.[39] Cui successit Commodus, qui et Lucius Antonius.[40] Cui Elius Pertinax,[41] cui Seuerus Cesar,[42] cui Antonius Aurelius cognomento Caracalla,[43] Seueri[t] filius. Cui Macrinus,[44] prefectus pretorio. Tunc Adgarus uir sanctus regnauit in Edissa.[45] Cui Marcus Aurelius Antonius, sacerdos Elangabari templi,[46] cui Aurelius[u] Alexander.[47] Eius tempore Origenes Alexandrie, quin immo[v] toto orbe, clarus habetur.[48] Cui Maximus,[49] cui Gordianus,[50] cui Philipus cum Philipo filio; hic primus omnium christianus imperator fuit.[51] Cui Decius,[52] cui Gallus Hostilius cum filio Volusiano.[53]

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[19] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 4. 7–11.

[20] This work has not survived; see above, p. xcii.

[21] Gaius Caligula, 37–41 AD.

[22] 41–54.

[23] 54–61.

[24] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 590.

[25] Cf. ibid. 570.

[26] Festus actually succeeded Felix, in 62 AD; see Acts 24: 27; Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 584.

[27] Cf. ibid. 586.

[28] Cf. ibid. 588.

[29] Cf. ibid. 590.

[30] 70 AD; cf. ibid. 593–6.

[31] 69–79.

Cui Valerianus cum filio Gallieno.[54] Eius temporibus soluuntur undique hostes, et inter cetera Alemanni Gallias peruagantur, Dacia,[w] Macedonia, Pontus, et Asia Gottorum inundatione delentur.[55] Cui Claudius,[56] cui Aurelianus. Hic Gothos circa Danubium profugauit indicionemque Romanam antiquis terminis[x] statuit, Siriamque recepit.[57] Cui Tacitus,[58] cui Probus,[59] cui Carus Narbonensis[60] cum filio

[o] *After* diem *a sign guides the reader of N to f. 36r, where the text continues* [p] frater *supplied by author N* [q] introduxit *NAQ* [r] Antoninus *I;* Antonius *NACXQ* [s] unde *XQ* [t] Seueri *supplied by author N* [u] Antonius, sacerdos Elangabari . . . Aurelius] *supplied by author N* [v] quin immo *supplied by author N* [w] Dacia *MSS;* Graecia *Orosius and Jerome* [x] terminis *supplied by author N*

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[32] 79–81; cf. Suetonius, *Titus*, c. 8; Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 598.

[33] 81–96.

[34] 96–8.

[35] 98–117.

[36] 117–38; cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 620; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 13. 3–5; *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 58.

[37] 138–61; cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 622; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 14. 2–3.

[38] Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (originally called M. Annius Verus, adopted son of Antoninus Pius), 161–80.

[39] L. Verus (adoptive brother and son-in-law of Marcus Aurelius), 161–9.

[40] L. Aurelius Antoninus Commodus, 180–93.

[41] Publius Helvius Pertinax, 193, assassinated by the Praetorian guard.

[42] Septimius Severus, 193–211.

[43] 211–17.

[44] 217.

[45] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 640; *Otia*, iii. 23.

[46] 218–22; cf. Jerome, loc. cit.

[47] Severus Alexander, 222–35.

[48] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 644.

Latin and Greek; a day's idleness would make him say: 'Friend, today I have lost a day.'[32] Titus' younger brother, Domitian,[33] succeeded him; then came Nerva,[34] then Trajan,[35] then Aelius Hadrian. This last crushed the Jews when they rebelled for a second time, and forbade them entry into Jerusalem; he rebuilt the city, and renamed it Aelia after himself.[36] Antoninus, called Pius, succeeded Aelius, together with his sons Aurelius and Lucius. He lightened the burden of tax on the Romans, and so won the appellation Father of the Country.[37] He was succeeded by Marcus Annius Verus[38] with his brother Lucius Aurelius Commodus.[39] Verus was succeeded by Commodus, also called Lucius Antoninus.[40] Then came Helvius Pertinax,[41] then Severus Caesar,[42] then Antoninus Aurelius, called Caracalla,[43] the son of Severus. Then came Macrinus,[44] who had been the praetorian prefect. At this time the holy man Abgar reigned in Edessa.[45] Macrinus was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, priest of the temple of Elagabalus.[46] Then came Aurelius Alexander.[47] In his time Origen achieved fame in Alexandria, or rather in the whole world.[48] Maximinus[49] came after Aurelius Alexander, then Gordian,[50] then Philip with his son Philip: he was the first Christian emperor of all.[51] Decius[52] succeeded him, then Gallus Hostilius with his son Volusianus.[53]

Then came Valerian with his son Gallienus.[54] In his times enemies encroached on all sides. Among other migrations, the Alemanni overran Gaul, while Dacia, Macedonia, Pontus, and Asia were devastated by hordes of Goths.[55] Claudius[56] succeeded Valerian, and Aurelian succeeded Claudius. Aurelian drove out the Goths from the lands around the Danube, established Roman rule up to its old boundaries, and recovered Syria.[57] Tacitus[58] succeeded Aurelian, then Probus,[59] then Carus of Narbonne[60] with his son

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[49] Caius Julius Maximinus, 235–7.

[50] i.e. Gordian III (238–44); following Jerome (*Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 646), Gervase omits from the succession the four emperors of 237 (Gordian I and II, Pupienus, and Balbus).

[51] Philip the Arab (244–9) was murdered with his son Philip in 249; cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 646.

[52] 249–51.

[53] 251–3.

[54] 253–68; in 260 Valerian was captured by the Persian king Sapor, and from then on Gallienus reigned alone.

[55] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 22. 6–7; Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 650. Both Orosius and Jerome give *Graecia* where Gervase has *Dacia;* Orosius goes on to say: 'nam Dacia trans Danuuium in perpetuum aufertur' ('for Dacia across the Danube was lost for good').

[56] Claudius (Gothicus), 268.

[57] 270–5; cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 23. 4

[58] 275–6.

[59] 276–82.

[60] M. Aurelius Carus, 282–3.

Carino,[61] cui Diocletianus,[62] cui [63]Galerius Maximianus et Constantius.[y] Hii primi Romanum diuiserunt imperium: Galerius Illiricum, Asiam, et orientem, Constantius Italiam, Affricam, Yspanias, et Gallias obtinuit. Constantius multa clementia erga homines,[63] erga Deum animi religione utebatur.

Religiosus pater religiosorem filium Constantinum,[64] ex matre Britannica Elena genitum,[65] imperatorem reliquit Galliarum et heredem. Constantinus imperator ex persecutore christianissimus efficitur. Hic palacium Lateranense construxit, et basilicam sancti Iohannis que Constantiniana nominatur. Hic imperii sedem in Bisantium, ciuitatem Europe, transtulit eamque Constantinopolim nominauit, instituens ut tocius caput esset orientis, et ad imperii Romani f. 36ᵛ memoriam Noua Roma diceretur; | sicque Roma uetus, honore priuata diadematis imperialis, transit in Siluestrum cum insignibus imperialibus, imperium mutans in pontificium et dominium in Grecorum potentiam.[66]

Porro Constantino successit Constantius filius cum[z] Constantino et Constante fratribus.[67] Horum temporibus claruit Donatus in arte gramatica, facundissimi preceptor Ieronimi; Hylarius quoque Pictauensis episcopus, summi accutissimique ingenii, et Eusebius Vercellensis.[68] Maximinus quoque Treuerensis episcopus, qui beatum Atanasium a Constantino fugientem honorifice recepit, Alexandrine[a] urbis episcopum et sanctissimi Antonii familiarem.[69] Sed et ipse Antonius illorum tempore, centesimo quinto etatis anno, migrauit ad Dominum, ut elegantissimo dictandi scemate beatus scribit Athanasius.[70]

Hiis imperantibus successit Iulianus,[71] ex clerico imperator et paganus effectus. Cui successit Iouinianus,[72] cui Valentinianus et Valens.[73] [74]Eorum tempore Burgundiones, qui tempore Tyberii

[y] Constantinus *NX* (*likewise the two succeeding occurrences*) [z] cum *supplied by author N* [a] Alexandrie *XQ*

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[61] 283–4.

[62] 284–305; in 286 Diocletian took Hercules Maximianus as his colleague, beginning the practice of government by two Augusti and two Caesars (associate emperors).

[63–63] Galerius . . . clementia erga homines] In 305 Diocletian and Hercules Maximianus resigned in favour of their two Caesars, Galerius Maximianus and Constantius Chlorus; Constantius Chlorus died in York in 306, but Galerius Maximianus reigned as Augustus in the east until 311. Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 25. 5 and 15–16.

[64] Cf. ibid. vii. 25. 16. Constantine was proclaimed Caesar by his troops in 306, and established himself as Augustus in the west in 312, reigning until 337.

[65] Cf. *Otia*, iii. 47, n. 2.

[66] The seat of government was transferred to Byzantium in 330; on the Donation of Constantine, see *Otia*, Preface, n. 36.

Carinus,[61] then Diocletian,[62] then [63]Galerius Maximianus and Constantius. These two first divided up the Roman empire: Galerius took Illyricum, Asia, and the east, while Constantius took Italy, Africa, Spain, and Gaul. Constantius showed much kindness towards his fellow human beings,[63] while towards God he showed a truly religious spirit.

A religious father, Constantius left a still more religious son as emperor of Gaul and his heir: this was Constantine,[64] born of a British mother, Helena.[65] Though at first a persecutor of Christians, Constantine became a devoutly Christian emperor. He built the Lateran Palace, and the basilica of St John which is called the Constantinian basilica. He transferred the seat of government to Byzantium, a city in Europe, which he renamed Constantinople, establishing that it should be the capital of the whole of the east, and be called New Rome in memory of the Roman empire. Thus the old Rome, bereft of the honour of the imperial crown, passed, along with the imperial insignia, to Sylvester, exchanging empire for pontificate, and dominion for Greek rule.[66]

Next Constantine's son, Constantius, succeeded him, with his brothers Constantine and Constans.[67] In their times Donatus, the teacher of the most eloquent Jerome, won renown as a grammarian; this was also the age of Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, a man of great ability and keen intelligence, and of Eusebius of Vercelli.[68] Maximinus, bishop of Trier, likewise flourished then: he gave an honourable reception to the blessed Athanasius, bishop of the city of Alexandria and a friend of the great St Antony, when he was fleeing from Constantine.[69] It was also in the time of those emperors that Antony himself passed over to the Lord, being then in the hundred and fifth year of his life, as the blessed Athanasius records in such an elegant style of writing.[70]

The successor of these emperors was Julian,[71] who went from being a cleric to being an emperor and a pagan. Jovian[72] succeeded him, then Valentinian and Valens.[73] [74]Now the Burgundians had left

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[67] Of the three sons and successors of Constantine, Constantine II was killed in 340; Constans was murdered in 350; Constantius II then ruled as sole emperor 350–61.

[68] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 688.

[69] Cf. ibid. 682.

[70] Cf. Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, ed. Hoppenbrouwers, p. 187 (= *PG* xxvi. 968); Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 688.

[71] 361–3.

[72] 363.

[73] Valentinian I ruled the west, 364–75, while his brother Valens ruled the east, 364–78.

[74–74] Eorum . . . pecierunt tempore constituto (p. 382)] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, *PL* xxvii. 698; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 32. 11–12; *Otia*, ii. 7, n. 10.

egressi sunt de maris insula Scatanauia,[b] cum mulieribus et liberis octoginta fere milia ad Renum fluuium peruenerunt, ibique iussione Tyberii ducentos burgos ultra Renum[c] per longa tempora custodire coacti sunt, unde et Burgundionum nomen ceperunt, egressi de ipsis burgis Gallias pecierunt tempore constituto.[d] [74] [75]Tunc quoque gens Humorum, diu inaccessis[e] seclusa montibus, repentina rabie percita, exarsit in Gottos eosque sparsim[f] conturbatos ab antiquis sedibus expulit; sicque gentes Gottorum,[g] transito Danubio fugientes, a Valente suscepte[h] sunt,[75] hereticeque[i] cum Valente efficiuntur, quia et ipse, ab Eudoxio rebaptizatus, Arianus[j] erat.[76]

Cui successit Gratianus,[77] cum Valentiniano[78] fratre. [79]Gratianus
Theodosium, natione Yspanum, apud Sirmium purpura induit
orientisque ⟨et⟩[k] Tracie prefecit. Itaque Theodosius Alanos, Hunos,
et Gotos multis preliis uicit, uictorque Constantinopolim ingressus
anno regni sui secundo, Augustus appellatur. Hic anno tertio
Atanaricum regem Gottorum in fedus recepit, qui post quinto
f. 34$^{\mathrm{v}}$ decimo die Constantinopoli[l] obiit. | Gotti uero attendentes uirtutem
f. 37$^{\mathrm{r}}$ benignitatemque Theodosii, Romano se dederunt | imperio.[79] Tunc
Martinus Turonensis claruit.[80]

Post Theodosium successit Archadius filius eius cum Honorio fratre. Quibus succedunt Honorius et filius fratris sui minor Theodosius.[81] Tunc Radagaisus[m] rex Gottorum cum trecentis milibus inuadit[n] Italiam, sed mox a suis interficitur.[82] Croserius quoque rex

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[b] Scatanauia *supplied by author N* [c] regnum *N* [d] Eodem quoque tempore Hunnuli, id est Longobardi, a Scatannauia insula exeunt, duos habentes duces, Ybor et Agyonem, ut supra, titulo De Europa, notauimus. (*Cf. Otia, ii. 10, n. 13; Paul the Deacon, HL i. 7, ed. Waitz, p. 52*) Qui se(?) postea Apictos (*for* Assipittos), eorum transitus in Mauriciam (*for* Mauringam) prohibentes, simulatis cenofalis (*for* cynocephalis), id est canini capitis hominibus, humani sanguinis bibitoribus, quasi tales in castris haberent, uicerunt. Exeuntes quoque inde (Indie *MS*) uenerunt in Glocatidam (*for* Golandam) ubi, mortuis ducibus, primum regem instituunt Agolmundum (*for* Agelmundum), filium Agionis ducis. Tunc quedam meretrix septem pueros simul edidit, quos in piscinam negantes proiecit; sed ex is unum rex ad piscinam ueniens inuenit, qui astam regis manu apprehendit, quem rex (*space left;* Lamissio *Paul the Deacon*) nominauit, quia hastam uocauit. Hunc rex sibi successorem fecit. Quo mortuo Longobardi in Rugilandam uenerunt, ubi Odoacher rex Ytalie Feleteum regem regem (*sic*) Rugorum cum Rugis, Turquilinguis, et Erulis extinserat. Dicitur autem Rugilanda quia erat Rugorum terra *add. after* constituto *X* (*cf. Paul the Deacon, HL i. 11–19, ed. Waitz, pp. 53–7*) [e] inaccessit *N* [f] passim *Orosius* [g] gentes Gottorum *MSS;* Gothi *Orosius* [h] suscepti *Cβ and Orosius* [i] hereticique *Cβ;* ipsi (populi *Q*) et rex eorum Athanaricus *add. after* hereticique *XQ* [j] Arianus *supplied by author N* [k] et *Orosius; om. MSS* [l] Constantinopolim *XQ* [m] Rdagaissus *N* (*marginal correction in author's hand*) [n] inuasit *Cβ*

Scandinavia, an island in the sea, in the time of Tiberius, and about 80,000 of them, with their women and children, had reached the river Rhine. There, on Tiberius' orders, they were made to guard two hundred fortified towns (*burgi*) beyond the Rhine, which they did for a long time; that is how they got their name of Burgundians. In the time of Valentinian and Valens they left these towns and made a concerted attack on Gaul.[74] [75]Also at this time the race of the Huns, which had long dwelt shut away behind impassable mountains, was roused to sudden fury and went on the rampage against the Goths, scattering them in confusion and driving them from their ancient homelands. And so the tribes of the Goths crossed the Danube in their flight and were received by Valens.[75] They also became heretics like Valens; for he was an Arian, having been rebaptized by Eudoxius.[76]

Gratian,[77] with his brother Valentinian,[78] succeeded Valens. [79]Gratian clothed the Spanish-born Theodosius with the purple at Sirmium, and set him over the east and Thrace. And so Theodosius defeated the Alans, the Huns, and the Goths in many battles, and making a triumphant entry into Constantinople in the second year of his reign, he was hailed as Augustus. In the third year of his reign he agreed on a treaty with Athanaric, king of the Goths. Fifteen days afterwards, Athanaric died at Constantinople. Then the Goths, relying on the integrity and good will of Theodosius, handed themselves over to Roman rule.[79] At this time Martin of Tours won renown.[80]

After Theodosius his son Arcadius became emperor with his brother Honorius. Next Honorius ruled with his brother's son, Theodosius the Younger.[81] At this time Radagaisus, king of the Goths, invaded Italy with a force 300,000 strong, but after a short time he was killed by his own men.[82] Also Eucherius, king of the

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[75–75] Tunc . . . Valente suscepte sunt] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 33. 10; see Liebrecht, pp. 95–6. [76] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 32. 6 and 33. 19.

[77] 375–83. [78] Valentinian II, 375–92.

[79–79] Gratianus . . . se dederunt imperio] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, continuation by Prosper of Aquitaine, *PL* xxvii. 703–6; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 34. 2, 5–7. Theodosius the Great was emperor of the east, 379–95.

[80] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, continuation by Prosper of Aquitaine, *PL* xxvii. 703–4.

[81] Arcadius ruled in the east, 395–408, and Honorius in the west 395–423; Arcadius was succeeded by his son Theodosius II (408–50).

[82] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, continuation by Prosper of Aquitaine, *PL* xxvii. 707–10; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 37. 4 and 15. According to Orosius there were 200,000 men.

Wandalorum, cum Sueuis et Alanis de sedibus sui egressis, Gallias impetit, multas ciuitates diruit populumque interficit.[83] Alaricus rex Gottorum Romam inuadit partemque eius incendio[o] comsumpsit.[84] Tunc Placidia, Archadii et Honorii soror, ab Athaulfo, Alarici propinquo, capta et in uxorem sumpta est.[85] Anno regni Alarici sexto Gotti Gallias capiunt, et anno septimo Yspanias proficiscuntur. [86]Post captam Romam, mortuo Alarico, regnum Gottorum in duo capita diuiditur. Qui erant in Italia dicioni Romani se tradunt imperii; reliqui in ciuitate Aquitanie[p] Tolosa sedem regni sui elegerunt, in qua regnauit Athaulfus;[86] qui cum Romanis orante Placidia pacem tractans, a suis dolose perimitur apud Barcinonam.[87] Cui successit Segericus,[88] qui ob consimilem causam interficitur a suis. Huic Valea[89] successit, ad hoc a Gotis electus, ut pacem infringeret, ad hoc ordinatus a Deo, ut pacem firmaret. Cui Teuderius[90] successit.

Theodosio et Honorio succedit in imperium Theodosius[q] Archadii[r] filius iunior.[91] Tunc Teoderius rex Gottorum ab Athalano rege Hunorum perimitur.[92] Teuderio Torsimodus[93] filius successit, et hic, commisso cum Athalano prelio, a Theodorico et Frederico fratribus occiditur. Cui Theodericus[94] successit in regnum.

Theodosio minori succedunt Martianus et Valentinianus,[95] quibus successit Leo.[96] Cuius tempore Theodericus interficitur, cui successit rex Gottorum Euricus[97] apud Tholosam. Anno tercio decimo regni eius in medio Tholose ciuitatis sanguis de terra erupit et tota die fluxit, significans Gottorum dominationem sublatam, Francorum potencia superueniente.[98]

Tunc etiam Gotti in Ytalia[s] consistentes per legatos imperatori

[o] incendio *supplied by author* *N* [p] Aquitanie] Aquitannia et *NA* [q] Thedosius *N* [r] Archadum *N* [s] Ytialia *N*

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[83] Cf. Jerome, *Chronica*, continuation by Prosper of Aquitaine, *PL* xxvii. 709–10; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 38. Gervase's Croserius (Eroserius in *A*) is presumably the Vandal Eucherius, whose father Stilicho attempted to set him up as emperor.

[84] 410; cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 39; *Otia*, ii. 1, n. 43.

[85] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 40. 2. See S. I. Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta* (Chicago, 1968), pp. 127–9.

[86–86] Post . . . qua regnauit Athaulfus] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 282; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 37. 8–9. The *Chronicon Moissiacense*, an anonymous chronicle up to the year 818 which drew extensively on Orosius, Bede, and Fredegar, was used as a source by Gervase for this chapter and chs. 18 and 19 below.

[87] Athaulf, brother of Alaric, king of the Visigoths 410–15; cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 283; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 43. 7–8.

[88] 415; cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 283; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 43. 9.

[89] 415–19; cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 283; Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 43. 10.

[90] Theodoric I (son-in-law of Alaric), 419–51; cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 283.

Vandals, together with the Suevi and the Alans who had left their own lands, fell upon Gaul, destroyed many cities, and massacred the people.[83] Alaric, king of the Goths, attacked Rome and destroyed part of the city with fire.[84] At this time Placidia, the sister of Arcadius and Honorius, was taken captive by Alaric's kinsman Athaulf, who made her his wife.[85] In the sixth year of Alaric's reign the Goths took Gaul, and in the seventh year they went on into Spain. [86]After the capture of Rome, Alaric died, and the kingdom of the Goths was divided into two parts. The Goths in Italy submitted to the authority of the Roman empire; the rest chose to establish the seat of their kingdom in Toulouse, a city of Aquitaine. There Athaulf ruled;[86] but when he was treating for peace with the Romans in consequence of Placidia's entreaties, he was treacherously murdered by his own people at Barcelona.[87] He was succeeded by Sigeric,[88] who was killed by his own people for the same reason. Sigeric was succeeded by Wallia,[89] expressly chosen by the Goths to break the peace, but expressly appointed by God to secure it. Theodoric[90] succeeded him.

Following the rule of Theodosius and Honorius, Theodosius the Younger, son of Arcadius, continued as emperor.[91] At this time Theodoric, king of the Goths, was killed by Attila, king of the Huns.[92] Theodoric's son Thorismund[93] succeeded him, and he in turn did battle with Attila, but was slain by his brothers Theodoric and Frederic. Theodoric[94] succeeded him as king.

Marcian and Valentinian[95] succeeded Theodosius the Younger, and Leo[96] succeeded them. In his time Theodoric was killed, and Euric[97] succeeded him as king of the Goths at Toulouse. In the thirteenth year of his reign, blood burst forth from the ground in the middle of the city of Toulouse and flowed all day long, signifying that the dominion of the Goths had been abrogated, and that the rule of the Franks was coming in its place.[98]

Also at this time the Goths who were living in Italy sent

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[91] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 283. In 425, two years after the death of Honorius, Theodosius II established Valentinian III (425–55) as emperor of the west, under the regency of his mother, Galla Placidia.

[92] In a battle near Troyes in 451.

[93] 451–3.

[94] Theodoric II, 453–66.

[95] Marcian ruled the east, 450–7, and Valentinian III the west, 425–55 (cf. n. 91 above).

[96] Leo I, emperor of the east, 457–74.

[97] Euric murdered and succeeded his brother Theodoric II in 466, ruling until 484; cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 284.

[98] Cf. Fredegar, *Chronicae*, ii. 56, p. 77; *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 284.

Leoni postulant ut Theodericum[99] eis instituat patricium, quod et factum est, regnauitque feliciter annis triginta quinque. Leoni succedit Zeno,[100] et Odoacer rex Gottorum Romam cepit,[101] quam diucius eorum reges obtinuerunt. Mortuo Theodorico Triuarii filio,[102] alius Theodoricus cognomento Valamer[103] successit in regnum Gottorum apud Italiam, qui utramque Macedoniam Thessaliamque depopulatur; ciuitatibus igne succensis, Italiam occupat.

Post hec Clodoueus rex Francorum Gottos ab Aquitannia expulit, interfecto rege illorum Alarico.[104] Zenoni successit imperator Anastasius,[105] cuius tempore [106]moritur Clodoueus, et Amalricus filius Alarici regnum reintegrat Gottorum, filiam Clodouei accipiens in uxorem; qui postea apud[t] Barcinonam a Francis occiditur.[106] Sed et in Yspania post Amalricum Theoda[107] super Gottos regnauit. Post quem[u] Theodisdus,[108] qui cum ad cenam letus sederet, extinctis cereis, a suis interficitur. Cui Agila[109] successit.

f. 37v [110]Anastasio[v] | successit[w] imperator Iustinus senior,[111] cui successit Iustinianus,[112] Iustini ex sorore nepos. Tunc Teodatus regnum Gottorum in Ytalia ambiuit. Quo defuncto, Totila successit;[113] contra quem Iustinianus misit Marsiten[x] eunucum et Belisiarium,[114] a quibus Totila perimitur, regnumque Gottorum in Italia destruitur.[110]

[115]Sed et Yspanias imperialis ingrediens excercitus, Agilam regem Gottorum occidit. Cui succedens Athanagildus, ab Yspania

[t] apud *om.* *XQ* [u] quam *N* [v] Anastisio *N* [w] sccessit *N*
[x] *sic MSS for* Narsitem

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[99] Theodoric (the Great), king of the Ostrogoths in Pannonia from 471, king of Italy 493–526. He was appointed senior imperial general and consul for 484 AD by Zeno (P. Heather, *The Goths* (Oxford, 1996), p. 163).

[100] Zeno the Isaurian, emperor of the east 474–91.

[101] Odoacer deposed Romulus Augustulus, the last titular emperor of the west, in 476; from then on he was regarded as king of Italy, until he was murdered by his rival, Theodoric, in 493.

[102] Theodoric 'the squinter', son of Triarius, commanded the allegiance of the emperor's Ostrogothic mercenaries in Thrace, and aspired to become king of all the Ostrogoths; he was killed in 481.

[103] i.e. Theodoric the Great (cf. n. 99 above); he ravaged Macedonia and Thessaly in 481, and then assassinated and supplanted the son of Theodoric 'the squinter'; in 488 he invaded Italy.

[104] Clovis (481–511) killed Alaric II (484–507) at the battle of Campus Vocladensis near Poitiers in 507; cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 284; Gregory of Tours, *HF* ii. 37.

[105] Anastasius the Silentiary, 491–518.

[106–106] Amalaric (507–31) married Clovis' daughter Chrotilda; cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, pp. 284–5.

[107] 531–48; cf. ibid. p. 285.

ambassadors to the emperor Leo to request that he should make their king, Theodoric,[99] a member of the Roman patriciate. This was done, and he reigned successfully for thirty-five years. Zeno[100] succeeded Leo. Then Odoacer, king of the Goths, took Rome,[101] and the kings of the Goths held the city for quite some time. On the death of Theodoric, son of Triarius,[102] another Theodoric, called the Amal,[103] succeeded to the kingdom of the Goths in Italy. He laid waste both Macedonia and Thessaly, and gained control of the whole of Italy, setting fire to the cities.

After these events Clovis, king of the Franks, drove the Goths out of Aquitaine, killing Alaric, their king.[104] Anastasius[105] succeeded Zeno as emperor. In his time [106]Clovis died, and Alaric's son Amalaric restored the kingdom of the Goths, taking Clovis' daughter as his wife; he was subsequently killed by the Franks at Barcelona.[106] After Amalaric Theudis[107] reigned over the Goths in Spain. After him came Theudegesil.[108] One day when Theudegesil was blithely sitting down to dinner, the candles were extinguished and he was killed by his own people. Agila[109] succeeded him.

[110]Justin the Elder[111] succeeded Anastasius as emperor, and Justinian,[112] Justin's nephew by his sister, succeeded him. At this time Theodahad took over the kingdom of the Goths in Italy. After his death, Totila became king.[113] Justinian sent Narses the eunuch and Belisarius against him;[114] Totila was killed by them, and the kingdom of the Goths in Italy was destroyed.[110]

[115]The imperial army also marched into Spain, and killed Agila, king of the Goths. Thereupon Athanagild came to the throne, and

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[108] 548-49; cf. loc. cit.; Fredegar, *Chronicae* iii. 42, p. 105, where the name is given as 'Teudegyselus'.

[109] 549–54; *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 285.

[110–110] Anastasio . . . in Italia destruitur] Cf. loc. cit.

[111] Justin I, 518–27.

[112] 527–65.

[113] When Theodoric died in 526, his daughter Amalasuntha acted as regent for her son Athalaric (526–34); on his death, in order to keep the throne, she married her cousin Theodahad. He promptly imprisoned and then murdered the queen (535), providing Justinian with a pretext for invading Italy; the following year the Goths dethroned Theodahad, choosing Witigis (536–40) in his place. Witigis was succeeded by Hildibad (540–1) and Eraric (541), and then by the gifted and brave Totila (541–52).

[114] Belisarius arrived with an army in 535, and Narses brought reinforcements in 538; however, Narses was recalled in 539 because of the damaging rivalry between the two generals. Belisarius was also recalled in 548, leaving the Goths with the upper hand; but in 552 Narses returned at the head of a formidable expedition, and restored Italy to Roman rule; Totila was killed in flight.

[115–115] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 285. Athanagild ruled 554–67.

imperialem fugat excercitum.[115] Cui Liuba[116] successit, cui Leuigildus[117] successit.[y]

Iustiniano imperatori Iustinus minor[118] successit, et Armenia fidem Christi suscepit. Tunc Narsis, Iustini imperatoris eunucus, Longobardos a Pannoniis inuitans, cum Alboeno rege Italiam introduxit,[z] sicut latius diximus supra, titulo *De situ Europe inter Alpes et Renum et occeanum*.[119] Iustino successit Tiberius Constantinus.[120] Tunc sanctus Gregorius claruit, et gens Longobardorum, comitante fame ac mortalitate, omnem inuadit Italiam[121] ipsamque Romam uastatrix obsidet, et defuncto rege suo Alboeno, Clip[122] in regem elegerunt.[a]

Tiberio successit imperator Mauricius.[b] [123] [124]Tunc Longobardi se dicioni Childeberti filii Gundranni, filii Clotarii, filii Clodouei regis Francorum dederunt;[c] sicque Childebertus cum Longobardis in Italia amiciciam iniuit.[124] Tunc Leuigildus[d] Ermingildum filium suum in Yspania ob confessionem christiane fidei sancta nocte Pasce, cum ipse rex Gottorum Arrianus esset, securi in[e] capite percussum martirio tradidit.[125] Cuius frater[f] Ricaredus[g] [126] successit patri in regnum, Leandro Hyspaliensi episcopo totam Gottorum gentem ad instituendum in fide chatholica contradens, omnesque libros Arrianos succendit.[127] Tunc Annulfus imperator Persarum baptizatur et ab imperatore Mauritio episcopos quos in Perside constituerat[h] recepit.[i] [128]

[y] *Item 5 of the addenda is integrated at this point in X* (*see Appendix i. 5*) [z] *Item 6 of the addenda is integrated at this point in X* (*see Appendix i. 6*)*; the text is resumed with* Sed quedam *replacing* sicut [a] *Item 7 of the addenda is integrated at this point in XQ* (*see Appendix i. 7*) [b] primus ex genere Grecorum: fuit enim de Capadocia. (*Cf. Paul the Deacon, HL iii. 15, ed. Waitz, p. 100*) Cuius tempore Gregorius papa efficitur *add. after* Mauricius *XQ* [c] dederunt *om. NA* [d] Leugiuldus *N* [e] securi in] securim *N* [f] frater *supplied by author N* [g] Ricardus *ACβ* [h] instituerat *ACβ* [i] cepit *N;* Tempore Mauricii imperatoris inundatio diluuii inaudita post Noe Liguriam, Veronam, Venetias, ipsam quoque Romam occupat, et tunc Gregorius papa Anglos ad fidem conuertit per Augustinum et Mellitum *add. after* recepit *XQ; X continues:* Tempore quoque Mauricii imperatoris, cum Longobardi sub potestate ducum per decem annos stetissent, tandem Atan (Authari *Paul the Deacon*) Cleponis filium regem sibi constituunt, quem et ob dignitatem Flauium nominauerunt; quo prenomine omnes eorum reges usi postea sunt. Autarus, submissa Ytalia, Beneuentum peruenit, eandemque regionem cepit et usque etiam (etiam *Paul the Deacon;* risam *MS*) urbem Regiam Ytalie finalem Cicilieque proximam perambulans usque ad collumpnam in mari positam accessit, quam fines regni sui dixit esse; et uocatur Collumpna Autari. Erat tunc in Burgondia rex Guntardus (*sic MS for* Gunthramnus), patruus Childeberti regis Francorum, rex pacificus et omni bonitate conspicuus; qui cum uenatum isset in insulam, ipse solitarius cum unico socio factus, grauatus sompno decubuit; quo dormiente, animal reptile uisum est ab eius hore prodire, quod cum riuum proximum transire non posset, socius euaginatum gladio (*sic MS for* gladium) in pontem fecit. Sic animal quasi ponte transiens, in cauernam montis ingressum, eadem uia in hos regis redit. Excitatus rex dixit se per pontem ferreum ad thesauros intrasse, quos statim effodit; de quibus nobile ciborium in Cabilone (Cavallono *Paul the Deacon; i.e. Chalon-sur-Saône*), regni sui capite, construxit supra corpus beati

drove the imperial army out of Spain.[115] Liuwa[116] succeeded Athanagild, and Leovigild[117] succeeded Liuwa.

Justin the Younger[118] succeeded the emperor Justinian, and Armenia adopted the Christian faith. At this time Narses, the emperor Justin's eunuch, invited the Lombards from Pannonia and brought them into Italy with their king, Alboin, as we have said at greater length above, in the chapter *The Region of Europe between the Alps, the Rhine, and the Ocean*.[119] Tiberius Constantine[120] succeeded Justin. At this time St Gregory won renown, and the Lombard people, bringing famine and death in their train, attacked the whole of Italy,[121] and on their path of destruction laid siege to Rome itself. On the death of their king, Alboin, they chose Cleph[122] to succeed him.

Maurice[123] succeeded Tiberius as emperor. [124]At this time the Lombards handed themselves over to the rule of Childebert, son of Guntramn, son of Chlotar, son of Clovis, king of the Franks; and so Childebert entered into an alliance with the Lombards in Italy.[124] At this time in Spain Leovigild delivered up his son, Hermenegild, to martyrdom on the holy night of Easter, having him struck on the head with an axe on account of his confession of the Christian faith, since he himself, the king of the Goths, was an Arian.[125] Hermenegild's brother, Recared,[126] succeeded his father on the throne. He handed over the entire Gothic people to Leander, bishop of Seville, for instruction in the Catholic faith, and burned all the Arian books.[127] At this time Anaulf, emperor of the Persians, was baptized, and welcomed the bishops whom the emperor Maurice sent to the sees which he had founded in Persia.[128]

Marcelli martiris. (*Cf. Paul the Deacon, HL iii. 16, 23–5, 32, 34, ed. Waitz, pp. 100–1, 104–5, 112–13*)

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[116] 567–8; cf. Fredegar, *Chronicae* iii. 63, p. 110.

[117] 568–86; cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 285; Fredegar, loc. cit.

[118] Justin II, 565–78.

[119] See *Otia*, ii. 10, at n. 14.

[120] Tiberius II, 578–82.

[121] Cf. Paul the Deacon, *HL* ii. 26 (ed. Waitz, pp. 86–7).

[122] 572–4; cf. ibid. ii. 31 (ed. Waitz, p. 90); Fredegar, *Chronicae* iii. 67, p. 111.

[123] Maurice of Cappadocia, 582–602.

[124–124] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 286. Childebert II (Austrasia 575–95, Burgundy 593–5) was actually the son of Chlotar's son Sigebert, not Guntramn; cf. *Otia*, ii. 18, nn. 10, 12, and 13.

[125] Hermenegild was reportedly killed by his father Leovigild (568–86) on 13 April 585; the tale is told by Gregory the Great (*Dial.* iii. 31, ed. Moricca, pp. 205–6 = *PL* lxxvii. 289).

[126] 586–601.

[127] Cf. Gregory the Great, loc. cit.; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, iv. 8, p. 125; see *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vii. 499.

[128] Cf. Fredegar, *Chronicae* iv. 9, pp. 125–6; Paul the Deacon, *HL* iv. 50. Anaulf may be

Mauritio successit imperator Focas.[129] Tunc in Yspania[j] successit Ricaredo[k] Liuba[130] rex Gottorum. Cui successit Betericus,[131] cui Gondemarus,[132] cui Sisebutus,[133] uir sapiens, aduersus manum publicam fortiter dimicans. Huius tempore firmatum est regnum Gottorum in Yspania per maritima ad usque montes Pireneos. Tunc Perse aduersus rem publicam bella gerentes, multas Romanorum prouincias, ipsam quoque Ierusalem[l] auferunt, ipsumque uiuifice crucis uexillum abduxerunt.[134]

Foce successit imperator Eraclius.[135] Hic de patricio factus Augustus, totam Persidam Romane dicioni subiecit, captiuos christianos liberat, et Persidam thesauris exhausit. Tunc Clotarius[136] rex Francorum duodecim milia solidorum, que annis singulis Francorum erariis exsoluebant, initis cum eis pactis, Longobardis remisit. Post hec in Yspaniis Sisebuto, regi Gottorum clementissimo, Sentila[137] successit. Hic a Sisemundo[138] deicitur. Cui Chentila[139] successit, cui Tolga.[140] Quo deiecto, unus ex primatibus, Chintasindus,[141] in regem erigitur, qui totam Yspaniam sue dicioni firmauit omnesque suspectos occidit. Cui Ruchinsundus[m] [142] filius eius successit. |

f. 38r Eraclio successit Eraclius[143] filius, cum Martina matre. Cui Constantinus[144] filius Eraclii, cui Constantinus secundus,[145] filius eius, cui Constantinus tercius.[146] Tunc Saraceni Siciliam inuadunt.[147] Cui succedit Iustinianus[n] minor,[148] filius Constantini. Hic pacem fecit cum Saracenis, et Affricam prouinciam Romano[o] subiugauit imperio. Tandem ab imperio ob culpam suam pellitur.

[j] Yspaniis *β* [k] Ricardo *ACβ* [l] Ierusalem *ACβ;* Israelem *N*
[m] Rinhinsundus *N* [n] Iustinianius *N* [o] Romano *supplied by author N*

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the Persian ruler Chosroes I (531–79). Both Chosroes I and Chosroes II were supposed in the Middle Ages to have converted to Christianity; see *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. E. Yarshater (Cambridge, 1983), iii (1), 578 and n.; M. Whitby, *The Emperor Maurice and his Historian: Theophylact Simocatta on Persian and Balkan Warfare* (Oxford, 1988), p. 297.

[129] 602–10.

[130] Liuwa II, 601–3.

[131] 603–10.

[132] 610–12.

[133] 612–21; cf. Fredegar, *Chronicae*, iv. 33, p. 133. Sisebut took over most of the Byzantine possessions in Spain.

[134] Jerusalem was captured by the Persians in 614.

[135] 610–41; cf. Fredegar, *Chronicae*, iv. 64, pp. 152–3.

[136] Chlotar II (Soissons 584–629; sole king of the Franks 613–23); cf. *Otia*, ii. 18, nn. 11 and 16. On the remission of the tribute, cf. Fredegar, *Chronicae*, iv. 45, pp. 143–4; *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 286.

Phocas[129] succeeded Maurice as emperor. At this time in Spain Liuwa[130] succeeded Recared as king of the Goths. Witteric[131] succeeded Liuwa, Gundemar[132] succeeded Witteric, and Sisebut,[133] a wise man, who strove valiantly against the power of the empire, succeeded Gundemar. In his time the rule of the Goths was established in Spain all along the coast up to the Pyrenaean Mountains. Also at this time the Persians went to war against the empire, and took over many of the Romans' provinces, including Jerusalem itself; they even carried off the life-giving standard of the cross.[134]

Heraclius[135] succeeded Phocas as emperor. A man who had been elevated from patrician status to become emperor, he subjected the whole of Persia to Roman rule, freed the captive Christians, and emptied Persia of its treasures. At this time Chlotar,[136] king of the Franks, remitted to the Lombards the twelve thousand solidi which they had been paying into the treasuries of the Franks each year since they had made a pact with them. After this, Swinthila[137] succeeded the gentle Sisebut as king of the Goths in Spain. Swinthila was overthrown by Sisenand.[138] After Sisenand came Chintila,[139] then Tulga.[140] Tulga was overthrown, and one of the nobles, Chindaswinth,[141] was set on the throne. He consolidated his rule over the whole of Spain, and killed all those he mistrusted. His son Receswinth[142] succeeded him.

Heraclius was succeeded by his son Heracleonas,[143] together with Heracleonas' mother, Martina. Another son of Heraclius, Constantine,[144] succeeded Heracleonas, then Constantine's son, Constantine II,[145] then Constantine III.[146] At this time the Saracens invaded Sicily.[147] Constantine was succeeded by his son, Justinian the Younger.[148] He made peace with the Saracens, and subjugated the province of Africa to Roman rule. But in the end he was driven from the empire through his own fault.

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[137] Cf. Fredegar, *Chronicae*, iv. 73, pp. 157–8. Sisebut was actually succeeded by Recared II in 621, and Recared, after a few months, by Swinthila (621–31).

[138] 631–6; cf. Fredegar, loc. cit.

[139] 636–40; cf. ibid. c. 82.

[140] 640–2; cf. loc. cit.

[141] 642–53; cf. loc. cit.

[142] 653–72; cf. loc. cit.

[143] 641 (deposed).

[144] Constantine III, 641 (poisoned by his step-mother Martina).

[145] Actually Constans II, 641–68.

[146] Actually Constantine IV, 668–85.

[147] See M. I. Finley, *A History of Sicily: Ancient Sicily to the Arab Conquest* (London, 1968), pp. 184–7 and 210.

[148] Justinian II, 685–95, 705–11.

Cui Leo[149] successit, cui Tiberius.[150] Tunc Gisulfus[151] dux Longobardorum bene uiuentem Campaniam igne, gladio, ac captiuitate uastauit. Tandem muneribus, que

capiunt hominesque deosque,[152]

a Sergio papa[153] missis, dux captiuos soluit hostesque redire fecit. Tunc Heriberotus[154] rex Longobardorum erat.

Tiberio successit Iustinianus,[p] [155] cum Tyberio filio. Quibus successit Filipicus,[156] cui Anastasius.[157] Tunc Leuthbrandus[158] rex erat Longobardorum. Apud Yspanias Richinsindo successit rex Gottorum Wamba.[159] Hic, Toletanus et christianissimus, Paulinum procuratorem Narbonensis prouincie ordinauerat, sed[q] ipse, ius dominationis inuadens, Nemausum munit, regnum peruertit, Arrianos, qui tunc in Aquitannia pollebant, auxiliarios fecit, et ad ultimum a superueniente Wamba apud Nemausum capitur et, corio bouino insutus, ut arescebat constrictus, suffocatur.[r] [160] Wambe successit Vintoza,[161] qui stupris deditus exemploque sue turpitudinis sacerdotes maculans, superueniente paganorum exercitu in Yspanias, a regno deicitur. Gottique Rudericum[162] regem eligunt, qui cum paganis congrediens uincitur. Sicque regnum Gottorum in Yspania finitur, Sarracenis totam Yspaniam infra biennium obtinentibus.[s]

Anastasio successit imperator Theodosius,[t] [163] cui Leo[164] successit. Cuius tempore pagani Constantinopolim triennio obsident, sed nutu diuino fame, frigore, et pestilentia perturbati recedunt. Huic Constantinus[165] imperator successit, cuius tempore, cum a rege Yspanorum Abdoramam Burdegalis obsideretur ciuitasque Arelas cum sua prouincia gentilibus premeretur, Carolus Magnus[166] rex Francorum, ab Eodone principe Aquitanie in auxilium sue deffensionis accitus, in

[p] Iustinianius *N* [q] et *add. after* Sed *XQ* [r] suffocatus *N* [s] etiam nunc pro parte. Stetit autem regnum illud annis .ccc.xiiii. *add. after* optinentibus *X*
[t] Theodorisius *N*

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[149] 695–8.
[150] Tiberius III, 698–705.
[151] Gisulf I, *c.*689–706; cf. Paul the Deacon, *HL* vi. 27 (ed. Waitz, p. 174).
[152] Ovid, *Ars amatoria*, iii. 653
[153] Sergius I, 687–701.
[154] Aripert II, 700–12; cf. Paul the Deacon, *HL* vi. 28 (ed. Waitz, p. 174).
[155] Justinian II regained the throne in 705.
[156] Philippicus Bardanes, 711–13.
[157] Anastasius II, 713–15.
[158] 712–44.
[159] 672–80.
[160] The story of Flavius Paulus' rebellion against Wamba is told in Julian of Toledo's *Historia Wambae*, ed. W. Levison, *MGH SRM* v. 500–35; cf. E. A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 218–31.
[161] Erwig (680–7), and then Egica (687–701), succeeded Wamba; Witiza, Egica's son

Leontius[149] succeeded Justinian, and Tiberius[150] succeeded Leontius. At this time the Lombard duke Gisulf[151] laid waste the prosperous region of Campania with fire, the sword, and captivity. Eventually, as a result of Pope Sergius[153] sending gifts, which

win both mortals and gods,[152]

the duke released his captives and made the hostile troops go home. At this time Aripert[154] was king of the Lombards.

Tiberius was succeeded by Justinian,[155] together with his son Tiberius. Then came Philippicus,[156] then Anastasius.[157] At this time Liutprand[158] was king of the Lombards. In Spain Wamba[159] succeeded Receswinth as king of the Goths. Wamba, a native of Toledo and a devout Christian, had appointed Paulus as procurator of the province of Narbonne. Paulus usurped power: he fortified Nîmes and subverted the kingdom, bringing in the Arians, who were powerful in Aquitaine at that time, on his side. But in the end Wamba caught up with him and captured him at Nîmes. Paulus was then sewn into an ox-hide, which grew tighter as it dried, until he was suffocated.[160] Wamba was succeeded by Witiza,[161] who gave himself up to debauchery, and was corrupting the priests by the example of his base living, when a pagan army arrived in Spain and he was dethroned. The Goths then chose Roderic[162] as their king, but he was defeated in an encounter with the pagans. And so the kingdom of the Goths in Spain came to an end, with the Saracens gaining possession of the whole of Spain within two years.

Theodosius[163] succeeded Anastasius as emperor, and Leo[164] succeeded Theodosius. In his time the pagans besieged Constantinople for three years, but by divine will they were afflicted by famine, cold, and pestilence until they withdrew. Constantine[165] succeeded Leo as emperor. In his time, when Bordeaux was being besieged by Abd-ar-Rahman, king of Spain, and the city of Arles with the rest of its province was also hard-pressed by the pagans, Charles the Great,[166] king of the Franks, was summoned by Eudo, prince of Aquitaine, to help in his defence. He defeated the pagans on the outskirts of

and successor, died in 708 or 709. After an interregnum, he was succeeded by Roderic in 710; see *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vii. 928 and ix. 267.
[162] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 290. Roderic was defeated by the Arabs in 713; see Collins, *Arab Conquest*, pp. 28–29.
[163] Theodosius III, 715–17.
[164] Leo III, the Isaurian, 717–41.
[165] Constantine V, 741–75.
[166] i.e. Charles Martel, mayor of the palace 719–41; cf. *Otia*, ii. 18, pp. 442–7.

suburbio Pictauensi paganos uincit[167] et fugat, cum triumpho Franciam gaudenter regressus. Verum papa Gregorius minor,[168] infestationem paganorum in Arelatensi ciuittate pacienter non sustinens, post quadrienium huiusce tempestatis exactum, metuens ne ulteriores Romane ditionis partes gentilis furor inuadat, Carolum, missis ei clauibus sepulcri apostoli Petri et uinculis eiusdem,[169] muneribus tantis inuitat ut a partibus imperatoris Grecorum recedens Romani senatus patricius efficiatur. Quod humiliter ac deuote suscipiens, Carolus in Romanum erigitur patriciatum, strenuissime pro fide pugnans et Romane rei publice curam gerens.

Huic successit Pipinus[170] filius eius, Carlemanno[u] fratre monaco facto. Cui successit filius eius Karolus,[v] [171] qui duos habuit filios, Carolomannum et Ludouicum; Carolomannum Adrianus papa Pipinum nominauit.[172] Carolus autem pro republica pugnans, tandem nomen in ultimis uite sue terminis assumpsit[w] inperii, ut qui Romani deffensor erat imperii, quin immo celestis regni patronus, pro tantis meritis et inter homines Augusti nomen acciperet, et inter celestes aulicos miles Christi fortissimus predicaretur. Ex tunc ergo apud Latinos est terminata Grecorum potentia, Romaque nomen recepit[x] amissum,[y] non dominium.[z] Modico enim[a] contenta[b] termino, non caput orbis, ut assolet, sed umbra uetusti capitis dici potest, que sic ab omni potencia euacuatur quod que frena totius orbis tenuerat, nunc sua muralia cohibere non sufficit, nullique plus infesta quam suo imperatori; dum duos habere dominos contendit, inter pontificium posita et imperium, alterum excludit, alterum contempnit. Quid plura? Hoc eficacissimum excidii Romani fuit argumentum imperii,[c] f. 38v quod de[d] | imperio mutatur in pontificium.[e] Sic enim regnum Iudeorum, a Deo firmatum sub regibus, lapsus sui uaticinium

[u] Carelemanno *N* [v] Carobas *N* [w] absumpsit *N* [x] accepit *Aβ*
[y] amissum] ad missum *N* [z] dominum *N* [a] enim *supplied by author N*
[b] contento (*final* o *altered, probably from* a, *by author*) *N* [c] imperii *om. ACβ*
[d] de | de *N* [e] pontificum *N*

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[167] 732; cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 291; *Otia*, ii. 18, at n. 52. After this battle the Arabs were forced to retreat south; see J. Deviosse, *Charles Martel* (Paris, 1978), pp. 177–8.

[168] i.e. Gregory III, 731–41; see *Otia*, Preface, n. 37; ii. 18, n. 54.

[169] Presumably a link, or filings, from the chains kept in San Pietro in Vincoli; cf. n. 7 above, and Fredegar, *Chronicae*, Continuatio 22, pp. 178–9. Gervase is here confusing the approach made by Gregory III to Charles Martel in 737 and Charlemagne's acceptance of the title *patricius Romanorum* from Pope Adrian I in 774, on which see P. Classen, *Karl der Große, das Papsttum und Byzanz*, 2nd edn. (Sigmaringen, 1988), pp. 21–2.

[170] Pippin (the Short) ruled as mayor of the palace until 751, and then as king until 768; cf. *Otia*, ii. 18, n. 56.

Poitiers[167] and put them to flight, and then made a triumphal return to Francia amid much rejoicing. Now Pope Gregory the Younger[168] was annoyed at the pagans' assault on the city of Arles, and was afraid that the fury of the pagans might fall on further parts of the Roman empire; so, when this disturbance had gone on for four years, he sent Charles the keys of the tomb of Peter the apostle, and the same apostle's chains,[169] accompanying such great gifts with a request that he should withdraw from the authority of the emperor of the Greeks and accept the status of Patrician of the Roman senate. Charles humbly and devotedly acceded to these requests, and was duly elevated to the Roman patriciate. He fought vigorously for the faith, and protected the interests of the Roman state.

He was succeeded by his son Pippin,[170] since Pippin's brother Carloman became a monk. Pippin was succeeded by his son Charlemagne,[171] who had two sons, Carloman and Louis; Pope Adrian changed Carloman's name to Pippin.[172] Now Charlemagne fought on behalf of the Roman state, and ultimately, at the end of his life, assumed the title of emperor. For it seemed right that he who was the defender of the Roman empire, or rather the protector of the heavenly kingdom, should in return for such great merits receive among people on earth the title of Augustus, and be proclaimed among the courtiers of heaven as a most courageous soldier of Christ. So from that time onwards the rule of the Greeks over the Latins was ended, and Rome took back the title she had lost, though not the territory. For, contained as the city now is within a modest boundary, Rome no longer deserves her accustomed title of capital of the world, but can only be said to be a shadow of the former capital. She is in fact so stripped of all power that the city which once held the reins of the whole world is now not even large enough to take up all the space within her own walls, and she is a danger to none more than to her own emperor; while she claims to have two lords, she falls between the pontificate and the empire, and shuts one out while she despises the other. In a word, the most convincing indication of the demise of the Roman empire is that it has changed from an empire into a pontificate. In this it is like the kingdom of the Jews, which was established by God under the rule of kings, and received a prophecy

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[171] King 768–814, emperor 800; cf. below, pp. 448–55.

[172] Adrian I (772–95) consecrated Pippin as king in 781; subsequently he ruled as subking of Italy (781–810); cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 297; *Otia*, ii. 18, n. 65 (and at nn. 69 ff. for Gervase's views on the papal role in the transfer of the empire).

habuit statim ut transiit[f] ad pontifices. Sic Roma, cum exuit principem, cineres suos respicere[g] iussa est. Dum enim non habet iusticiam, uastitas et insticium indicantur morienti.

Epilogus de operis continuatione

Excidium Troianum premisimus, et sic regnum Romanum per successiones temporum, nunc regibus, nunc consulibus, nunc tribunis, nunc imperatoribus, nunc pontificibus creditum, ad ultimum, post multas irruptiones lacessitum per Gottos et Longobardos, ad Alemannorum atque Gallorum dominium peruenisse sub nomine uetusti imperii docuimus, et quoniam ex eodem Troiano excidio imperium Romanorum cuius tenes dominacionem, princeps serenissime, regnumque maioris Britannie ex cuius utero prodiisti (matre tua illustrisimi Henrici regis Anglorum uetustioris[h] filia),[173] regnumque Francorum cuius[i] pro parte Aquitanica dominium[j] gessisti,[174] prodiere, felici Trinitatis numero pro parte,[k] tribus regnis ut tribus filiis enascentibus, dignum fuit annectere seriem regum Anglie, ut qualiter cum imperio et regno Francorum connexum sit, aut quibus casibus a tua Saxonia reges Anglorum cum ipsis Anglis processerunt,[175] memorare possit imperialis tua magestas, magis quoque accendetur[l] animus tuus ad diligendum, tuendum, ac[m] complectendum[n] omne id cuius radicem apud tuos noueris extitisse.[o]

xvii. *De regno Britonum*

[1]Post euersionem igitur Troie, Eneas profugus regnauit in Latio, filium generans Ascanium, qui et ipse genuit Siluium, ex filia Latini,

[f] stransiit *N* [g] respicere *supplied by author N* [h] uestutioris *N* [i] eius *N* [j] dominum *N* [k] parte *XQ*; patre *NACI* [l] accenditur *XQ*; accendatur *CI* [m] ad *N*; et *AI* [n] complectandum *N* [o] Cum enim olim (olim *om. Q*) tota possideretur a Britannis, postea possessores habuit Normannos, Britones, Saxones, Pictos, et Scottos, nunc Saxonibus in ea regnantibus, qui Angli nominantur *add. after* extitisse *XQ*

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[173] See above, p. xxxi.

[174] In 1196 Otto was enfeoffed by his uncle, Richard the Lionheart, with the county of Poitou and the duchy of Aquitaine; he held them until the spring of 1198. See above, p. xxxi; Hucker, *Otto IV.*, pp. 14, 376, 583, and plate 20.

[175] Note the use of the indicative here, while the subjunctive is used in the preceding indirect question; an example of the inconsistency of the author's practice.

[1–1] Post . . . cornu Britannie est (p. 398)] This chapter consists largely of an abbreviation and adaptation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannie*. The

that it would fall as soon as it passed into the hands of priests. Likewise, when Rome divested herself of her emperor, she was bidden to look upon her own ashes. As long, indeed, as she lacks justice, devastation and repression are bound to attend her death-throes.

An epilogue concerning the next section of the work

We have now dealt with the destruction of Troy, and we have likewise told how the ruling power in Rome, through successive ages, was in the hands of first kings, then consuls, then tribunes, then emperors, then popes, until finally, weakened after many attacks by the Goths and the Lombards, the sovereignty passed to the Alemanni and the Gauls, who took over the title of the old empire. Now this Roman empire, over which you, most serene Prince, hold dominion, and the kingdom of Great Britain which gave you birth (your mother being the daughter of the illustrious king of England, Henry the Elder),[173] and the kingdom of France, over which you have ruled, at least as far as Aquitaine is concerned,[174] all arose from that same destruction of Troy, three kingdoms coming to birth like three sons, matching the blessed number of the Trinity. It has therefore been judged fitting to go on to relate the succession of the kings of England, in order that Your Imperial Majesty may be able to recall how England's connection with the empire and the kingdom of France came about, and in what circumstances the kings of England, together with the English themselves, issued[175] from your own Saxony. It is also our hope that your spirit may thereby be fired with greater zeal to love, protect, and cherish everything which you know to have had its roots among your own people.

17. *The Kingdom of the Britons*

[1]After the overthrow of Troy, then, Aeneas went into exile and reigned in Latium. He had a son, Ascanius; Ascanius in turn had a

text used by Gervase was the vulgate version, represented by Bern Burgerbibliothek MS 568 (ed. Wright, vol. i). It seems that, as he did elsewhere (see ii. 8, n. 4), the author subsequently returned to this chapter and added material which he had originally omitted; these additions are found in copies derived from β. They are incorporated in the text of *X* and *Q*; many of them are also found in *I*, but there they are mostly written in the margin. For this paragraph, cf. *HRB*, cc. 6–21 (= ed. Griscom, i. 3–16); see also *Otia*, i. 23, pp. 146–9 and nn.; ii. 10, pp. 306–7.

Lauinia. Ex quo filius processit Brutus, qui matrem suam in puerperio, neptem scilicet Lauinie, et patrem Siluium in uenando peremit. Profugus itaque propter huiuscemodi[a] tristes orrendosque euentus, Brutus in Grecia, auxilio Assarraci, progeniem Heleni filii Priami, seruituti Pandrasi regis Grecorum addictam, eo quod a Pyro[b] Achillis filio in captiuitatem ducta fuisset, potentia uirtutis sue liberauit. Sic ergo Innoge filia Pandrasi in coniugem ducta, Brutus mari[c] se credidit cum uxore Troianisque reliquiis quas a iugo seruitutis exemerat. Loegrecia ergo Grecorum insula transacta, responsoque in sompnis per Dianam accepto, triginta dierum cursu enauigato, Affrica subducta ad Aras Filistinorum[d] et lacum Salinarum, inter Russicadam[e] et montes Adzare, Malua[f] flumine transsito, Mauritania decursa, Columpnis[g] Herculis exactis,[h] ad Tirenum equor peruenit, ubi Corineum ducem cum quatuor stirpibus exulum Troie, qui Antenoris fugam fuerant comitati, inuenit. Corineum ergo Brutus in socium et auxiliarium euocans, deuicto Goferio Aquitannorum rege,[i] consuleque Suardo a Corineo bipenne transuerberato, ad mare Britannicum uenit quod Armoricum sinum respicit, qui nunc Britannia noncupatur.[2] Exhinc Albion occeani insulam ingreditur, que post a Bruto Britannia maior, et nunc Anglia, nominatur. Ad differentiam[j] ergo minoris Britannie, que Galias contingit et ad tempus fuerat Bruti fugientis asilus, Albion[k] Britannie nomen et regnum accepit. Cuius insule pars Corineo cedens in partem, Cornubia ab ipso duce Corineo dicta est,[l] uel quia ipsa cornu Britannie est.[1]

Instinctu[m] Veneris, que propter iudicium pomi Paridi Troianisque fauebat, [3]Brutus ad ueteris Troie recensendam memoriam condidit f. 39^{r} firmissimam urbem Trinouantum,[3] in ipsa uelut Ilium | ad orientem constituens, ubi turris Londoniensis est,[4] firmissima munitione

[a] -modi *supplied by author N; om. ACβ* [b] Pyro *supplied by author N* [c] maris *N* [d] Filenorum *I* (*presumably a scribal correction*) [e] Russicandam *N* [f] Malua] in alua *N* [g] calompnis *N* [h] ubi monstra maris, Sirenes, repperit *add. after* exactis *XQ* [i] Turnoque Bruti nepote perempto, a quo ibi sepulto Turonis (Turocus *X*) dicitur *add. after* rege *XQ* [j] differanciam *N* [k] Albron *N* [l] est *supplied by author N* [m] instrinctu *N*

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[2] Here and elsewhere the phrase *Armoricus sinus* is used to refer to the land of Brittany. From here until the end of the description of London, Gervase freely adapts and supplements Geoffrey's account.

[3–3] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, c. 22 (= ed. Griscom, i. 17). Geoffrey mentions the founding of London, but the eulogy of the city is an interpolation by Gervase.

[4] There is a tradition that there was a tower on the site as far back as Roman times, at

son, Silvius, by Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus. Silvius became the father of Brutus, who killed his mother, a niece of Lavinia's, in childbirth; he also killed his father, Silvius, while out hunting. As a result of such dreadful and tragic events, Brutus fled into exile. In Greece, with the help of Assaracus and by his own mighty strength, he liberated the descendants of Helenus, son of Priam; they were being held in bondage by Pandrasus, king of Greece, since they had been led into captivity by Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles. Brutus took Innogen, the daughter of Pandrasus, as his wife. He then sailed away with his wife and the remnant of the Trojans whom he had released from the yoke of slavery. He visited the Greek island of Leogetia, where he received an oracle in his sleep from Diana. After a sea-voyage of thirty days he landed in Africa, went to the Altars of the Philistines and the Salt-pan Lake, then sailed between Rusiccade and the mountains of Zarec. Having crossed the river Malvia, he travelled through Mauritania, passed between the Pillars of Hercules, and reached the Tyrrhenian Sea. There he found the leader Corineus with four generations of exiles from Troy, who had accompanied Antenor in his flight. So Brutus invited Corineus to be his companion and helper, and conquered Goffar, king of Aquitaine; the leader Suhard was split in two with an axe by Corineus. Then he came to the British Sea, which faces the Gulf of Armorica, now called Brittany.[2] From here he crossed to Albion, an island in the ocean; it was subsequently named Great Britain after Brutus, and is now called England. Albion, then, received the name and the kingdom of Britain, as opposed to Little Britain (Brittany), which is adjacent to Gaul, and had afforded asylum for a time to Brutus on his flight. Part of the island of Britain fell to the share of Corineus, and was named Cornubia (Cornwall), either after this same leader Corineus, or because it is the horn (*cornu*) of Britain.[1]

At the prompting of Venus, who was favourably disposed towards Paris and the Trojans because Paris had awarded her the apple, [3]Brutus founded a very strong city, called Trinovantum (New Troy) to keep alive the memory of the old Troy.[3] Within it he built a citadel like Ilium, on the eastern side of the city, where the Tower of London now is;[4] it contained a palace enclosed by mighty fortifications, while

least. The site is in one corner of the Roman walled city, and there were apparently Roman buildings on it, but not a fortress before William I. See E. Impey and G. Parnell, *The Tower of London: the Official Illustrated History* (London, 2000), pp. 11–13, and also the older work of H. A. Harben, *A Dictionary of London* (London, 1918), p. 586.

palatium circumseptum[n] continens,[o] aqua Tamasis[p] fluuii, quem cotidie ascendentis maris inundatio replet, in ambitu decurrente. Ad occidentem uero Pergama construxit, duo uidelicet miris[q] aggeribus constructa castra, quorum alterum Bainardi, alterum baronum de Munfichet est ex iure successionis.[5] Hec uelut angustarum portarum castella primi aditus sunt deffensoria ciuitatis. Ampla planicies secus decursum Thamasis fluuii, qui ex magnitudine marisque refluxu[r] plus mare sapit[s] quam fluuium, per sex miliaria in longum protrahitur. Vndique ferme flumine Tamasi aut marinis paludibus circumclusa, murorum firmatur[t] altitudine ex bitumine, quasi minuti lapidis cemento, surgentium; interioribus aggeribus fundata, turribusque in ambitu murorum cum propugnaculis continuata intercisione surgentibus[u] conspicua, late spaciatur. Fluuialis[v] aque et maris connexione portus est, et nauigabilis ad modum pelagi, piscosa in omni piscium affluentia; pascuis habundat, nemoribus omnimodisque uenationibus impressa; argenti diues et auri, paucis urbibus inuidet, omnibus ipsa[w] merito inuidiosa existit. Quis enim tamtam populositatem crederet sic lege constringi, sic frumento[x] omnique farre[y] stabiliri, sic uinorum copia effluere cum illic uinee non plantentur, sic omni mundana copia feruere, sic sanctorum monasteriorum ac illustrium canonicarum[z] copiosa dicatione regularitateque gaudere? Profecto in ista unica urbe, dextris fondata auspiciis,[a] exceptionem capit illud diuulgatum et apud omnes pereque gentes omniumque fastigia[b] regnorum probatissimum Lucani prouerbium:

Inuida fatorum series summisque negatum
Stare diu.[6]

Cum enim, post euersionem Troie sexagesimo nondum anno completo, urbs Trinouantum,[c] [7]Heli sacerdote populum Israel regente et

[n] circumspectum *NXQ* [o] continens *supplied by author N* [p] Tamasis *supplied by author N* [q] miris *supplied by author N* [r] refluxu *supplied by author N* [s] sapitur *N* [t] *The scribe of N wrote* mororum firmatur; *both words were crossed out by the rubricator, who wrote* murorum *above the line; this in turn was crossed out by the author, who then wrote* murorum *in his own hand, but failed to restore* firmatur [u] interioribus aggeribus fundata . . . surgentibus] *supplied by author N* [v] fluinalis *N* [w] ipsa *Cβ;* ipso *crossed out N* [x] frucmento *N* [y] farre *supplied by author N* [z] canonicorum *ACβ* [a] auspiciis] aut spiciis *N* [b] vastigia (*sic*) *supplied by author N* [c] Trinouantum *supplied by author N*

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[5] Baynard's Castle was built by Baynard, a nobleman who came over with William of Normandy. The Tower of Mountfiquit adjacent to it was built by the baron of Mountfiquit, who also came over with the Conqueror. See Harben, op. cit., pp. 55–6 and 424–5.

around it flowed the water of the river Thames, which is replenished daily when the sea pours in at high tide. On the western side of the city he built a new Pergama, namely, two castles constructed with magnificent ramparts, one being Baynard's Castle, while the other belongs by right of succession to the barons of Mountfiquit.[5] These castles, forming bastions, as it were, on either side of a narrow entrance, serve to defend the main approach to the city. A broad plain extends for a length of six miles along the course of the river Thames. The Thames is more like a sea than a river, owing to its size and its tidal ebb and flow. The city is virtually surrounded on all sides by the river Thames or by salt marshes, and is fortified with walls rising to a great height, built on a base of asphalt, a sort of cement made from finely-ground stone. Trinovantum covers a large area, and is built up on raised ground within, while its battlemented towers, rising at regular intervals all round the walls, make it a conspicuous landmark. It serves as a port, for the water of its river links up with the sea, and is as navigable as the open sea, as well as being well-stocked with all kinds of fish; it also has plenty of pasturage, and is noted for its woodlands containing all kinds of game; rich in silver and gold, there are few cities which it envies, while it is itself deservedly the envy of all. Who indeed would believe that such a large populace could be so law-abiding, could enjoy such a stable supply of wheat and all other grains, such plentifully flowing wine even though vines are not grown there, and such a teeming abundance of all worldly goods, and could be so blessed in the number of those faithfully serving God in its holy monasteries and illustrious collegiate churches? Assuredly in the case of this one city, founded indeed under favourable auspices, we find an exception to that well-known saying of Lucan's, which otherwise holds good for all nations alike and for all kingdoms, however high they may rise:

The chain of fate is jealous, and it is permitted to none
To remain powerful for long.[6]

The city of Trinovantum was built less than sixty years after the overthrow of Troy, in the three hundred and fifty-fourth year before the founding of Romulus' city. [7]At that time Eli the priest was ruling

[6] Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 70–1.

[7–7] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, c. 22 (= ed. Griscom, i. 18). Geoffrey drew on Jerome's translation of Eusebius' *Chronica* (cf. here *PL* xxvii. 274–6) for these and other historical parallels, thereby lending his account an aura of authenticity.

arca federis a Filisteis capta, regnantibus in Troia filiis Hectoris, expulsis posteris Antenoris,[7] constructa sit, trecentesimo .liiii. ante Romuleam urbem conditam, uix inuenire licet ex maximis et antiquissimis[d] urbem uel unicam que uel nomen cum re non mutauerit, uel[e] principatum non amiserit,[f] aut exterius attrita ferro, aut interius ciuili et intestino bello consumpta. Hec sola, cum aliarum[g] inuidia regionum, quod ex Dei munere est, Niniuem uidit subuersam, Babilonem destructam, Suenis pro parte maxima deletam, Ierusalem cum templo euersam, Macedoniam, Persidam, Egiptum, Caldeam, Indiam, Ethiopiam regnorum et regum alternasse uicissitudines, nunc dominando, nunc alterius dominio[h] seruiendo. Constantinopolis nuper Gallorum Italicorumque irruptionibus suis gazis spoliatur.[8] Collonia Agrippina Childerici regis Francorum uiolentiam[i] testatur.[9] Yspania nunc a Gotis, nunc a paganis, nunc a Carolo crebras patitur mutationes.[j] [10] Quid ultra? Roma ipsa, de eodem seminario Troiano orta, licet constructione posterior et dominatione potentior, suos tamen cineres uidit: sub duce Brenno incendium suum orruit; sub Alarico cotidianos inminentium[k] ruinarum deffectus deplorat, dum more senis decrepiti alieno uix baculo potest sustentari,[l] nihil habens honorabilis uetustatis preter fastum popularem et antiquatam lapidum comgeriem.[11]

Iam nunc ad *Ystoriam* recurramus, que [12]Bruto tres fuisse filios testatur: Locrimum, a quo Loegria, media pars insule, sic dicitur; Albanectum, a quo Albania, que nunc est Scocia; Cambrem, a quo Cambria, que nunc Walles dicitur. Hi primi insulam diuiserunt secundum prenominatas suorum nominum regiones. Albanectum occidit Humber rex Hunorum, Humbrum Locrinus, a quo[m] Humber fluuius nomen accepit. Locrinus, sagita percussus in prelio quod habuit cum uxore sua, Gondoloena filia Corinei, interiit. Erat
f. 39v autem causa prelii | Estrildis[n] regina Germanie,[o] cuius amore uxorem

[d] antiquissimissimis *N* [e] uel *supplied by author N* [f] amiserit *ACXQ*; admisserit *N*, admiserit *I* [g] aliarum *supplied by author N* [h] domino *NA* [i] uiolanciam *N* [j] mutatones *N* [k] inminentium *supplied by author N* [l] substantari *N* [m] in eo submerso *add. after* quo *XQ* [n] Estrundis *XQ* [o] ab Humbro rapta (capta *X*) pridem *add. after* Germanie *β*

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[8] Constantinople fell to the Frankish crusaders in 1203–4.

[9] Cologne was destroyed in 717 by Charles Martel acting nominally for Chilperic (not Childeric) II (Neustria, 715–21); see *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 291; *Otia*, ii. 18, pp. 444–5.

[10] Charlemagne launched an attack on Spain in 778, as well as attacks on Barcelona in 803, recorded in *Chron. Moiss.*, pp. 296 and 307.

[11] Rome was occupied by the Gauls under Brennus in 390 BC (cf. *HRB*, c. 43 (= ed.

the people of Israel, and the ark of the covenant had been captured by the Philistines; the sons of Hector were reigning in Troy, having driven out the descendants of Antenor.[7] Now it would be hard to find even a single one among the greatest and oldest cities of the world which has not either changed its name with changing circumstances, or lost its sovereignty, whether brought low from without by the sword, or destroyed from within by civil war among its own people. This city alone, to the envy of the rest of the world, has been granted by God's gift to see Nineveh overthrown, Babylon destroyed, Suanir largely demolished, Jerusalem and its temple reduced to rubble, and Macedonia, Persia, Egypt, Chaldaea, India, and Ethiopia producing a succession of different kings and kingdoms, sometimes ruling, sometimes subject to another's rule. Constantinople has recently been despoiled of her treasures by the incursions of the Gauls and Italians.[8] Cologne bears witness to the ferocity of Childeric, king of the Franks.[9] Spain has suffered frequent upheavals at the hands first of the Goths, then of the pagans, and then of Charlemagne.[10] Why go on? Even Rome herself, sprung from the same Trojan seed-bed, though built at a later date and mightier in her rule, has nevertheless looked upon her own ashes: in the time of Duke Brennus she shuddered as she saw herself in flames; in the time of Alaric she lamented as her buildings collapsed, falling day by day into ruins, while she could barely support herself, like a decrepit old man leaning on a borrowed stick, retaining nothing of her former dignity except the arrogance of her people and an obsolete heap of stones.[11]

Let us now return to our *History*. It records that [12]Brutus had three sons: Locrinus, after whom the central part of the island, Loegria, was named; Albanactus, from whom Albany, now called Scotland, took its name; and Camber, after whom Cambria, now called Wales, was named. These three were the first to divide the island into these regions named after them. Humber, king of the Huns, killed Albanactus, and Locrinus killed Humber; it was from him that the river Humber took its name. Locrinus died when he was struck with an arrow in battle. He was fighting against his wife, Gwendolen, the daughter of Corineus; the battle was being fought over Estrildis, queen of Germany, for love of whom he had deserted his wife.

Griscom, iii. 9). In 410 AD the city was sacked by Alaric and the Goths. Cf. *Otia*, ii. 1, pp. 176–7, and ii. 16, pp. 394–7.

[12–12] Bruto . . . Euristeus in Lacedemonia (p. 404)] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 23–6 (= ed. Griscom, ii. 1–6); *Otia*, ii. 10, at n. 62.

suam reliquerat.[p] Locrino successit Gondolena uxor eius, post quam Nadan[q] filius eius et Locrini. Tunc regnabat Samuel in Iudea, et Homerus claruit. Huic successit Menpricius; tunc regnabat Euristeus in Lacedemonia.[r] [12]

[13]Huic successit Ebraucus filius, qui condidit Eboracum, alteram Britannie metropolim.[s] Hic primus post Brutum in Galias clasem duxit. Tunc regnauit Dauid, et Gath et Natan[t] et Asaph prophetauerunt. Post Ebraucum regnauit[u] Brutus Viride Scutum. Huius fratres decem[v] et nouem Germaniam adepti sunt auxilio Siluii Albani, qui tunc regnauit in Albania, que caput fuit regni Romanorum. Post hunc Leil, a quo ciuitas Carliul nomen habet.[w] Tunc cepit Salomon templum edificare, et regina austri[x] uenit ad Salomonem. Post hunc Rudumbibras. Hic condidit Caherchent, hoc est Cantuariam, metropolim et primaciam Anglorum,[14] et Caerguint, que est Guintonia.[y] *Caer* enim lingua Troiana ciuitas interpretatur. Hic condidit opidum Paledur,[z] ubi aquila loquebatur cum murus edificaretur.[13]

[15]Post hunc Bladud[a] filius eius. Hic fecit Cairbadun,[b] ubi sunt balnea Badonis calida ad usus mortalium apta, quibus prefecit numen Minerue, et ipsis inextinguibiles supposuit ignes ut nonquam defficiant in fauillas, sed ex quo tabescere incipiunt in saxeos globos conuertuntur.[c] Tunc Elias orauit et non pluit annos[d] tres et menses sex. Bladud[e] docuit Britones nigromantiam. Huic successit Leir filius eius. Hic condidit Caerleir super Soram, que est Leicestria, et instituit in regnum Gonorillam filiam suam cum uiro suo, duce Albanie Maglanno,[f] et Ragan alteram filiam cum uiro suo, Erewino[g] duce Cornubie, qui expulerunt socerum suum. Post hec Leir recepit[h]

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[p] Verum timore Corinei Gottoloenam retinens, ex Estrildi, quam in urbe Trinouanto sub terra occultam tenebat, habuit filiam Febren (*sic MS for* Habren). Mortuo itaque Corineo, spreta Gottholoena, duxit Astrildim. Vnde conserto cum Cornubiensibus prelio, mortuoque Locrino, Gondoloena Sabren cum matre in fluuio, quem exinde Fabrinum (*sic MS for* Sabrinam) nominauit, submergi fecit, ut nomen eternitatis (*sic MS for* Habren puelle?) haberet, que filius (*sic MS for* filia) fuit Locrini *add. after* reliquerat *X* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, cc. 24-5 = ed. Griscom, ii. 4-5*) [q] Madan *XQ* [r] Samuel in Iudea . . . Lacedemonia] Euristeus in Lacedemonia, Samuel in Iudea, et Homerus poeta claruit. Huic Menpricius pessimus tirannus *XQ* [s] Tunc Siluius Latinus regnauit in Ytalia. Qui (Hic *Q*) condidit Kaerdelud prope Albaniam, et oppidum montis Agned, id est castrum puellarum, et montem Dolorosum. Hic genuit uiginti filios ex totidem uxoribus, et triginta filias. Has omnes misit ad Siluium Albanum regem Ytalie, qui eas iunxit Troianis, quorum copulam Latine et Sabine fugiebant *add. after* metropolim *XQ* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, c. 27 = ed. Griscom, ii. 7-8*) [t] et Natan *supplied by author N* [u] regnauit *QI;* regnum *NACX* [v] decen *N* [w] Tunc regnauit Siluius Epitus *add. after* habet *β* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, c. 29 = ed. Griscom, ii. 9*) [x] austri] austrili Saba *X;* austri uel Sabba *Q* [y] Gontonia *N* [z] Paledur] Sestoniam (Sextoniam *X*) super montem Paledur *β* [a] Bladus *N*

Locrinus' wife Gwendolen succeeded him, after whom came Maddan, their son. At this time Samuel reigned in Judaea, and Homer won renown. Mempricius succeeded Maddan; at this time Eurysthenes reigned in Sparta.[12]

[13]Mempricius' son Ebraucus succeeded him. Ebraucus founded York (Eboracum), Britain's second metropolis, and was the first after Brutus to lead a fleet against Gaul. At this time David reigned, and the prophets Gad, Nathan, and Asaph were active. After Ebraucus, Brutus Greenshield reigned. His nineteen brothers took possession of Germany with the help of Silvius Alba, who was then king in Alba, which was the capital of the kingdom of the Romans. After Brutus Greenshield came Leil, from whom the city of Carlisle (Caerleil) took its name. At this time Solomon embarked on the construction of the temple, and the queen of the south came to visit him. After Leil came Rudhudibras. He founded Caerchent, that is, Canterbury, a metropolitan city and England's first see,[14] and Caerguint, that is, Winchester. (*Caer* means city in the Trojan tongue.) He also founded the town of Paladur, where an eagle spoke while the wall was being built.[13]

[15]After Rudhudibras came his son Bladud. He built Caerbadum, where the hot baths of Bath are found. These baths, so suited to the needs of mortals, he put under the tutelage of the goddess Minerva, and he lit fires beneath them which would never go out or be reduced to ashes: as soon as they begin to die down, they are turned into balls of stone. At this time Elijah prayed, and no rain fell for three years and six months. Bladud taught the Britons necromancy. His son Leir succeeded him; Leir founded Caerleir on the river Soar, that is, Leicester. He set over the kingdom his daughter Goneril with her husband Maglaunus, duke of Albany, and his second daughter Regan with her husband Henwinus, duke of Cornwall; they then drove out their father-in-law. Subsequently Leir recovered his kingdom with

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[b] Caerbadim *N* [c] Tunc regnauit Caput (Caprit *X*) filius Epiti *add. after* conuertuntur *XQ* [d] annos *supplied by author N* [e] Bladuc *N* [f] *sic QI;* Niaglanno *N* [g] Erwino *XQ,* Edewino *I; the scribe of N wrote* duce Albania Maglomo *after* suo, *expunged* Albania Maglomo *but accidentally left* duce, *and then continued* Erewino duce . . [h] recipit *N*

[13–13] Huic . . . cum murus edificaretur] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 27–29 (= ed. Griscom, ii. 7–9).

[14] This phrase, and the designation of York as *alteram Britannie metropolim* above, were inserted by Gervase. They strike an anachronistic note at this point in the narrative.

[15–15] Post . . . a geminis fratribus (p. 406)] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 30–2 (= ed. Griscom, ii. 10–15).

regnum suum per Aganippum regem Gallie, cui iunxerat filiam terciam Cordoillam, que[i] dixit patri, dum filias interrogaret quantum queuis illum diligeret, aliis multa loquentibus, illa respondit: 'Quantum habes, tantum uales, et tantum te diligo.' Vnde post patrem regnauit Cordoilla, post quam filii sororum: Marganus trans Humbrum fluuium,[j] Cumedagius citra[k] Vmbrum.[l] Post biennium Cumedagius expulit Margannum solusque regnauit triginta tribus annis. Tunc Ysaias et Osee prophetauerunt. Tunc Roma condita, undecimo Kalendas Maii, post euersionem[m] Troie quadrigentesimo quarto decimo anno,[16] a geminis fratribus.[15]

[17]Cumedagio[n] successit Rauallo, cuius tempore celum pluit tribus diebus sanguinem, et muscarum affluencia homines moriebantur. Post hunc Gurgannus. Post hunc Sisilius. Post hunc Iaggo Gurgantii nepos.[o] Post hunc Caminarcus Sissilii filius. Post hunc Gorbodugo.[p] Post hunc Porex qui, fratre suo[q] interfecto et uicto Suardo rege Francorum, fratris auxiliario, ipse quoque a matre interficitur. Regno per multa tempora uacante et in quinque[18] reges dilacerato, scilicet Clotessem regem Cornubie, Pinetem[r] regem Loegrie, Rodouacum regem Cambrie, Staterium regem Albanie, post hos Dungallos[s] filius[t] Clotessis solus regnauit, aliis expulsis.[19] Hic primus sibi fecit diadema ex auro. Hic fecit leges Mulmicias, que adhuc seruantur in Anglia. Hic statuit ut templa et strate, ipse quoque ciuitates et aratra colonorum ad se fugientes tuerentur.[u] [17]

[20]Huic successit Belinus primogenitus, secundum legem Troianorum, in diadema Loegrie, Cambrie, et Cornubie, et Brennus minor sub eo Northanhumbriam usque ad[v] Catanesiam. Belinus tributariam fecit Daciam, regem Guthlacum[w] [21] captum ducens. Hic uias publicas quatuor struxit, et leges quas postea rex Aluredus scripsit, quas

[i] que] indotatam quia *XQ* [j] uersus Cathenesiam (ut suscatenesiam *X*) *add. after* fluuium *XQ* [k] circa *β* [l] trans Humbrum fluuium . . . Vmbrum] *supplied by author N* [m] euersione *N* [n] Cimodigio *N* [o] Post hunc Sisilius . . . nepos] *supplied by author N* [p] Gorbodudo *ACXQ* [q] Ferrante *X*, Ferrente *Q* *add. after* suo [r] Pinetam *N* [s] *sic N;* Diuigallo *I;* Digtigallo (Dicti- *Q*) Momutius *XQ* [t] silius *N* [u] Hic post .xl. annos feliciter expletos, apud Trinouantum, prope templum Concordie quod ad confirmationem legum construxerat, sepultus est *add. after* tuerentur *XQ* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, c. 34 = ed. Griscom, ii. 17*) [v] ad *om. XQ* [w] qui Brennum, propter filiam regis Norueie (Norutie *I*) ductam, classe petiit in mari periclitantem, et in Northumbria applicitum *add. after* Guthlacum *β; written in margin of I* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, c. 36 = ed. Griscom, iii. 2*)

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[16] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, ii. 4. 1.

[17–17] Cumedagio . . . se fugientes tuerentur] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 33–4 (= ed. Griscom, ii. 16–17).

the help of Aganippus, king of Gaul, to whom he had married his third daughter, Cordelia. She it was who, when he asked his daughters how much each of them loved him, in contrast to the fulsome speeches of the other two, told her father: 'You are worth as much as you possess, and in the same measure I love you.' And so Cordelia reigned after her father. After her, her sisters' sons reigned: Marganus on the far side of the river Humber, and Cunedagius on the near side. After two years, Cunedagius drove Marganus out and reigned alone for thirty-three years. At this time the prophets Isaiah and Hosea were active. At this time, too, Rome was founded by the twin brothers, on 21 April,[16] in the four hundred and fourteenth year after the overthrow of Troy.[15]

[17]Rivallo succeeded Cunedagius. In his time the sky rained down blood for three days, and people died from the swarms of flies. After Rivallo came Gurgustius, then Sisillius, then Gurgustius' nephew Jago, then Sisillius' son Cimarcus, then Gorboduc, then Porrex. Porrex killed his brother and defeated his brother's ally, Suhard, king of the Franks; but then he himself was killed by his mother. For a long time after this there was no single ruler and the kingdom was broken up under five[18] petty kings, namely Cloten, king of Cornwall, Pinner, king of Loegria, Rudaucus, king of Cambria, and Staterius, king of Albany. But after them Dunvallo, Cloten's son, reigned alone, having driven out the others.[19] He was the first to have a golden crown made for himself. He established the Molmutine Laws, which are still kept in England. He ordained that temples and the roads leading to them, also the cities themselves and the peasants' ploughs, should provide sanctuary for fugitives.[17]

[20]Dunvallo's first-born son, Belinus, succeeded him, in accordance with Trojan law, as king of Loegria, Cambria, and Cornwall, while his younger son, Brennus, inherited Northumbria and all the land up to Caithness, ruling as his brother's subject. Belinus exacted tribute from Denmark, taking King Guthlac[21] prisoner. He built four public highways, and established the laws which Gildas recorded, and which

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[18] Like Gervase, Geoffrey states that there were five kings (c. 33), but names only four (c. 34).

[19] According to Geoffrey (c. 34), the others were all killed.

[20–20] Huic . . . Deinde Romam incendunt (p. 408)] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 35–43 (= ed. Griscom, iii. 1–9).

[21] Liebrecht (pp. 96–7) suggests that this Guthlac may be identified with the king named elsewhere as Huglethus, Havelok, or Hygelâc.

Gildas refert. Brennus, expulsus a Northanumbria,[x] successit Segino regi Alobrogum, ducta filia eius. Hic, quod apud Alobroges maximum erat, in dandis cibis profusus erat, nullique ianua eius prohibebatur. | f. 40^{r} Hic postea cum Bilino fratre[y] confederatus, regulos Francorum et urbes eorum sibi subiecit cum fratre suo intra[z] annum unum. Deinde Romam incendunt,[a][20] sicut refert Paulus Orosius, et nos supra, in titulo *De diuisione quatuor regnorum*, memorauimus.[b][22]

[23]Mortuo Belino, successit ei Gurgniter[c] Baretrud[d] filius eius. Hic Daciam iterum subiecit, Basclisque,[e] per mare in triginta[f] nauibus laborantibus, Yberniam dedit inhabitandam. Post hunc Guithelinus regnauit, cuius uxor Marcia leges Mercias[g] instituit, quas uulgus *Marchenelage* nominat. Post hunc regnauit uxor iam dicta, post quam frater eius Danius.[24] Post hunc Moruidus filius Danii, qui strenuus, largus, omnique homini[h] insuperabilis, deuoratus est a belua inaudite feritatis a partibus Ibernici maris, cum qua diu pugnauerat.[23]

[25]Post quem[i] primogenitus eius Gordinianus,[j] post quem Archingallo pessimus, quo a principibus deposito, successit frater eius Elidurus qui, nimia pietate tentus, fratri de capite suo diadema restituit. Post quem Elidurus iterato regnauit, post quem Ingenius[k] citra Humbrum regnauit, et Peredurus frater eius in Scocia. Post hec solus Peredurus monarcha fuit. Post quem tercio regnauit Elidurus, quem fratres[l] incarcerauerant apud Trinouantum.[25]

[26]Post quem Regyn[27] Gordoniani filius,[m] post quem Marantis

[x] accessit ad Segitium regem auxilium postulans, et quia gratissimus ei erat et indigenis *add. after* Northanumbria *XQ* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, c. 40 = ed. Griscom, iii. 6*)
[y] congredi parans, in ipsam insulam (in ipsam insulam *om. Q*) per mare Neustriorum aduectus, tandem uberibus et matris precibus flexus, cum ipso fratre *add. after* fratre *XQ* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, c. 41 = ed. Griscom, iii. 7*)
[z] intra (*altered from* infra) *N; infra AXQ and Geoffrey of Monmouth*
[a] occiso Gabio et capto Porsenna consulibus *add. after* incendunt *β; written in margin of I*
[b] Belinus ciuitatem construxit Caeliun super Oscam (Oscata *X*) fluuium, metropolim Demetie. Hic turrim fecit Londoniensem et in eius (eius *om. X*) summitate postea sepultus est, in cado aureo puluere eius posito. Hic ianuam Trinouanti super Tamasim construxit, suo nomine decoratam *add. after* memorauimus *XQ* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, c. 44 = ed. Griscom, iii. 10*)
[c] Gurguiter *AXI*
[d] Barctrud *ACX*, Bartrud *I*
[e] ab Yspania (ad Yspaniam *X*) pulsis *add. after* Basclisque *XQ*
[f] tringinta *N*
[g] Marcias *CQI*
[h] omniumque hominum *N*
[i] post quem] postquam *NCXI, here and in many of the succeeding occurrences*
[j] cui mos erat cotidianus primum diis honorem debitum impendere et rectam plebi iusticiam exhibere *add. after* Gorhomianus *X*, Gorbinianus *Q*, Gordianus *I*
[k] Ingenius *supplied by author N*
[l] fratres *supplied by author N*
[m] post quem Regyn Gordoniani filius] quo defuncto successit Gorboniani filius, bonus et pius *XQ;* pius et bonus *inserted in the next phrase after* Archagolonis filius *I*

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[22] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, ii. 19. 5; *Otia*, ii. 1, n. 41.

King Alfred subsequently translated. Brennus, after being expelled from Northumbria, succeeded Seginus as king of the Allobroges, having married his daughter. He was generous in providing food, a trait which the Allobroges valued very highly, and no one was turned from his door. Later, he made an alliance with his brother, Belinus, and with his help, in the space of a year he subjected to himself the rulers of the Franks and their cities. Then they set fire to Rome,[20] as Paulus Orosius records, and as we mentioned above, in the chapter *The Division into Four Kingdoms*.[22]

[23]On the death of Belinus, his son Gurguit Bartruc succeeded him. He brought Denmark back into subjection, and allowed some Basques, who were wandering unhappily over the sea in thirty ships, to make Ireland their home. After Gurguit Bartruc, Guithelin reigned. His wife, Marcia, instituted the Mercian Laws, which the people call the *Marchenelage*. After Guithelin his wife, just mentioned, reigned, and after her his brother, Danius.[24] Danius' son, Morvidus, ruled after him. He was a strong man, liberal in his gifts, and more than a match for any mortal; but he was devoured after a long fight by a beast of unheard-of ferocity which appeared from the direction of the Irish Sea.[23]

[25]After Morvidus his first-born son Gorbonianus reigned, after whom came the wicked Archgallo. He was deposed by the princes, and his brother Elidurus succeeded him; but, constrained by an excess of fraternal love, Elidurus took the crown from his own head and restored it to his brother. After Archgallo Elidurus reigned for a second time; then Ingenius reigned on the near side of the Humber, while his brother Peredurus reigned in Scotland. Later Peredurus became the sole monarch. After him Elidurus, whom his brothers had imprisoned in Trinovantum, reigned for a third time.[25]

[26]Then Regin,[27] son of Gorbonianus, became king; next came Marganus, son of Archgallo. After Marganus, his brother Enniaunus

[23–23] Mortuo . . . qua diu pugnauerat] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 45–8 (= ed. Griscom, iii. 11–15).

[24] Here Gervase has omitted Marcia's son Sisillius, and Sisillius' son Kinarius; Danius was Kinarius' brother (Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, c. 47).

[25–25] Post . . . incarcerauerant apud Trinouantum] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 49–51 (= ed. Griscom, iii. 16–18). The five rulers mentioned in this paragraph were all sons of Morvidus.

[26–26] Post . . . Londonie nomen habet (p. 410)] Cf. ibid., cc. 52–3 (= ed. Griscom, iii. 19–20).

[27] In most MSS of Geoffrey of Monmouth, this son of Gorbonianus is not named; in one (Dublin, Trinity College, MS 515 (E. 5. 12)), *Reyn nomine* was added in the margin (*HRB*, ed. Wright, ii. 44, c. 52, n. 1).

Arcagolonis filius. Post hunc Euinianus frater suus; post hunc Edowallo Ingentii filius. Cui successit Ronno Pereduri filius,[n] [28] cui Carellus, cui Corllus, cui Porrex,[o] cui Charinus, cui Fulgonius, cui Eldadus, cui Androgius, cui Vrianus, cui Eliud, cui Clodaucus,[p] cui Cloternus,[q] cui Gurguncius, cui Merianus, cui Bladudo, cui Cap, cui Oenus,[r] cui Sisillius, cui Blegabradus: hic in musicis instrumentis et modulis omnes cantores excessit.[s] Post hunc Archinail, cui successit Addol, cui Redion, cui Rederchius, cui Samuil,[t] cui Penesil, cui Peir,[u] cui Capor, cui Cligut,[v] cui Eli filius eius. Post hunc Lud filius eius,[w] a quo Caerlud, que prius Trinouantum, et nunc per corruptionem Londonie[x] nomen habet.[y] [26]

[29]Huic successit Cassibellanus frater Lud, qui, a Iulio Cesare impugnatus, apud Dorobellum uicit Cesarem, Nennio fratre Cassibellani retinente in clipeo suo ensem Iulii, cum quo post quindecim dies apud Trinouantum est sepultus iuxta portam aquilonarem; est autem nomen ensis Crocea Mors. Cumque resumptis uiribus iterato Cesar Britaniam impeteret, collisis ad pallos in Thamasi fluuio fisos nauibus, Cesar ad Morinos et ad turrim Dodres in Flandria, ad tutamen suum erectam, fugere dum fugatur coactus est. Tercio per Androgeum nepotem Casibellani Trinouantum capitur, ipso eum inducente.[z] Huic ergo tributario facto in tribus milibus librarum argenti, successit Tenuancius,[a] frater Androgei,[b] filius Lud, dux Cornubie. Cui successit Cambelinus filius eius, cuius[c] tempore natus est Christus.[d][29]

[30]Cui successit Guiderius filius eius, quem tributum negantem Claudius Cesar, ab ipso primum uictus,[e] sumptis[f] armis Britannicis, fraudulenter interfecit apud Porecestriam.[31] Cui successit Arturagus

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[n] Cui . . . filius] *supplied by author N* [o] Porfy *N* [p] Glodoaueus *N*, Glodaucus *X*, Clodaneus *CI* [q] Cloterius *XQ* [r] Oeus *N* [s] ita ut deus ioculatorum diceretur *add. after* excessit *XQ* [t] Sannul *NX* [u] Seir *NACI* [v] Ceruigutellus *X*, Cuiguntellus *Q*, Gligut *I* [w] hic strenuus, bellicosus, et in epulis largus, muros Trinouanti turribus infinitis cinxit, palaciaque plurima in ea construi mandauit *add. β after* Lud filius eius *Q; after* Eli filius eius (Post hunc Lud filius eius *om.*) *X; after* cui Seir *I* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, c. 53 = ed. Griscom, iii. 20*) [x] Londouie *N* [y] habet *C;* habent *NAβ* [z] eo quod, parta de Iulio uictoria, sacrificiis diis immolatis, cum nepos Cassibellani Yreglas et nepos Androgei Coelinus in palustra (in pal.] impilestra *X*) ludentes se obiurgassent, Coelinus Yreglam occidit. Verum Androgeo ad penam capitis Coelinum neganti, Cassibellanus Trinouantum obsedit (obsidet *I*), unde Androgeus Cesarem euocat et regem uincit *add. after* inducente *XI* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, cc. 61–3 = ed. Griscom, iv. 8–10*) [a] Tenuencius *N* [b] Andogei *N* [c] cuius *supplied by author N* [d] Christus *om. XQ* (*space left in X*) Hunc sane Cambelinum Cesar armis decorauerat *add. after* natus est *XQ* [e] Claudius . . . uictus] Claudio Cesare ab ipso primum uicto, uersutus Hamo Romanus

reigned, and after him, Idvallo, son of Ingenius. Runo, son of Peredurus, succeeded Idvallo;[28] then came Catellus, then Coillus, then Porrex, then Cherin, then Fulgenius, then Eldadus, then Andragius, then Urianus, then Eliud, then Cledaucus, then Clotenus, then Gurguncius, then Merianus, then Bledudo, then Cap, then Oenus, then Sisillius, then Bledgabred; this last surpassed all other musicians in instrumental performance and composition. After him reigned Archmail, then Eldol, then Redion, then Rederchius, then Samuil, then Penessil, then Pir, then Capoir, then Eligueillus, then Eligueillus' son Heli. After Heli his son Lud reigned. Caerlud, which was formerly called Trinovantum, and has now been corrupted to London, took its name from him.[26]

[29]Lud's brother Cassibellanus succeeded him. He was attacked by Julius Caesar, and defeated him at Dorobellum. Cassibellanus' brother, Nennius, kept hold of Julius' sword when the latter drove it into his shield, and was buried with it fifteen days later in Trinovantum, beside the north gate; the sword's name is Golden Death. When Caesar had recovered his strength he launched another attack on Britain, but his ships ran against stakes which had been fixed in the river Thames; and so he was driven away, and forced to flee to the Morini and the tower of Odnea in Flanders, which he had built as a refuge for himself. At his third attempt Trinovantum fell into his hands through the agency of Androgeus, Cassibellanus' nephew, who himself led Caesar in. Androgeus then agreed to pay three thousand pounds of silver in tribute. His brother Tenvantius, son of Lud and duke of Cornwall, succeeded him. Tenvantius' son, Cymbeline, succeeded him; in his time Christ was born.[29]

[30]Cymbeline was succeeded by his son, Guiderius. When he refused to pay the tribute, Claudius Caesar, after initially suffering defeat at his hands, put on British arms and tricked him to his death at Porchester.[31] Guiderius was succeeded by his brother Arviragus,

dolose *XQ* [f] sunptis (p *inserted above line*) *N* frater eius,[g] qui in eodem prelio occiderat Lelium Hamonem, cuius consilio Claudius prelia gerebat, a quo Hantonia dicta, et Suthamtonia et Northamtonia, quasi australis et borealis mansio Hamonis. Post hec, confederatione facta cum Claudio,[h] Claudius construxit Caerglon,[i] hoc est Gloucestriam,[j] quasi Claudii[k] Cestriam, in confinio Cambrie et Loegrie. Eo tempore Petrus apostolus Antiocenam fundauit ecclesiam, ueniensque Romam misit Marcum in Egiptum ad predicandum euangelium quod scripsit.[l] [30]

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[28] Here Gervase has omitted Gerontius, or Gerennus, son of Elidurus and father of Catellus.

[29–29] Huic . . . natus est Christus] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 53–64 (= ed. Griscom, iii. 20—iv. 11).

[30–30] Cui . . . euangelium quod scripsit (p. 412)] Cf. ibid., cc. 65–8 (= ed. Griscom, iv. 12–15).

[31] In Geoffrey's account (c. 66) it was actually Lelius Hamo, Claudius' chief of staff, who disguised himself in British armour and killed Guiderius; Gervase's version is corrected to this effect in *X* and *Q* (see apparatus).

f. 40$^{\mathrm{v}}$ [32]Arturago successit in regnum filius suus Marius, qui | Roduc regem Pictorum uincens,[m] sociis eius dedit partem Scocie que Catanesia dicitur, qui carentes uxoribus transfretauerunt in Yberniam, et ex illis sic mixtis, nati[n] sunt Scoti. Huic successit filius eius Coillus,[o] uir strenuus et iustus et[p] Romanis plurimum fauorabilis.[32]

[33]Huic successit Lucius, ipso melior.[q] Hic primus peciit a papa Eleutherio doctrinam sibi dari fidei christiane;[r] qui duos ei religiosos doctores misit, Faganum et Duuianum. Hi pro uiginti octo flaminibus uiginti[s] octo episcopatus instituerunt; pro tribus archiflaminibus, tres archiepiscopos statuerunt: Londoniensem, Eboracensem, et Legionensem, que ciuitas Legionum super flumen Oscam in Glamorgantia sita fuit. Igitur Londoniensi subiacuit Loegria et Cornubia; Legionensi Cambria, Sabrino flumine ab aliis separata; Eboracensi Deira[t] et Albania, quas magnum flumen[u] Humbri a Loegria secernit, sicut Gildas[v] scribit. Hic Lucius omnia territoria templis pridem collata contulit ecclesiis et ampliauit.[33]

[34]Huic sine liberis mortuo[w] successit Seuerus legatus Romanorum, qui uallum inter Deiram[x] et Albaniam iussu imperatoris fecit.[35] Huic successit filius Bassianus,[y] quem Carausius Brito, ex infima gente

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[g] eiuss *N* [h] cepit in uxorem Gewissam filiam Claudii, et ob memoriam nupciarum eius *add. after* Claudio β (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, c. 68 = ed. Griscom, iv. 15*) [i] Caerglou *Q* [j] Glocestriam *N* [k] Claidii *N* [l] Porro Arturagus, cum descisset (decessisset *I*) a dicione Claudii, plurimum fatigatus a Vespasiano, per Claudium summus tamen (tamen] per hec *X*) habitus est in laude regum; de quo Iuuenalis: aut de temone Brittanno Decidet (decidit *I*) Arturagus *add. after* scripsit *XI* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB* (*vulgate text*), *c. 69 = ed. Griscom, iv. 16; Juvenal, Sat. iv. 126–7; line 127 in Juvenal reads:* Excidet Arviragus) [m] uenientem a Scithia (Scotia *I*) *add. after* uincens β; *space left in N* [n] nati|ti *N* [o] Coillius *N* [p] et *om. N* [q] inclior *N* [r] fidei christiane] christianam *XQ* [s] uinginti *N* [t] Deura (*altered from* Deira *by author*) *N* [u] flumem *N* [v] Gillas *N* [w] et in ecclesia prime sedis apud Claucestriam sepulto anno Domini centesimo quinquagesimo octauo *add. after* mortuo β; *written in margin of I* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, c. 73 = ed. Griscom, v. 1*) [x] Deuram (*altered from* Deiram *by author*) *N* [y] Basicinus *N;* ex matre Brittannica *add. after* Bassianus *XQ*

who in that same battle had killed Lelius Hamo. Hamo had acted as Claudius' adviser in his battle-tactics; Hampton is named after him, as are Southampton and Northampton, meaning Hamo's quarters in the south and the north. After this, Arviragus made an alliance with Claudius, and Claudius built Caerglou, that is, Gloucester, which means Claudius' Camp, on the border of Cambria and Loegria. At this time the apostle Peter founded the church at Antioch; he then came to Rome, and sent Mark to Egypt to preach the gospel of which he was the author.[30]

[32]Arviragus' son, Marius, succeeded him to the throne. He conquered Rodric, king of the Picts, and gave the part of Scotland which is known as Caithness to Rodric's followers. Since they had no wives, they crossed the sea to Ireland, and from the resulting unions the Scots were born. Marius was succeeded by his son, Coillus, a strong man who upheld justice and had a great esteem for the Romans.[32]

[33]Coillus was succeeded by Lucius, who was even better than his father. It was he who first requested of Pope Eleutherius that instruction in the Christian faith should be given to him. Eleutherius sent him two learned and religious men, Faganus and Duvianus. These men set up twenty-eight bishoprics in place of the twenty-eight flamens; in place of the three archflamens, they appointed the three archbishops of London, York, and Legions. (This last, the city of the Legions, was situated on the river Usk in Glamorgan.) So, as Gildas writes, Loegria and Cornwall were subject to the archbishop of London; Cambria, divided from Loegria and Cornwall by the river Severn, to the archbishop of Legions; and Deira and Albany, which the great river Humber divides from Loegria, to the archbishop of York. This same Lucius conferred on the churches all the domains which had formerly belonged to the temples, and more too.[33]

[34]When he died without issue, he was succeeded by Severus, sent as legate by the Romans. On the emperor's orders, Severus built a wall between Deira and Albany.[35] His son, Bassianus, succeeded him, but he was killed by a Briton of low birth, Carausius, who had been

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[32–32] Arturago . . . Romanis plurimum fauorabilis] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 70–1 (= ed. Griscom, iv. 17–18).

[33–33] Huic . . . ecclesiis et ampliauit] Cf. ibid., cc. 72–3 (= ed. Griscom, iv. 19—v. 1).

[34–34] Huic . . . cum Brittonibus permanserunt (p. 414)] Cf. ibid., cc. 74–5 (= ed. Griscom, v. 2–3).

[35] i.e. Hadrian's Wall.

procreatus, ordinatus Rome ut piratas[z] arceret, occidit, et ita in regnum eius successit, dans Piccis locum in Albania, ubi mixti cum Brittonibus permanserunt.[34]

[36]Huic successit Allectes, Roma missus ut Carausium occideret. Quo perempto, quia Allecto Britones opprimebat[a] eo quod Carausio adheserant, tandem Asclepiodotum ducem Cornubie in regem erexerunt. Qui Allectum peremit, et conuocatis Demetis, Venedotis, Deiris, et Albanis, Gallum, Allecti collegam, Londoniis obsessum ac deditum decollari fecit apud torentem Nautgallum, quod Anglice sonat Gallebroc, a cede eiusdem Galli sic nominatum.[36]

[37]Isto regnante, orta est persecutio Diocletiani, cuius legatus Maximianus Herculius, princeps milicie[b] tyranni, ecclesias Brittonum subuertit, omnes christianos deleuit, Albanum, magistrum militum in Brittannia, apud[c] Verolamium occidit, ubi nunc abbatia est sancti Albani, uiginti milibus passuum a Londonensi ciuitate. Iulium uero et Araon, ciues urbis Legionum, occidit; Amfibalus, doctor Albani, mutatis uestibus, occultatus est.[37]

[38]Interea Coel dux Caercolum, hoc est Colecestrie, conserto prelio peremit Asclepiodotum et regnum accepit. Exhinc Constantius[d] senator Britanniam ingressus, pacificatus cum Coel, intra paucos dies mortuo Coel successit in regnum, ducta Elena filia Coel, in musicis instrumentis et liberalibus artibus doctissima. Ex qua nascitur Constantinus, qui patri apud Eboracum sepulto successit in regnum. Quo facto imperatore, successit in regnum Octauius rex[e] Gewisseorum, usque ad tempus Graciani et Valentiniani.[38]

[39]Hic filiam suam cum regno dedit Maximiano senatori, consanguineo Constantini, nepoti Coel ducis Brittonum, patre Brittanno, filio Loeli, auunculo Constantini, et matre et natione Romano. Regnauit ergo Maximianus, et Brittanniam minorem, que citra

[z] piratas *supplied by author N* [a] aprimebat *N* [b] predicti *add. after* milicie *XQ* [c] apud *supplied by author N* [d] Constantinus *NX* [e] dux *XQ and Geoffrey of Monmouth*

[36–36] Huic . . . Galli sic nominatum] Cf. ibid., c. 76 (= ed. Griscom, v. 4). Gervase appears to have been uncertain of the correct nominative form of Allectus, trying first *Allectes* and then *Allecto;* the latter was perhaps attracted into the ablative form by the preceding ablative absolute. There are some perceptive remarks on Geoffrey's treatment of Carausius and Allectus in P. J. Casey, *Carausius and Allectus: The British Usurpers* (London, 1994), pp. 169–71.

[37–37] Isto . . . uestibus, occultatus est] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, c. 77 (= ed. Griscom, v. 5).

[38–38] Interea . . . Graciani et Valentiniani] Cf. ibid., cc. 78–80 (= ed. Griscom, v. 6–8).

given a commission in Rome to ward off pirates; and so Carausius succeeded Bassianus to the throne. He gave the Picts some land in Albany, and they settled there permanently, intermarrying with the Britons.[34]

[36]Carausius' successor was Allectus, who was sent from Rome to remove Carausius. Once Carausius had been killed, Allectus dealt out harsh treatment to the Britons for having supported him, until eventually they raised Asclepiodotus, duke of Cornwall, to the kingship. He killed Allectus and, summoning the Demetae, the Venedoti, the Deiri, and the Albani, he put Gallus, Allectus' fellow-officer, under siege in London. When he surrendered, Asclepiodotus had him beheaded by the brook Nantgallum, or *Galobroc* in English, so-called from the slaying of this same Gallus.[36]

[37]During the reign of Asclepiodotus, the persecution of Diocletian began. Maximianus Herculius, the tyrant's military commander, was sent as legate, and he demolished the churches of the Britons, slaughtering all the Christians. He killed Alban, the commander of the army in Britain, at Verulamium, where the abbey of St Albans now stands, twenty miles from the city of London. He also killed Julius and Aaron, who lived in the city of the Legions; but Alban's instructor in the faith, Amphibalus, escaped detection by changing his clothes.[37]

[38]Meanwhile Coel, duke of Caercolim, that is, Colchester, killed Asclepiodotus in a pitched battle and seized the kingdom. At this the senator Constantius came to Britain. He came to terms with Coel, and when Coel died a few days later he succeeded to the throne, marrying Coel's daughter Helena, who was highly proficient in playing musical instruments and in all the liberal arts. She gave birth to a son, Constantine, who succeeded his father to the throne; Constantius was buried in York. But Constantine was made emperor, and then Octavius, king of the Gewissei, succeeded to the throne and ruled until the time of Gratian and Valentinian.[38]

[39]Octavius gave his daughter, and with her his kingdom, to the senator Maximianus, a relation of Constantine's: he was a nephew of the British duke Coel, and was British on his father's side, being the son of Loelinus, Constantine's uncle, but on his mother's side and by race he was a Roman. So Maximianus ruled, and he subjugated Little Britain, known as Armorica, this side of the

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[39–39] Hic . . . Britanniam missum fugantur (p. 416)] Cf. ibid., cc. 81–8 (= ed. Griscom, v. 9–16).

mare Britannicum[40] Armorica dicitur, subiugauit, perempto duce Vmbaldo, ipsamque Conano dedit;[f] uocans eam Britanniam minorem,[g] repleuit Britonibus, expulsis Gallis. Exhinc Maximianus, Germania quoque subiugata, tronum imperii sui[h] statuit Treueris, duosque inperatores deiecit, Valentinianum et Gratianum,[41] uno perempto, altero a Roma fugato. Conanus uero rex Armoricus, propter infestationes Gallorum, duxit filiam Dionoti regis Cornubie,[42] f. 41^{r} qui Caradoco[i] | fratri successerat in regnum, et cum undecim milia uirginum[j] militibus suis dari postulasset a Brittonibus, in mari periclitate sunt, aut ab exercitu Ganii et Melge, regis scilicet Humorum et Pictorum, martirio tradite. Tunc iidem principes, fauctores Gratiani et Valentiniani,[k] Britanniam uastant, sed per Gratianum municipem[l][43] a Maximiano[m] ad Britanniam missum fugantur.[39]

[44]Mortuo ergo Maximiano, Gratianus regnum obtinuit et interfectus est. Brittonibus ergo a Guanio rege Humorum et Melga Pictorum et Dacis et Noruegensibus lacessitis, consilio Guitelini Londoniensis archiepiscopi,[n] Adroenus rex Armoricus Constantinum fratrem suum in regem maioris Brittannie concessit.[o] Cui uiriliter regnanti successit Constans filius, monacus factus in ecclesia sancti Amfibali Guintonie,[p] et exinde promotus a Vortigerno[q] consule Gloecestrie. Sed in breui Constans a Pictis, familiaribus suis,[r] occiditur et Vortigernus in regem erigitur.[s][44]

[45]Eius tempore applicuerunt in Britannia Saxones Hengistus et Horsus cum socia multitudine, et a Vortigerno recepti possessionibus ditantur, dato solo ad mensuram corii bouini propter munitionem edificandam, que exinde Thwancastria, quasi castrum corigie,

[f] dedit *supplied by author N* [g] et *add. after* minorem *XQ* [h] sui *supplied by author N* [i] Caradaco *N* [j] uirginum *supplied by author N* [k] Valantiniani *N* [l] minicipem *N* [m] Ma | maximiano *N* [n] archiepiscopi *supplied by author N* [o] qui tres genuit filios, Constantem, Aurelium Ambrosium, et Ether Pendragon *add. after* concessit *β* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, c. 93 = ed. Griscom, vi. 5*) [p] Guitonie *N* [q] Vortigeno *N, here and in most subsequent occurrences* [r] per (propter *X*) Vortigernum factis *add. after* suis *XQ* [s] cuius proditionem timentes, nutritores fratrum (factum *X*, *om. Q*) cum pueris (ipsis *Q*) in Armoricum sinum secesserunt *add. after* erigitur *β*; *written in margin of I* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, c. 96 = ed. Griscom, vi. 8*)

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[40] This phrase was inserted by Gervase, from the perspective of someone who had learnt to call the Mediterranean *mare nostrum*.

[41] According to Geoffrey, Gratian was killed and Valentinian put to flight. Gervase has reversed the order of names, either by mistake, or supposing that the Gratian mentioned at the end of this paragraph was the emperor.

British Sea,[40] killing Duke Humbald. He gave Armorica to Conanus, and calling it Little Britain, he drove out the Gauls and filled it with Britons. Maximianus then went on to subjugate Germany as well, and established the capital of his empire at Trier. He overthrew the two emperors, Valentinian and Gratian,[41] killing the one and forcing the other to flee from Rome. Meanwhile Conanus, king of Armorica, was suffering harassment at the hands of the Gauls, and on this account he married the daughter of Dionotus, king of Cornwall,[42] who had succeeded his brother Caradoc on the throne. He also asked that eleven thousand virgins should be sent by the Britons for his soldiers, but they ran into peril at sea, and the survivors were delivered up to martyrdom by the army of Guanius and Melga, kings respectively of the Huns and the Picts. Then these same rulers, who favoured the cause of Gratian and Valentinian, ravaged Britain; but they were put to flight by Gratian, a citizen[43] sent to Britain by Maximianus.[39]

[44]So then, on the death of Maximianus, Gratian seized the throne, but he was assassinated. Then, because the Britons were being harassed by Guanius, king of the Huns, and Melga, king of the Picts, and by the Danes and Norwegians too, at the urging of Guithelinus, archbishop of London, Aldroenus, king of Armorica, agreed to send his brother Constantine to be king of Great Britain. After an energetic reign he was succeeded by his son Constans, who had become a monk at the monastery of St Amphibalus in Winchester; he was raised from there to the kingship by Vortigern, earl of Gloucester. But soon afterwards Constans was killed by some Picts, members of his own household, and Vortigern ascended the throne.[44]

[45]In the time of Vortigern the Saxons Hengist and Horsa landed in Britain with a large band of companions; Vortigern welcomed them and endowed them with possessions. When they asked if they could build a castle, he allowed them as much land as could be marked out by a thong of ox-hide; the castle is therefore called Thanceastre,

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[42] i.e. St Ursula; she is named in some MSS of Geoffrey (*HRB*, ed. Wright, ii. 77, c. 87).

[43] This *Gratianus municeps* was not the emperor; *municeps* probably means a citizen of a fortified city or *municipium*. Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, vii. 40. 4; Bede, *HE*, p. 39, n. 3.

[44–44] Mortuo . . . in regem erigitur] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 89–97 (= ed. Griscom, v. 17—vi. 9).

[45–45] Eius . . . est: 'bibe hilariter' (p. 418)] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 98–100 (= ed. Griscom, vi. 10–12). On Thanceastre, see Liebrecht, p. 97; J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Legendary History of Britain* (Berkeley, 1950), p. 24.

nuncupatur. Hengisti quoque filia illud sollempne ac diuulgatum ciforum inuitatorium inuenit: '*weschail*', quod interpretatur: 'sis hilaris', et e contra respondetur: '*drinchail*',[t] hoc est: 'bibe hilariter'.[45] Sed et[u] in Britannico sonant *cantinoch* et *boduit*.[46] Ab istis Sasonibus, ab Engla insula uenientibus, seminarium ortum est Anglorum.

[47]Duxit ergo[v] filiam Hengisti adhuc pagani Vortigernus, unde corrupta fuit sincera fides Britonum et[w] ad Pelagianam heresim declinare ceperunt.[48] Sunt tamen a beato Germano Antisiodorensi et sancto Lupo Trecacensi episcopis predicantibus conuersi. Vnde consilio Britonum Vortigerno eiecto, Vortinus eius filius in regem erigitur, et Saxones cum rege eiciuntur. Vortino per nouercam filiam Hengisti nouercaliter occiso, redit Vortigernus in regnum, reuocatoque Hengisto socero cum innumera Saxonum copia, fit ab illis in pago Ambrii[x] [49] proditio, in qua nobiles quadringenti octoginta[y] et consules fere omnes Britonum, occultis Saxonum cutellis, perimuntur. Tunc urbibus a potestate Vortigerni ereptis,[z] consilio Britonum edificauit Vortigernus turrim super ripam exhausti gurgitis, in cuius edificatione Merlinus[a] prophetare cepit de draconibus e stagno egressis, quorum alter rubeus Britones, alter albus Saxones notat.[47]

[50]Completa igitur prophecia ut Merlinus predixerat, Aurelius Ambrosius ex Armorico[b] sinu[c] ueniens applicuit et Vortigernum[d] occidit cum Hengisto aliisque[e] Sasonibus, fecitque ad memoriam nobilium, qui pridem[f] in proditione Saxonum per Vortigernum fuerant perempti, lapides olim in Childardo monte Ybernie collocatos ad Ambresbiriam per Merlinum locari in modum coree, sicut a

[t] dricail *N* [u] et *om. XI* [v] Ronuen *X*, Ronwen *Q add. after* ergo [w] quia pridem *add. after* et *XQ* [x] simulato pacis inter ipsos et Britones negocio *add. after* Ambrii *XQ* [y] *sic MSS;* (iugulauerunt) circiter quatringentos sexaginta *Geoffrey of Monmouth* [z] per Saxones ac depredatis *add. after* ereptis *XQ* [a] ex filia regis Demecie et incubo spiritu in forma hominis ad eam accedente genitus *add. after* Merlinus *XQ* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, cc. 106–7 = ed. Griscom, vi. 17–18*) [b] Armonico (*altered from* Armorico *by author*) *N*, *X* [c] *Here the rubricator of N wrote in a gap in the text:* Hic interserutur profecia Merlinni; *these words also appear as a rubric in A* [d] Vortigennum *N* [e] aliisque] quem Eldold comes Glocestrie peremit cum aliis *XQ* [f] pridam *N*

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[46] Professor Patrick Sims-Williams and Dr Marged Haycock suggest that *cantinoch* could be Old Welsh (or Cornish or Breton) *can*(*t*) *tin uch*, meaning 'with bottom up' (cf. 'bottoms up!' in English), while *boduit* could be Old Welsh (or Breton) *bod* (*d*)*it*, meaning 'goodwill to you' or 'thanks to you', influenced by Middle Irish *is buide duit*, 'it is well for you', or else equivalent to Modern Welsh *boddwyd*, 'it/he has been drowned', which is used metaphorically to mean 'celebrate'. The word *can* is attested in Welsh from the beginning of the seventeenth century with the meaning 'tankard'; it is quite conceivable that this loanword from English *can* was in the language for centuries before its first attestation, in which case the phrase would mean 'tankard bottom up!'.

which means 'the castle of the thong'. It was Hengist's daughter who introduced the well-known custom of extending a solemn invitation to drink by saying: 'wes hāl', which means 'be merry'; to this the guest in turn replies: 'drinc hāl', that is, 'drink merrily'.[45] In the British tongue the corresponding words are *cantinoch* and *boduit*.[46] From these Saxons, who came from the island of Engla, sprang the English race.

[47]Vortigern married this daughter of the still pagan Hengist, and as a result the pure faith of the Britons was corrupted and they began to fall away into the Pelagian heresy.[48] However, they were converted back again by the preaching of two bishops, the blessed Germanus of Auxerre, and St Lupus of Troyes. And so the Britons decided to expel Vortigern, and his son Vortimer was raised to the kingship, the Saxons being driven out along with Vortigern. But, like a true stepmother, Hengist's daughter murdered Vortimer, her step-son, and Vortigern then returned to the kingdom. He recalled his father-in-law Hengist, who came with an innumerable force of Saxons. An act of treachery was perpetrated by these Saxons at Amesbury:[49] they hid knives on their persons, and massacred four hundred and eighty of the British nobles, including practically all the earls. Next the cities were wrested from Vortigern's control. Then, on the advice of the Britons, Vortigern built a tower on the bank of a drained pool. While it was being built, Merlin began to prophesy, explaining the significance of the dragons which emerged from the pool: one of these was red and represented the Britons, while the other was white and represented the Saxons.[47]

[50]The prophecy was fulfilled as Merlin had foretold: Aurelius Ambrosius, coming from the Gulf of Armorica, landed in Britain and killed Vortigern along with Hengist and the rest of the Saxons. As a memorial to the nobles whom Vortigern had recently led to their deaths at the treacherous hands of the Saxons, he had some stones, which had long stood on Mount Killaraus in Ireland, set up near Amesbury by Merlin in the form of a ring, just as they had originally

[47–47] Duxit . . . albus Saxones notat] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 100–12 (= ed. Griscom, vi. 12—vii. 3).

[48] According to Geoffrey (c. 100) and Bede (*HE* i. 17), the Pelagian heresy had already taken root in Britain before the arrival of the Saxons.

[49] Gervase's *pagus Ambrii* here and *Ambresbiria* below correspond to Geoffrey's *Ambrii cenobium* or *Ambrii mons*, i.e. Amesbury, near Stonehenge.

[50–50] Completa . . . annos sepultus fuit (p. 420)] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 118–34 (= ed. Griscom, viii. 1–16); *Otia*, i. 23, pp. 150–3.

gigantibus fuerant dispositi, unde et in eiusdem coree medio Aurelius Ambrosius[g] post aliquot annos sepultus fuit.[50]

[51]Cui successit Vther frater eius. Verum in morte Aurelii apparuit stella, unicum habens radium, mire pulcritudinis atque magnitudinis; ad radium erat globus igneus in similitudinem draconis extensus, ex cuius ore duo procedebant radii, quorum unus ultra Gallias, alter in Yberniam uergens in septem minores radios terminabatur. | f. 41^{v} Hanc autem nouitatis apparentiam[h] Merlinus exposuit, dicens sidus esse Vther et draconem sub sidere; radium ultra Gallias protensum Arturum, cuius potentia sibi regna Galliarum subiciet; radium minorem filiam, cuius filii ac nepotes Britannie Hybernieque regnum obtinebunt, per septem regulos diuisum.[52] Audita igitur expositione,[i] Vther duos iussit ex auro dracones fabricari, unum dans maiori sedi Guintonie, alterum sibi reseruans in preliis, et exinde uocatus est Vther Pandragon in lingua Troiana, quod sonat Latine[j] 'caput draconis'.[51] Hinc prodiit regium[k] illud[l] apud Anglos uexillum, draconem habens cum capite aureo, quod[m] uicinis expertum et paganis, sub auunculo tuo, illustri rege Ricardo, in ultramarinis[n] partibus terribile, princeps christianissime.[53]

[54]Sane Vther in amorem Igerne uxoris Gorlois, ducis Cornubie, uehementer exardens, occulta Merlini ocultatione et incantatione faciem Gurlais induit. Vlfin,[o] familiaris Vther, assumpsit speciem Iordani, cui castrum Tintagol dux cum uxore[p] commisserat; sed et ipse Merlinus, mutata specie,[q] cum Vther castrum ingreditur inexpugnabile. Vther ergo Igernam, specie uiri seductam, cognouit pregnantemque reliquit. Sicque capto castro Dumilioc in quo dux ad tuendum se incluserat, dux occiditur, ductisque similitudinibus ad uerum Vther Igernam duxit uxorem, ex qua genuit Artturum et Anam.[54]

[g] ab Eapa Saxone, familiari Pascentii filii Vortigerni, cum sub habitu monachi (monachali *X*) mentitus se medicum potionem egrotanti dedisset, diem clausit extremum ac *add. after* Ambrosius *XQ* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, c. 132 = ed. Griscom, viii. 14*) [h] apparantiam *N* [i] expositionem *N* [j] *sic MSS;* Britannica lingua *Geoffrey of Monmouth* [k] regnum *NX* [l] illud *supplied by author N* [m] quod *supplied by author N* [n] ultramarnis *N* [o] Vlfin *supplied by author N* [p] cum uxore *supplied by author N* [q] in Britaelem (Brittaelencum *X*) *add. after* specie *XQ*

[51–51] Cui . . . Latine 'caput draconis'] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 133–5 (= ed. Griscom, viii. 14–17).

[52] The text of Geoffrey here (c. 133) reads: 'cuius filii et nepotes regnum Britannie succedenter habebunt' ('whose sons and grandsons will hold the kingship of Britain one after the other'). Gervase has added *Hybernieque*, and his *diuisum* implies that Anna's descendants would rule concurrently rather than successively.

been arranged by the giants. And so a few years later Aurelius Ambrosius was buried in the middle of this same ring.[50]

[51]His brother Uther succeeded him. Now on the death of Aurelius there appeared a star of extraordinary beauty and size, shedding a single ray; at the end of the ray was a ball of fire, extended in the shape of a dragon. From the dragon's mouth there proceeded two further rays, one of which stretched beyond Gaul, while the other, turning towards Ireland, split into seven smaller rays at the end. Merlin explained this strange portent, saying that the star, and the dragon beneath it, represented Uther; the ray stretching beyond Gaul was Arthur, who would be so powerful that he would bring the kingdoms of Gaul under his rule; the smaller ray was Uther's daughter, whose sons and grandsons would hold the kingdom of Britain and Ireland, divided among seven rulers.[52] When he had heard this explanation, Uther ordered two dragons to be fashioned out of gold. He gave one to the great cathedral church of Winchester, and kept the other for himself, to have by him in his battles. From then on he was called Uther Pendragon in the Trojan tongue, which means 'dragon's head'.[51] This was the origin of the royal banner of the English, featuring a dragon with a golden head. This banner, which was already well-known to the neighbouring peoples, has now also become an object of terror to the pagans of Outremer, most Christian Prince, having been carried there by your uncle, the illustrious King Richard.[53]

[54]Now Uther was consumed with an ardent love for Ygerna, the wife of Gorlois, duke of Cornwall. So by a secret enchantment worked by Merlin, he disguised himself and put on Gorlois' appearance. His friend Ulfin took on the semblance of Jordan, into whose charge the duke had entrusted the castle of Tintagel, along with his wife; and Merlin himself changed his appearance and entered the impregnable castle with Uther. Uther then lay with Ygerna, who was deceived by his resemblance to her husband, and left her with child. Meanwhile, the castle of Dimilioc, in which the duke had shut himself for protection, was taken, and the duke was killed. They all then resumed their true appearance, and Uther took Ygerna as his wife. He had two children by her, Arthur and Anna.[54]

[53] An allusion to Richard I's participation in the Third Crusade (1191–2). The Holy Land was commonly referred to as the land 'beyond the sea'.

[54–54] Sane . . . Artturum et Anam] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 137–8 (= ed. Griscom, viii. 19–20).

[55]Diem functo[r] post multos actus strenuos Vther Pendragon, successit Arcturus,[s] qui cum Eolo rege Armoricorum,[t] filio sororis Arcturi ex Bidutio Armoricorum rege generato,[56] Saxones Colgrinium et Baldulfum ipsumque ducem Germanie Childricum, post multas uicti uictorisque[u] fortunas, expulit a Britannia atque peremit. Hic[v] Scotos, Pictos, et Ybernienses tercio contra se et Eolum dimicantes, in stagno Murais obsessos capit. Erat autem[w] stagnum[x] Lumonoy dictum, sexaginta insulas continens et sexaginta flumina recipiens, nec ex eis preter unum aliquod ad mare decurrit. Porro in insulis sexaginta totidem sunt rupes et totidem aquilarum nidi, que quotannis[y] conuenientes prodigium quod erat in regno uenturum nouaque superuentura, celso clamore communiter edito, notificabant.[55]

[57]Erat et aliud non longe ab hinc stagnum,[z] longitudinem habens uiginti pedum totidemque in latitudine, altitudinem quinque, siue natura siue humano artificio constructum. Hoc quatuor piscium[a] genera intra[b] quatuor angulos producebat, nec in aliqua parte alterius partis pisces reperiebantur.[c]

Est et aliud stagnum in confinio Guallliarum, siue Cambrie, prope Sabrinum flumen, quod incole Linliwan dicunt. Hoc, cum in ipsum mare fluctuat, recipitur in modum uoraginis, sorbendoque fluctus nullatenus repletur ut riparum marginem[d] operiat; at dum mare decrescit,[e] eructat ad instar montis absortas aquas quibus demum ripas tegit et aspergit. Interim si tota gens regionis illius facie recta prope astaret, recepta intra uestes undarum aspergine, uel uix uel nunquam elabi ualeret quin a stagno suffocaretur; tergo autem uerso non est irroracio timenda, si quis eciam in ripa consisteret.[f][57]

[r] Diem functo] Defuncto *ACQI;* per aque intoxicate haustum *add. after* functo *XQ* [s] tunc .xv. annorum iuuenis, inaudite uirtutis et largitatis *add. after* Arturus *XQ* [t] Armoricorium *N* [u] uicti uictorisque] -i uic- *expunged, leaving* uicttorisque *N* [v] hinc *XQ* [w] illic *add. after* autem *XQ* [x] stangnum *N* [y] que quotannis *supplied by author N* [z] stangnum *N* [a] piscuum *N* [b] intra *supplied by author N* [c] reperiebantur *supplied by author N* [d] margine *N* [e] *At this point a lacuna occurs in N; see pp. lxxix–lxxx above. A marginal note in the hand of the author supplies the instruction:* transi ad proximam paginam et ipsa perlecta reuerte ubi dimittis; *the page in question (f. 43) has, however, been lost. The text of the following passage has been based on A and C* [f] Erat autem Arcturus inter prelia lorica rege digna indutus, auream galeam dracone insculptam gestans, clipeum, cui nomen Pridwen, in quo Beate Virginis Marie ymago picta erat quam semper in memoriam reducebat, Caliburnum gladium in insula Aualonis fabricatum, lanceam nomine Ron, arduam, latam, et cladibus aptam *add. after* consisteret *XQ (cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, c. 147 = ed. Griscom, ix. 4)*

[55–55] Diem . . . communiter edito, notificabant] Cf. ibid., cc. 142–9 (= ed. Griscom, viii. 24—ix. 6).

[55]Uther Pendragon died after performing many mighty deeds, and was succeeded by Arthur. With the help of King Hoel of Armorica (Arthur's sister's son, whose father was Budicius, king of Armorica),[56] after many vicissitudes, in which he was now defeated and now victorious, Arthur drove the Saxons out of Britain, killing their leaders Colgrin and Baldulf, and Cheldric himself, the duke of Germany. The Scots, the Picts, and the Irish fought three times against Arthur and Hoel, but Arthur finally captured them after a siege at a lake in Moray. The name of this lake was Loch Lomond. It contains sixty islands, and has sixty streams flowing into it, though only one of these flows on from the loch to the sea. On the sixty islands there are sixty crags and sixty eagles' nests. The eagles used to gather there each year and give notice of any prodigy that was to occur in the kingdom or of any other forthcoming events by emitting a shrill cry in unison.[55]

[57]There was another pool not far from this place, which was twenty feet long, twenty feet wide, and five feet deep. It is not known whether it occurred naturally, or was constructed by human artifice. It produced four different kinds of fish in its four corners, and the fish that belonged in one part were never found in any other.

There is also a pool on the border of Wales, or Cambria, near the river Severn, which the locals call Linliwan. When the sea flows into this pool, it is swallowed up as if it were flowing into a bottomless pit, and as long as the pool is gulping down the sea-water, its level never rises enough to wet the top of its banks; but while the sea is ebbing out, the pool belches up the water it has swallowed in a mountainous mass, and then at last it covers its banks and splashes over them. If in the mean time the whole population of that area were to stand nearby with their faces turned towards the pool, allowing the spray from the water to fall inside their clothes, it would be difficult, if not impossible, for them to avoid getting drowned in the pool; but if they should turn their backs on it, there would be nothing to fear in being sprinkled, even if someone were to stand right on the edge.[57]

[56] In c. 139, Geoffrey states that Arthur's sister Anna was given in marriage to Loth of Lothian. In c. 152 he says of Loth that 'tempore Aurelii sororem ipsius duxerat', where *ipsius* could refer either to Aurelius or to Arthur; in his version of this passage, Gervase says: 'tempore Aurelii Ambrosii sororem Arthuri duxerat' (see below, p. 424); this ignores the fact that Uther's encounter with Ygerna only took place after Aurelius' death. Hoel could have been Arthur's cousin, the son of Aurelius Ambrosius' sister.

[57–57] Erat . . . in ripa consisteret] Cf. ibid., c. 150 (= ed. Griscom, ix. 7). On the Celtic origins of these marvels, see G. Milin, 'Geoffroi de Monmouth et les merveilles du lac de

[58]Arthurus igitur, expulsis Saxonibus, ecclesias restituit, proceres patriis honoribus honorauit. Angesilum in regem Scotorum, Vrianum fratrem in regem Murefensium[g] instituit; Loth, qui tempore Aurelii Ambrosii sororem Arthuri duxerat,[59] ex qua Galuannum et Modredum genuerat, consulem Londonie et prouinciarum sibi adiacencium instituit.[h] Hiberniam, Orcades insulas, Daciam, Gothlandiam, et Norueiam sceptro suo subiecit, illas Loth sororio suo gubernandas commendans. Exhinc inuadit Gallias: Frollonem, tribunum Roma missum ad custodiendas Gallias,[i] Parisius in[j] insula extra muros singulari duello uicit et occidit;[k] Gunthardum Pictauensium ducem dicioni sue subiecit; Guasconiam expugnans,[l] ferro flammaque depopulans, ipsam tandem subiugauit.[m] [60] Mensam Rotundam instituit apud Cornubiam in insula[n] fatata. Emensis itaque nouem annis,[o] cum tocius Gallie partes sue potestati submisisset, consilio Parisius celebrato statum regni sub lege ac pace confirmans, duodecim pares instituit, Buduero pincerne Andegauiam,[61] Kaio dapifero Neustriam, que[p] est Normannia, largiens.[58]

[62]Exhinc curiam in Cambria, ciuitate Legionum, ad sanctum festum Pentecostes celebrauit, in Clamargancia super Oscam fluuium. Sane ciuitas Legionum duabus eminebat ecclesiis, una Deo dicatarum uirginum sub honore Iulii martiris, altera sancti Aaron, socii eius, canonicorum conuentu instructa; terciam habebat ecclesiam, tocius tunc[q] Britannie primatem.[63] Nec inmerito quarto loco commendabile fuit gimnasium, regiis sumptibus instructum

[g] *sic QI;* Murefensiuum *A*, Murefensum *C* [h] Erat tunc Galuannus filius eiusdem Loth duodecim annorum iuuenis, obsequio Sulpicii pape ab auunculo traditus, a quo arma recepit. Ad hec Arcturus *add. after* instituit *XQ* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, c. 154 = ed. Griscom, ix. 11*) [i] sub Leone imperatore *add. after* Gallias *XQ* [j] in *β; om. A;* que est *C* [k] ut (unde *X*) enim erectis lanceis aduersi stabant, admissis equis, grauibus se ictibus feriunt. Arcturus Frollonem lancea pectori infixa prostrauit. Frollo erectus lancea Arcturum equumque letaliter deiecit uulneratum. Mox pedites utrique, mox Frollo, in fronte Arcturum grauiter uulnerans, ab irato, uiso cruore in lorica et clipeo, capite conscisso periit (perit *X*) *add. after* occidit *XQ* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, c. 155 = ed. Griscom, ix. 12*) [l] *sic β;* expungnans *AC* [m] ferro . . . subiugauit] *om. A* [n] silua *CXQ* [o] annis *β and Geoffrey of Monmouth;* mensibus *AC* [p] nunc *add. after* que *β* [q] tunc] nunc *QI;* maioris *A*

Linligwan: l'émergence d'un nouvel imaginaire culturel', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, xxxviii (1995), 173–83; cf. *Otia*, iii. 89, n. 2.

[58–58] Arthurus . . . est Normannia, largiens] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 151–5 (= ed. Griscom, ix. 8–11). Gervase has inserted the references to the Round Table and the Twelve Peers.

[58]So, then, once Arthur had driven out the Saxons, he rebuilt the churches, and restored their hereditary honours to the nobles. He established Anguselus as king of Scotland, his brother Urian as king of Moray, and Loth as earl of Lothian and its adjoining provinces. (In the time of Aurelius Ambrosius Loth had married Arthur's sister,[59] and he had had two sons by her, Gawain and Mordred.) Arthur subjected to his sway Ireland, the Orkney Isles, Denmark, Gotland, and Norway, entrusting their government to his brother-in-law Loth. Then he invaded Gaul. The tribune Frollo had been sent from Rome to protect Gaul, but Arthur defeated and killed him in single combat at Paris, on an island outside the walls. He subdued Guitard, duke of Poitou, to his rule, and attacking Gascony, he ravaged it with fire and sword until he finally subjugated it.[60] He instituted the Round Table on an enchanted island in Cornwall. Then when nine years had passed and he had brought all the regions of Gaul under his control, he held a council in Paris, at which he confirmed the security of the kingdom under a legal and peaceful administration. He instituted the Twelve Peers, and gave Anjou to his cup-bearer Bedevere,[61] and Neustria, that is, Normandy, to his seneschal Kay.[58]

[62]Then Arthur held a court for the holy festival of Pentecost in Cambria, at the city of the Legions on the river Usk in Glamorgan. This city was noted for its two churches: one of these, built in honour of the martyr Julius, belonged to a community of virgins consecrated to God, while the other, dedicated to Julius' companion St Aaron, was served by a house of canons; the city had a third church, which at that time held the primacy of all Britain.[63] And deservedly holding the fourth place of honour was its college, which housed two hundred philosophers at the king's expense; learned in the liberal arts, they

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[59] See n. 56 above.

[60] According to Geoffrey (c. 155) it was Hoel who subdued Guitard and ravaged Gascony, on Arthur's orders.

[61] Gervase has inverted the order; cf. Geoffrey (loc. cit.): 'Bedeuero pincerne suo Neustriam, que nunc Normannia dicitur, donauit Keyoque dapifero Andegauensem prouinciam' ('he gave Neustria, now called Normandy, to his cup-bearer Bedevere, and the province of Anjou to his seneschal Kay').

[62–62] Exhinc . . . uenturos euentus prenunciabant (p. 426)] Cf. ibid., c. 156 (= ed. Griscom, ix. 12).

[63] Here Gervase has altered Geoffrey's statement (loc. cit.) that the church of St Aaron 'tertiam sedem metropolitanam Britannie continebat' ('counted as the third metropolitan see of Britain'), harmonizing it with the account of the metropolitans of Britain which he has given in ii. 10 (pp. 310–13). Later, when Loegria was taken over by the Saxons, Legions remained as the one metropolitan see of the Britons.

ducentorum philosophorum, qui liberalibus artibus eruditi, cursus stellarum rimabantur et Arthuro uenturos euentus prenunciabant.[62]

[64]Enimuero in curia solenni tres tunc erant archipresules, Legionensis, Londoniensis,[r] Eboracensis. Hii tres in palacio regali regem coronauerunt. Quatuor reges suffraganei quatuor aureos gladios preferebant: Angesilus rex Albanie (que nunc est Scocia), Cador rex Cornubie, Stater rex Dumecie (que nunc est *Suthgales*, id est Guallia austrina), Caduallo Venedocie (que nunc *Northgales*, id est Guallia borealis); porro Vrianus rex Murefensium, cum decem comitibus Palatinis quos consules nuncupabant. Sunt autem hii: comes Claudiocestrie,[s] comes Guigornie,[t] comes Cestrie,[u] comes Caergueirensis, hoc est de Warwik, comes Leircestrensis, comes Saresberiensis, comes Bathoniensis, comes Dorchecestrensis, comes Ridochensis, hoc est Oxenfordensis, cum duce Dorobernie multisque non minoris dignitatis heroibus. Sed[v] ex insulis subiectis: rex Ybernie,[w] rex Vindlandie,[x] rex Guthlandie, rex Orcadum, rex Noruegie, rex Dacie,[y] dux Ruthenorum (hoc est Flandrensium; alii tamen Russiam Ruteniam nominant; sed et in prouincia Narbonensi ciuitas Ruthenensis est, Bituricensi archiepiscopo subiecta).[65] Item consul Boloniensis, consul Cenomanensis, consul Andegauensis, dux Pictauensis, Oelus rex Armoricorum Britonum, duodecim pares Galliarum quos Gerinus Carnotensis conducebat. Singuli quoque singula prestabant officia, regem ad metropolitanam prosequentes ecclesiam. Reginam quoque quatuor premissorum regum regine precedebant, quatuor albas columbas preferentes.[64]

[66]Celebrato sollempniter diuino obsequio, leuioribus mutatoriis[z] rex indutus ad mensam accedit. Regina quoque in suo non minus sollempni pallatio cum dominabus illustribus discumbit; sic enim Troianis mos est ut[a] in sollempnibus diebus mares cum maribus, mulieres cum mulieribus discumbant, seorsum atque distinctim. Finito de more conuiuio,[b] instaurantur ludi, et unicuique pro uictoria munus regalis largitionis impenditur. Illic donantur

[r] et *add. after* Londoniensis *QI* [s] *sic β;* Cladiocestrie *C* [t] *sic β;* Guigoricie *C* [u] comes Claudiocestrie . . . Cestrie] *om. A* [v] et *add. after* sed *β* [w] rex Cornubie *X*, rex Noruue *Q add. after* Ybernie [x] Vindlandie *A*, Vudlandie *CQ*, Vndlandie *XI;* Hislandie *Geoffrey of Monmouth* [y] rex Orcadum, rex Noruegie, rex Dacie] rex Dacie (Darie *Q*), rex Orcadum *XQ* [z] *The text of N resumes on f. 41ᵛ with* mutatoriis [a] ut *supplied by author N* [b] conuiuio *supplied by author N*

[64–64] Enimuero . . . albas columbas preferentes] Cf. ibid., cc. 156–7 (= ed. Griscom, ix. 12–13).

studied the courses of the stars and gave Arthur prior warning of coming events.[62]

[64]Present at the solemn court held at that time were the three archbishops, of Legions, London, and York. These three prelates crowned the king in the royal palace. Four subject kings carried golden swords before him: Anguselus, king of Albany (which is now called Scotland), Cador, king of Cornwall, Stater, king of Demetia (which is now called *Suthgales*, that is, South Wales), and Cadwallon, king of Venedotia (which is now called *Northgales*, that is, North Wales). Urian, king of Moray, was also present, with the ten Earls Palatine, whom they used to refer to as consuls. Now the Earls Palatine are as follows: the earl of Gloucester, the earl of Worcester, the earl of Chester, the earl of Caergueir, that is, Warwick, the earl of Leicester, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Bath, the earl of Dorchester, the earl of Ridochen, that is, Oxford, along with the duke of Canterbury; and many other leading men of no less importance were there. And from the subject islands came the king of Ireland, the king of Iceland, the king of Gotland, the king of the Orkneys, the king of Norway, the king of Denmark, and the duke of Ruthenia (that is, Flanders; some people, though, call Russia Ruthenia, and there is also a city of Ruthenia in the province of Narbonne, subject to the archbishop of Bourges).[65] Also present were the count of Boulogne, the count of Le Mans, the count of Anjou, the duke of Poitou, Hoel, king of the Armorican Britons, and the Twelve Peers of Gaul, under the leadership of Gerin of Chartres. Each had his own part to play in the procession which accompanied the king to the metropolitan church. The queen too was preceded by the four queens of the kings we mentioned above; they carried four white doves before her.[64]

[66]When the divine service had been celebrated with due solemnity, the king changed into lighter garments and proceeded to the banquet. The queen also dined with her illustrious ladies in her own, no less festive, palace; for it is a Trojan custom that on feast days the men and women eat separately and apart, men with men and women with women. When the banquet had duly been concluded, games were celebrated, and anyone who won an event was rewarded with a prize given by the king himself. At this gathering honours were bestowed,

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[65] i.e. Rodez. This parenthesis was added by Gervase.

[66–66] Celebrato . . . ueterani, prommouentur digni (p. 428)] Cf. ibid., c. 157 (= ed. Griscom, ix. 13–15).

honores, episcopatus assignantur, mutantur ueterani, prommouentur digni.[66]

f. 42r [67]Et dum circa hec curia uacat, reuocatur | ad arma delictiosa iuuentus, Lucio[c] consule Romano tributum pridem extortum per legatos petente. Vnde datis induciis, successit noua malorum congeries. Verum post multa pericula[d] exacta, Lucius conserto prelio trucidatur, multaque Romanorum et non modica Britonum[e] strage facta, uictor Arcturus, ubi Romanum inuadit imperium, ad proprias ulciscendas iniurias reuocatur, dum domestico crimine Modredus eius nepos, custos regni factus, usurpans regnum regis et domini necnon auunculi, presumpsit fedare coniugium. Vnde post aliquod tempus, pugna conserta cum Modredo nefandissimo et Childerico duce Sasonum, auxiliario Modredi e Germania nefandis pactis aduocato, rex Albanie Angesilus,[f] et Galuandus[g] Arcturi nepos, omnium par[h] et in strenuitate omnibus prepar,[i] sub dubio bellorum fato[j] corruunt cum multis, alteraque pugna renouata Arcturus uulneratur, omnibus hostibus ab ipso peremptis.[67] Vnde secundum uulgarem Britonum traditionem, in insulam d'Aualum ipsum dicunt[k] translatum, ut uulnera quotannis recrudescentia[l] sub interpolata sanatione curarentur a Morganda fatata, quem fabulose Britones post data tempora credunt rediturum in regnum.

[68]Vulneratus itaque Arcturus Constantino cognato suo, Cadoris ducis Cornubie filio, Britanniam regendam commissit, anno ab incarnatione Domini quingentesimo quadragesimo secundo. Constantino successit Conanus, Conano Voraporius, cui Malgo quidem,[m] pulcherrimus, robustus, et largissimus. Hic omnes insulas sue dicioni restituit: Yberniam, Illandiam,[n] Gothlandiam, Orcades, Noruciam,[o] et Daciam. Malgoni successit Carecius, ciuilium bellorum amator, cuius seuitiam ac inconstantiam non sustinens populus Britonum et Saxonum, aduocant in auxilium contra eum Gudmundum[p] regem Affricanorum, qui ipsum de ciuitate in ciuitatem persecutus cum seua internicione,[q] tandem in Gallias ire coegit. Sicque Gudmundus, tota

[c] Liccio *N* [d] pericu|cula *N* [e] Britonun (*altered by author from* Britonon) *N* [f] Augesilus *N* [g] Galuandus *with* nd *expunged N* [h] par *altered by author to* prepar *N* [i] prepar *om. N* [j] facto *NXI* [k] dicunt *supplied by author N* [l] recrudescantia *N* [m] quidam *AC* [n] Yslandiam *A*, Hyslandiam *X* [o] Norueiam *ACXQ* [p] Gudinundum *N* [q] id est morte uel alia pena *written by author alongside* internicione *N*

[67–67] Et dum . . . ab ipso peremptis] Cf. ibid., cc. 158–78 (= ed. Griscom, ix. 15—xi. 2).
[68–68] Vulneratus . . . de Francia eiecerat (p. 430)] Cf. ibid., cc. 178–84 (= ed. Griscom, xi. 2–8).

bishoprics were assigned, those who had given long service were relieved of their posts, and those who showed promise were given preferment.[66]

[67]While the court was taking its ease in this way, the fighting men were recalled from pleasure to arms when legates came from the Roman consul Lucius to demand the tribute which had been extorted in the past. And so the festivities ceased, and there followed a new spate of troubles. They passed through many dangers, but eventually Lucius was cut down in a pitched battle, many Romans and not a few Britons being slaughtered before Arthur emerged as the victor. He was proceeding to invade the Roman empire, when he was recalled to avenge injuries at home. The crime was within his own family, for his nephew Mordred, whom he had left in charge of the kingdom, had usurped the throne of the man who was not only his king and his lord but his uncle too, and had even dared to defile his marriage-bed. So after a little while battle was joined with the wicked Mordred and his ally Chelric, duke of the Saxons, whom he had summoned from Germany in an impious pact. In the unpredictable fortunes of war Anguselus, king of Albany, and Arthur's nephew Gawain (who was the equal of all, and in strength superior to all), and many others too, met their deaths. When the fighting was resumed in another battle, Arthur was wounded, though he killed all his enemies.[67] Hence there arose the popular tradition of the Britons, whereby they claim that Arthur was carried off to the Isle of Avalon, in order that his wounds, which break open afresh every year, might be healed by the ever-renewed ministrations of Morgan the Fay. And the Britons fancifully believe that after a given time Arthur will return to his kingdom.

[68]After being wounded, then, Arthur entrusted the government of Britain to his kinsman Constantine, son of Cador, duke of Cornwall. This was in the five hundred and forty-second year after the incarnation of the Lord. Conanus succeeded Constantine; then came Vortiporius, and then Malgo. Malgo was a most handsome man, strong, and very generous. He brought all the islands back under his rule: Ireland, Iceland, Gotland, the Orkneys, Norway, and Denmark. Malgo was succeeded by Carecius, who was much given to stirring up civil strife. When the British and Saxon people found his cruelty and fickleness too much to bear, they sent for Gudmund, king of Africa, to come to their help against him. Gudmund pursued Carecius from city to city, wreaking terrible carnage, and eventually forced him to go away into Wales. And so Gudmund laid waste the

Loegria, que pars melior est et media regni, deuastata, fugatis episcopis, destructis ecclesiis, monachis et clericis profugatis,[r] in Gallias transiit, auxilium daturus[s] Ysembardo,[t] nepoti Ludouici regis Francorum, qui cum Gudmundo tantum amicicie pepigit fedus quod, ut facilius eius haberet[u] auxilium, de christiano factus est paganus, sacrificiis ydolorum se maculans, ut cum Gudmundo uindictam de Ludouico auunculo suo sumeret, qui, ut asseruit, ipsum ui de Francia eiecerat.[68]

[69]Ex isto tempore Saxones Anglos se nominauerunt, qui Loegriam possederunt, et ab eis Anglia dicta est, Britonibus fugatis atque dispersis; diadema quoque Britonum in Anglos cessit. Ea tempestate per plures Loegria diuisa regulos, in Cantia regem habuit Edelbertum, ad quem Augustinus a beato Gregorio missus est, quo ad fidem conuerso et una cum populo suo baptizato, transsiens Augustinus ad Britones, illic septem episcopatus cum Legionense metropolita repperit. Illic abbas Dinoot[v] pater mille tunc extitit monacorum, qui solitarii diuisimque[w] manentes,[70] ex labore manuum sibi uictualia quesitabant. Augustino itaque sibi petente[x] ab illis fieri subiectionem, negauerunt, eo quod hostium suorum communionem, nedum subiectionem,[y] abhominarentur, maxime cum suum archiepiscopum Britonum diademate insignissent. Hoc responso motus, rex Cantie Edelbertus, cum Edelfredo rege Northanhumbrorum et aliis regulis, abbatem Dunood peremit, et monacos eius de confessoribus martires[z] f. 42^{v} fecit. | Verum Britones[a] cum regulis confligentes, aduocato Margadud rege Demetarum et Caduano rege Venedorum[b] et duce Cornubie, Edelfredum uulnerant,[c] ipsoque cum suis in fugam uersis, Caduanum sibi preficiunt in regem, facta concordia ut Caduanus Britanniam citra Humbriam possideat, Edelfredo ultra Humbrum regnante.[69]

[71]Illis post longam amiciciam defunctis successerunt filii, Caduallo

[r] profligatis *Cβ* [s] daturus *supplied by author N* [t] Ysambardo *N* [u] ha|haberet *N* [v] in ciuitate Batigor (Vangor *Q*) *add. after* Dinoot *XQ* [w] diuisique *XQ* [x] petante *N* [y] negauerunt . . . subiectionem] utpote metropolitano et totius regni primati, ut communem euangelizandi laborem eligerent in gentem Anglorum, renuerunt, nolentes inimicis suis communicare, cum regno et lingua, sacerdocio ac moribus, penitus essent diuisi, et eos *XQ* [z] mille ducentos *add. after* martires *XQ* [a] uerum Brito- [f. 42^{v}] uerum Britones *N* [b] Uenedotorum *Geoffrey of Monmouth* [c] uulnerant *supplied by author N*

[69–69] Ex isto . . . ultra Humbrum regnante] Cf. ibid., cc. 186–90 (= ed. Griscom, xi. 10—xii. 1).

[70] According to Geoffrey (c. 188) and Bede (*HE* ii. 2), there were over two thousand monks, living, not in solitude, but divided into seven separate communities (*portiones*), none of which contained fewer than three hundred monks.

whole of Loegria, which is the central and richest part of the kingdom, drove out the bishops, destroyed the churches, and put the monks and priests to flight. Then he crossed into Gaul to lend help to Isembard, the nephew of King Louis of France. Isembard had made a treaty of friendship with Gudmund on such terms that he turned from a Christian into a pagan, defiling himself with sacrifices to idols, in order to win a better claim on Gudmund's help; for he hoped with his assistance to get his revenge on Louis, his uncle, who had, so he said, forcibly expelled him from France.[68]

[69]From that time on the Saxons, who were in possession of Loegria, called themselves Angles, and the country was called England after them. With the Britons driven out and scattered, the sovereign power of the Britons also passed to the Angles. In this period Loegria was divided among a number of petty kings. One of them was King Ethelbert, who ruled in Kent, and it was to him that Augustine was sent by the blessed Gregory. Ethelbert was converted to the faith and received baptism together with his people. Augustine then visited the Britons, and discovered that they had seven bishoprics in their territory, with Legions as their metropolitan see. Also among them at that time was Abbot Dinoot, acting as father to a thousand monks; the monks lived separately in solitude,[70] and procured their food by the work of their hands. Augustine therefore invited them to submit to his authority, but they refused, on the grounds that it was hateful to them to have anything to do with their enemies, let alone to be subject to them, especially since they had now invested their archbishop with the sovereign power of the Britons. King Ethelbert of Kent was angered by this reply, and joining forces with King Ethelfrid of Northumbria and other kings, he killed Abbot Dinoot, and turned his monks from confessors into martyrs. The Britons, however, put up a resistance to these kings: they summoned Margadud, king of the Demetae, Cadvan, king of the Venedoti, and the duke of Cornwall, and they wounded Ethelfrid, who took flight together with his men. The Britons then made Cadvan their king, and an agreement was reached whereby Cadvan was to hold the part of Britain on the near side of the Humber, while Ethelfrid was to reign beyond the Humber.[69]

[71]When these two died after enjoying a long friendship, they were succeeded by their sons, Cadwallon, son of Cadvan, and Edwin, son

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[71–71] Illis . . . in Britannia regnauit (p. 432)] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, cc. 190–200 (= ed. Griscom, xii. 2–11).

ex Caduano, Eduinus ex Edelfredo. Hi post longam pacem discordes facti sunt, quia Caduallo negabat Eduinum diademate regali posse in partibus suis insigniri, dicens contra ueterum esse traditiones regnum unius corone duobus coronatis debere submitti.[d] Denique post multa hinc inde prelia conserta plurimosque necatos, tandem Caduallo, auxilio Salomonis regis Armoricorum, cognati sui, Eduinum occidit, auxilium sibi[e][72] dante Penda[f] rege Merciorum; sicque cum Eduino peremptis regulis,[g] Oswaldo quoque,[h] successore Edoini,[73] cum multis aliis post multas uictorias ad martirium ducto, Caduallo solus in Britannia regnauit.[71] Hic[i] est Oswaldus rex et martir cui speciali priuilegio uirtutum datum est quod quicumque ipsius uigiliam ieiunauerit in pane et aqua, quotannis id egerit, tot diebus ante obitum suum mortis aduentum presciet. Quod a sancte memorie Mauricio,[74] quondam Parisiensi episcopo, cum moreretur accepimus, qui quinquaginta diebus mortem suam predixit, eo quod totidem annis ieiunium hoc se fecisse publice protestatus est. His accedit quod quisquis ieiunat uigilias omnium festiuitatum beate Marie et sancti Michaellis et sanctorum undecim milium martirum (que est decimo Kalendas Iulii),[75] sine dubio quantumcumque uulneretur, sine penitentia non morietur.[j] Quod in multis probatum[k] et a multis accepimus; sed et[l] id ab eo qui a mortuis resurrexit testificatum est.[76]

[77]Oswaldo[m] successit frater eius[n] Oswi, cum Cadoallone firmam pactus amiciciam.[o] Sed cum in ipsum Oswi filius eius Aluredus et Oswaldus filius fratris eius insurgerent,[p] et in alteram partem[q] tacito Britonum consilio Penda rex Merchiorum[r] auxiliarius aduenisset,

[d] submitti] sib mitti *N* [e] sibi] Edwino *X*, Eduino *Q*; ei *I* [f] Panda *N* [g] Saxonum, Eduino successit Oswaldus in regnum Northanhumbrorum. Qui uexatus a Caduwallone et Penda, cum Pendam primo uicisset, armatus dominica cruce et facta ad Dominum oratione, tandem a (ad *X*) Cadwallone (-nem *X*) conserto prelio, irruente in eum Penda, occiditur, et sic Oswaldo *add. after* regulis *XQ* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, c. 199 = ed. Griscom, xii. 10*) [h] quoque *om. β* [i] Oswaldus(?) est ut credimus *add. by author after* Hic *N* (*text continues* est Oswaldus) [j] morientur (*altered by author from* moriente) *N* [k] est *add. after* probatum *AC* [l] et *supplied by author N* [m] Oswardo *N* [n] eius *supplied by author N* [o] seque ei subiciens *add. after* amiciciam *XQ* [p] fratrique suo preualere nequissent, implorant auxilium a Penda, qui ne pacta regis temere infringeret, mentitur regi Oswi occulte Saxones in uindictam necis paterne uocare; ut ergo Saxones, Britonibus semper exosi, per Saxones pereant, permittitur illum infestare *add. after* insurgerent *XQ* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, c. 200 = ed. Griscom, xii. 11–13*) [q] cedit *add. after* partem *β*; *written above the line in I* [r] Merchiorum *supplied by author N*

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[72] Penda, king of the (Anglian) Mercians, began as Edwin's ally, but was captured by

of Ethelfrid. For a long time there was peace between them, but then they fell out, because Cadwallon said that Edwin could not wear a royal crown in his part of the country, maintaining that it was against the traditions of their ancestors for a kingdom with a single crown to owe allegiance to two crowned heads. After this many battles were fought up and down the country with much loss of life, until eventually Cadwallon killed Edwin with the help of his kinsman Salomon, king of Armorica; he[72] also received help from Penda, king of the Mercians, and in due course the other petty kings were killed besides Edwin; Edwin's successor Oswald,[73] too, though he won many victories, was handed over to martyrdom in the end, along with many others. Cadwallon then became the sole ruler of Britain.[71] The king just mentioned is that Oswald, king and martyr, to whom it has been granted as a special privilege due to his virtues, that anyone who spends the vigil of his feast fasting on bread and water will know of the approach of death as many days before his passing as the number of years for which he has kept the fast. We learned this from the late bishop of Paris, Maurice[74] of holy memory, when he was dying; he foretold his death fifty days beforehand, because he publicly testified that he had kept this fast for the same number of years. In accord with this is the fact that anyone who fasts for the vigils of all the feasts of the Blessed Mary and St Michael and the eleven thousand holy martyrs (whose feast is on 22 June)[75] will assuredly find that, however seriously he may be wounded, he will not die without having made his confession. This has been proved in many cases, and we have heard it from many sources; it has also been corroborated by the man who rose from the dead.[76]

[77]Oswald was succeeded by his brother Oswi, who established a firm friendship with Cadwallon. But when Oswi's son Alfrid and his brother's son Oidwald rose against him, Penda, king of the Mercians, went as their ally to fight against Oswi, having come to a secret

Cadwallon and thereafter fought on his side (*HRB*, cc. 196–7). The *sibi* in the text of *NAC* appears to refer to Cadwallon; the MSS derived from *β*, however, took it to be Edwin.

[73] Edwin's immediate successors were Osric and Eanfrith, both killed by Cadwallon; Oswald was Eanfrith's brother (cf. *HRB*, c. 198; Bede, *HE* iii. 1).

[74] i.e. Maurice de Sully, bishop of Paris 1160–1196. Cf. above, p. xxix, n. 25.

[75] Presumably St Ursula and her companions (cf. n. 42 above), though one would expect *sanctarum*, and their feast day was 21 October, not 22 June.

[76] Cf. *Otia*, iii. 103.

[77–77] Oswaldo . . . Wulfridus filius Pende (p. 434)] Cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, c. 200 (= ed. Griscom, xii. 11–13).

uictus est Penda et occisus.[s] Cui successit, beneficio Cadoallonis, Wulfridus filius Pende.[77]

[78]Completis autem quadraginta octo annis Cadoallo mortuus est, cuius corpus, balsamo et aromatibus conditum,[t] super equum eneum collocauerunt, super occidentalem portam Londonie, in signum uictorie ad terrorem Saxonum.[u] [78]

[79]Caudualloni[v] successit Cadualladrus[w] eius filius, cuius tempore inaudita fames et aeris corruptio insulam totam omnibus pene collonis destituerunt. Vnde longo post tempore decurso Saxones, totam insulam occupantes, Adestamnum[x] primum regio diademate insignitum sibi prefecerunt, diuidentes regnum per ducatus et consulatus. Cum uero Saxonum tranquillitatem Cadualladrus interrumpere[y] parasset, consilio potitus ac auxilio Alani regis Armoricorum, cognati sui, uox diuina intonuit ut ceptis desisteret et ad Sergium papam properaret ut, peracta Rome penitentia, inter beatos acciperetur;[z] Britonumque regnum tunc primum rediturum[a] promissit cum reliquias corporis sui aliorumque sanctorum, quos propter paganorum metum dudum asportauerant, recuperarent. Consilio igitur diuino motus, Cadualladrus cepta deserit, Romam adiit. Ibi sub sancta confessione per manus Sergii pape, langore deffectus, sepultus est anno Domini sexcentessimo octogesimo nono, duodecimmo Kalendas Maii.[79]

xviii. *De regno Franchorum et eius ortu*

f. 44ʳ Decurrimus ut breuius potuimus | regnum Britonum, quod usque ad Anglos e[a] Germania uenientes, tunc Saxones dictos, protraximus,[b] ex quorum stirpe[c] ab[d] utroque parente, princeps serenissime,[e] descendisti,[f] patrem habens illustrem Henricum ducem Saxonie, auum[g] uero per matrem illustrissimum regem Anglorum Henricum.[1] Et

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[s] rex Merchiorum . . . occisus] et ita occisus est in prelio ab Oswi cum .xxx. ducibus *XQ* [t] in enea statua armis decorata *add. after* conditum *XQ* [u] Sed et ecclesiam beati Martini sub eo fabricauerunt, in qua pro ipso et pro fidelibus defunctis diuina celebrantur *add. after* Saxonum *XQ* (*cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, HRB, c. 201 = ed. Griscom, xii. 13*) [v] Caldualloni *N* [w] Caldualodrus *N* [x] Adestamnum *supplied by author N* [y] interrumpente *N* [z] secundum prophetiam Merlini *add. after* acciperetur *XQ* [a] redditurum *N*

[a] e *ACβ*; in *N* [b] protraximuis *N* [c] stirpe *supplied by author N* [d] ab *om. N* [e] serenissiime *N* [f] descendistiti *N* [g] awum (*sic*) *supplied by author N*

agreement with the Britons. Penda was defeated and killed, and his son Wulfrid succeeded him, with Cadwallon's approval.[77]

[78]Finally, after reigning for forty-eight years, Cadwallon died. They embalmed his body with balsam and spices, and then placed it on a bronze horse over the west gate of London, to serve as a reminder of the triumph of the Britons, and to instil fear into the Saxons.[78]

[79]Cadwallon's son Cadwallader succeeded him. In his time unheard-of famine and pollution of the air robbed the whole island of virtually all its inhabitants. A long time passed, by the end of which the Saxons had taken possession of the whole island. They crowned Athelstan as their first king, and divided the realm into duchies and counties. Cadwallader actually made preparations to disturb the peace of the Saxons, having obtained the advice and help of his kinsman Alan, king of Armorica. But a divine voice thundered from the heavens, telling him to abandon his undertakings and hasten to Pope Sergius in order that, having made his confession in Rome, he might be received among the blessed; and the voice promised that the kingdom of the Britons would be restored in the future, but only when they brought back the relics of his body and of the other saints whom they had carried off to safety some time before, out of fear of the pagans. Cadwallader therefore, in obedience to this divine counsel, abandoned his plans and went to Rome. Once there, having received holy absolution at the hands of Pope Sergius, he succumbed to sickness, and was buried in the six hundred and eighty-ninth year of our Lord, on 20 April.[79]

18. *The Kingdom of the Franks and its Rise*

We have treated the kingdom of the Britons as briefly as we could, bringing our account up as far as the arrival from Germany of the English, called Saxons at that time. From their stock you, most serene Prince, are descended on both sides: for your father was the illustrious Henry, duke of Saxony, while your maternal grandfather was the most illustrious Henry, king of the English.[1] Now, since Your

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[78–78] Completis . . . ad terrorem Saxonum] Cf. ibid., c. 201 (= ed. Griscom, xii. 13).
[79–79] Caudualloni . . . duodecimmo Kalendas Maii] Cf. ibid., cc. 202–6 (= ed. Griscom, xii. 14–18).

[1] See above, p. xxxi.

quia tua imperialis maiestas[h] a Carolo Magno Romanum reintegratum imperium tenet, et ex parte matris reges Francorum contingis (comite Teobaldo auo[i] regis huius[j] Filippi existente eodemque abaui tui uetustissimi regis Henrici nepote),[2] regnum Francorum quo stemmate succreuerit breuiter explicemus, qualiter a Troiano prodierit excidio et ad Karolum[k] usque peruenerit[l] edocturi.

Quoniam igitur suppra, titulo *De partibus Europe a Cotiis Alpibus et Penninis usque ad occeanum*,[3] unde[m] regnum Francorum prodierit diximus regesque usque ad Clodoueum distinctim ordinauimus, ab ipso Clodoueo qualiter per succedaneos reges regnum transmissum sit prosequamur.[n] Hic ergo Clodoueus rex Francorum primus baptismum per manus sancti Remigii suscepit, cui dum baptizaretur ait sanctus Remigius: 'Mitis depone colla, Sicamber. Adora quod incendisti; incende quod adorasti.'[4] Hic Burgundiones tributarios fecit;[5] Gottos ab Aquitannia expulit, interfecto Alarico, rege ipsorum.[6]

[7]Anno quinto post Alaricum interfectum, mortuo Clodoueo, quatuor eius[o] filii regnum diuidunt. Teodoricus enim sedem[p] sortitur Mechis, Clodomirus Aurelianis, Childebertus[q] Parisius, Clotharius Suesionis. Theodorico[r] successit filius eius Theobertus; Teoberto successit Theobaldus filius eius, cui successit Clotarius filius eius.[7]

Childeberto apud Parisius[s] defuncto, regnum eius et thesauros Clotharius accepit.[8] Clotario apud Compendium mortuo, Aribertus, Gundrannus, Chilpericus, et Sigobertus regnum patris diuidunt: Aribertus Parisius, Gundrannus Aurelianis, Chilpericus Suesionis, Sigobertus Metis sedem eligit.[t][9] Sigoberto a duobus pueris dolo Chilperici fratris sui interfecto, Childebertus regnum patris accepit.[10]

[h] maiestes *N* [i] auo *supplied by author N* [j] huius *supplied by author N* [k] Karolum *supplied by author N* [l] peruenit *N* [m] unde *supplied by author N* [n] prosequemur *CXI* [o] eius *supplied by author N* [p] sedem *supplied by author N* [q] Chidebertus *N* [r] Teoderico (*here and in some further occurrences*) *N* [s] Parisus *N* [t] elegit *ACβ*

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[2] Philip II's maternal grandfather Theobald, count of Blois and Champagne, was the son of Henry I's sister Adela and Count Stephen of Blois, and the brother of King Stephen.

[3] *Otia*, ii. 10, pp. 288–93.

[4] Cf. Gregory of Tours, *HF* ii. 31; *Otia*, ii. 10, n. 20.

[5] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 284; Gregory of Tours, *HF* ii. 32.

[6] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 284; Gregory of Tours, *HF* ii. 37; *Otia*, ii. 16, n. 104.

[7–7] Anno . . . Clotarius filius eius] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, pp. 284–5; Fredegar, *Chronicae* iii. 29, p. 103; Gregory of Tours, *HF* iii. 1, iv. 22. Here and at n. 9 below, Fredegar and, following him, the *Chronicon Moissiacense*, substitute Metz where Gregory has Rheims as Theuderic's capital.

Imperial Majesty holds sway over the Roman empire as restored by Charlemagne, and since on your mother's side you are related to the kings of France (Count Theobald being the grandfather of the present king, Philip, and also the nephew of your great-great-grandfather, the eldest King Henry),[2] let us give a brief account of the ancestral origins of the kingdom of the Franks, so as to show how it emerged from the destruction of Troy, and what its subsequent history was up to the time of Charlemagne.

We have in fact already described, in the chapter *The Region of Europe from the Cottian and Pennine Alps to the Ocean*,[3] the origins of the kingdom of the Franks, naming all the kings in order up to Clovis; let us now, therefore, go on to say how the kingdom was handed down from this same Clovis through succeeding rulers. Clovis, then, was the first Christian king of the Franks; he received baptism at the hands of St Remigius, and while he was being baptized St Remigius said to him: 'Bow your head in meekness, Sicamber: worship what you once burned, burn what you once worshipped.'[4] Clovis imposed tribute on the Burgundians,[5] and drove the Goths out of Aquitaine, killing their king, Alaric.[6]

[7]In the fifth year after Alaric was killed Clovis died, and his four sons shared out the kingdom. Theuderic took Metz as his headquarters, Chlodomir took Orléans, Childebert Paris, and Chlotar Soissons. Theuderic was succeeded by his son Theudebert; Theudebert was succeeded by his son Theudebald, who in turn was succeeded by his son Chlotar.[7]

When Childebert died in Paris, Chlotar acquired his kingdom and treasure.[8] On Chlotar's death at Compiègne, Charibert, Guntramn, Chilperic, and Sigebert shared out their father's kingdom. Charibert chose Paris as his headquarters, Guntramn Orléans, Chilperic Soissons, and Sigebert Metz.[9] Sigebert was murdered by two servants through his brother Chilperic's treachery, wherupon Childebert took over his father's kingdom.[10] Chilperic was succeeded by his infant son

[8] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 285; Fredegar, *Chronicae* iii. 53, p. 107; Gregory of Tours, *HF* iv. 20. On the death of Childebert I in 558, his kingdom was seized by his brother Chlotar I.

[9] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 285; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, iii. 55, pp. 107–8; Gregory of Tours, *HF* iv. 22. Chlotar died in 561.

[10] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 285; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, iii. 71, p. 112; Gregory of Tours, *HF* iv. 51. Sigebert was assassinated in 575, on the orders of Chilperic's queen, Fredegund; he was succeeded by his son Childebert II (Austrasia, 575–95, Burgundy 593–5).

Chilperico Clotarius eius filius paruulus successit.[11] Gundranno quoque mortuo, Childebertus[u] eius regnum accepit[12] qui, Italiam ingressus, Longobardos sue ditioni subiecit, et post amicicias cum eis iniit.[13] Childeberto Theodbertus[v] et Theodoricus succedunt anno regni Clotarii quarto decimo: Teodbertus sortitur Austriam, sedem habens Metis; Theodoricus regnum cepit Gundranni, in Burgundia sedem constituens Aurelianis.[14] Anno septimo decimo Teodorici regis, Teodoricus uinctum fratrem suum Theodbertum[w] Cauillonem destinauit, ipseque anno secundo uentris profluuio moritur.[15] Brunichildis[x] eius auia cum filiis Theodorici Metis resedit;[y] Clotarius uero super eam irruens[z] filios Theodorici interfecit, ipsam diuersis penis ad internicionem[a] ducens, sicque omne regnum Francorum Clotario iuniori subicitur.[16]

Clotarius[b] Longobardis indicta a Childeberto tributa remisit, amicicie fedus cum eis pactus.[17] Clotario succedunt Dagobertus et Aribertus, nec post multum Ariberto mortuo, Dagobertus totum regnum possidet;[18] et hic Sigobertum filium suum in Austrie regnum sublimauit, sedem habens Metis.[19] Filius uero eius Clodoueus, post eius obitum, sub etate tenera regnum patris obtinuit.[20] Egla uero, cum regina Matilde[c] quam Dagobertus reliquerat, condigne pallatium gubernat et regnum Francorum.[21] Anno tertio regni f. 44v Clodouei Egla moritur, cui succedunt | Archinaldus[d] in Neustria[e] et Flauianus in Burgundia.[22] Eodem anno Pipinus, maior domus in palatio Sigoberti,[f] moritur, et Otto, qui baiulus Sigoberti fuerat, in locum eius substituitur,[23] et ipse ab Eleucherio duce Allemannorum interficitur. Post hec regnum Austrie maiorque gradus in palatio

[u] Childeberbertus *N* [v] Teodebertus *N* [w] Teobertum *N* [x] *sic XQ;* Brunichilis *N* [y] residit *N* [z] irruens *om. N* [a] interminationem *N* [b] Clotarias *N* [c] Nantilde *Chron. Moiss. and Fredegar* [d] Harchilnardus *N* [e] eustria *N* [f] Sigoberti *Cβ;* Dagoberti *NA*

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[11] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 286; Gregory of Tours, *HF* vi. 46, vii. 7. Chlotar II was only four months old when his father was assassinated in 584; see further n. 16 below.

[12] 593; cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 286; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, iv. 7 and 14, pp. 125 and 127.

[13] 584; cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 286; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, iii. 92, p. 118; Gregory of Tours, *HF* vi. 42.

[14] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 286; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, iv. 16, p. 127. Childebert II's older son, Theudebert II, became king of Austrasia (595–612), while his younger son, Theuderic II, received Burgundy (595–613).

[15] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 286; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, iv. 38–9, pp. 139–40. Theuderic took over Austrasia in 612.

[16] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 286; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, iv. 40–42, pp. 141–2. Chlotar II, son of Chilperic I, was king of Soissons 584–629, and sole king from 613 until 623, when he made his son Dagobert king of Austrasia.

Chlotar.[11] When Guntramn also died, Childebert took over his kingdom as well.[12] Childebert then invaded Italy and subjected the Lombards to his rule, subsequently entering into an alliance with them.[13] In the fourteenth year of Chlotar's reign, Childebert was succeeded by Theudebert and Theuderic: Austrasia fell to Theudebert, who made Metz his capital, while Theuderic took Guntramn's kingdom, and established his headquarters at Orléans in Burgundy.[14] In the seventeenth year of Theuderic's reign, he dispatched his brother Theudebert in chains to Chalon; the following year Theuderic himself died of dysentery.[15] His grandmother Brunhild remained in Metz with his sons; however, Chlotar fell upon her, killed Theuderic's sons, and dragged Brunhild off to a death attended by sundry torments. And so the whole kingdom of the Franks became subject to Chlotar the Younger.[16]

Chlotar remitted to the Lombards the tribute which had been imposed on them by Childebert, and concluded a treaty of friendship with them.[17] Dagobert and Charibert succeeded Chlotar, but Charibert died not long afterwards, and then Dagobert held the entire kingdom.[18] He elevated his son Sigebert as king of Austrasia, with his headquarters at Metz.[19] After Dagobert's death his son Clovis acquired his father's kingdom while still of tender years.[20] But Aega, in association with Dagobert's widow Queen Nantechild, governed the palace and the kingdom of the Franks very creditably.[21] In the third year of Clovis' reign Aega died; he was succeeded in Neustria by Erchinoald, and in Burgundy by Flaochad.[22] In the same year Pippin, mayor of the household in Sigebert's palace, died; Otto, who had been Sigebert's bailiff, was appointed in his place,[23] but he was killed by Leuthar, duke of the Alemanni. After this the kingdom of Austrasia and the position of mayor in Sigebert's palace were

[17] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 286; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, iv. 45, p. 145.

[18] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 286; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, iv. 56–7, 67, pp. 147 and 154. Dagobert I, Austrasia 623–34, the rest 632–39; Charibert II, Aquitaine 629–32.

[19] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 287; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, iv. 75 pp. 158–9. Sigebert III, Austrasia 634–56.

[20] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 287; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, iv. 76 and 79, pp. 159 and 161. Clovis II, Neustria and Burgundy 639–56.

[21] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 287; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, iv. 79–80, p. 161. Here and for the rest of this chapter, the terms *regnum Francorum* or *Francia* generally refer to the kingdom comprising Neustria and Burgundy, while Austrasia for the most part had its own king and mayor.

[22] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 287; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, iv. 84 and 89, pp. 163 and 165.

[23] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 287; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, iv. 85–6, p. 164.

Sigoberti in manu Grimaldi filii Pipini confirmata sunt;[24] sed hic Parisius propter quasdam secretas factiones in carcerem truditur, ibique moritur.[25]

Clodoueo igitur mortuo, successit filius eius Clotarius,[26] [27]Francique Ebroinum maiorem domus eius constituerunt in locum Erchincaldi, qui fuit maior domus. Clotario mortuo succedunt Theodoricus et Childericus fratres, Theodoricus in Francia habens maiorem domus Ebroinum, Childericus in Austria cum Vulfardo[g] duce. Franci uero commoti Ebroinum tonsum monasterio Lixouiensi tradunt et Teodoricum, crinibus incisis,[28] a regno pellunt. Childericus uero ab Austria uocatus regnum Francorum cepit. Erat autem Childericus[h] leuis, per omnia incaute agens, unde[i] inter eos odium scandalumque maximum creuit. Francos quoque plurimum obprimebat, ex quibus unum Franconem[29] dictum Odilonem[j] ad stipitem temsum grauissime cedi sine lege precepit. Hec uidentes Franci iraque turbati, Ingobertus[k] et Amalbertus[l] ac reliqui maiores natu Francorum contra Childericum concitantur, sicque ab Odilone rex cum regina pregnante interficitur. Vlfardus uero uix sibi per fugam consulens in Austriam redit. Franci uero Leudisium, filium Erchimoardi,[m] maiorem domus ac palacii statuunt. Ebroinus itaque, comam nutriens et tonsuram deserens,[n] magna turba stipatus Isaram transsit, insidiatoresque suos potenter occidit. Lodoisus cum Teodorico rege sociisque plurimis[o] aufugit, Ebroinusque[p] persequens eos, Bacio uilla[30] ueniens, thesauros regios inuadit regnumque recepit, Lodouiso ad se uocato fraudulenterque occiso; sanctum Leodegarium[31] Augustudunensem, diuersis penis afflictum, gladio peremit; Cirinum fratrem eius dira pena dampnauit. Reliqui uero Franci,

[g] Vuluardo (*altered by author from* Vulfardo) *N* [h] Chidericus *N* [i] unde] unum *N* [j] *sic MSS for* Bodilonem [k] Ingobertus *altered from* Nigobertus *N*; Vrobertus *X*, Irigobertus *Q*, Nigobertus *I* [l] Amabertus *N* [m] Hermicaldi *X*, Erchumcaldi *Q*, Erchinioaldi *I* [n] deserans *N* [o] plurimus *N* [p] Ebroinumque *N*

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[24] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 287; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, iv. 88, p. 165.

[25] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 287. Grimoald was put to death in 661, after attempting to substitute his own son for the Merovingian Dagobert II (Austrasia 656–61, 676–9).

[26] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 287; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, continuatio 1, p. 168. Chlotar III, Neustria 657–73.

[27–27] Francique . . . fuga sibi consulunt (p. 442)] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, pp. 287–8; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, continuatio 2, pp. 168–9; *Liber historiae Francorum*, c. 45, p. 319. Theuderic III, Neustria 673–9, sole king 679–90; Childeric II, Austrasia 661–75.

[28] Long hair was a sign of Merovingian kingship; see e.g. Gregory of Tours, *HF* ii. 9.

placed in the charge of Pippin's son, Grimoald;[24] but he was thrown into prison in Paris on account of certain secret intrigues, and died there.[25]

When Clovis died, his son Chlotar succeeded him,[26] [27]and the Franks appointed Ebroin as his mayor in place of the previous mayor, Erchinoald. On Chlotar's death his brothers Theuderic and Childeric succeeded him, Theuderic in Francia, where he kept Ebroin as mayor, and Childeric in Austrasia with the backing of Duke Wulfoald. But the people of Francia rebelled: they tonsured Ebroin and turned him over to the monastery of Luxeuil, and they drove Theuderic from the kingdom, shorn of his long hair.[28] Childeric, summoned from Austrasia, took over the kingdom of Francia. But Childeric was a capricious character who acted rashly in all that he did, and as a result great hatred and resentment grew up among the people. And his rule over the Franks was indeed very oppressive. He gave orders, illegally, for one of their people,[29] called Bodilo, to be tied to a stake and beaten very severely. On witnessing this, the Franks were roused to fury, and Ingobert, Amalbert, and the rest of the Frankish nobility rose against Childeric; and so it came about that the king and his pregnant wife were killed by Bodilo. Wulfoald got away by a narrow escape and returned to Austrasia. The Franks then appointed Leudesius, son of Erchinoald, as mayor of the household and palace. At this Ebroin, letting his hair grow and forsaking his tonsure, crossed the Oise with a large band of followers, and in a show of strength put to death the men who had intrigued against him. Leudesius took to flight with King Theuderic and a large number of his supporters, but Ebroin went in pursuit of them; when he came to the villa of Baizieux,[30] he seized the royal treasure and took over the kingdom. Summoning Leudesius into his presence, he treacherously had him murdered. He also killed St Leodegar[31] of Autun, inflicting sundry torments on him and then putting him to the sword; he condemned Leodegar's brother Gaerinus to a terrible death as well.

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[29] The form *Franconem* for *Francum* appears to have arisen from a peculiar use of the ablative *Franco* by Fredegar: 'uno Franco nobile nomine Bodilone ad stipidem tensum cedere contra legem praecepit' ('he ordered, illegally, that a noble Frank named Bodilo should be bound to a stake and thrashed'). It was against the law to bind a free man without just cause: see *Lex Salica*, 50 (51) ed. K. A. Eckhardt, *MGH*, *Leges nationum Germanicarum*, iv (2) (Hanover, 1969), 91.

[30] Near Corbie (Somme); Leudesius had abandoned the villa, leaving the royal treasure there.

[31] i.e. St Leger, bishop of Autun 663–79, tortured and killed for having allegedly plotted the death of Childeric II.

partim exilio traditi, partim propriis laribus pulsi, fuga sibi consulunt.[27]

[32]Eo[q] igitur tempore decedente[r] Vlfardo in Austria,[s] Pipinus[33] et Martinus[34] dominabantur in Austria; qui contra Ebroinum arma mouent,[t] quibus Ebroinus atque Teodoricus occurrunt. Maxima inuicem cede facta, Austrii terga uertunt. Martinus per fugam lapsus Lugduno[u] [35] se recipit,[v] Pipino altrinsecus euadente. Martinus, falso Ebroini nuntio seductus, ad Teodorici colloquium ueniens, cum sociis suis dolose perimitur.[32]

[36]Verum post plurimas fraudes Ebroini, ipse quoque ab Ermenfredo[w] Franco, cui[x] insidias parauerat, occiditur; Ermenfredus in Austriam ad Pipinum fugit. Franci uero Warathonem,[y] uirum illustrem,[z] maiorem domus constituunt. Quo post modicum defuncto, Bercarium substituunt. Pipinus uero ab Austria cum exercitu ueniens Teodoricum regem et Bercarium terga uertere compulit, et Pipino uictoria cessit. Nec longe post Berchario ab adulatoribus suis interfecto, Pipinus cepit[a] esse domus Theodorici regis maior, et ex uxore[b] sua plurimum sapiente[c] duos genuit filios: Drogum maiorem, qui ducatum cepit Campanie, et Grimaldum iuniorem.[36]

[37]Eo tempore Teodorico morienti successit Clodoueus filius eius puer, regnauitque duobus annis.[38] Cui successit Childebertus[39] frater f. 45r eius, in cuius domo maior constituitur Grimaldus filius | Pipini, qui ex concubina genuit Teobaldum; et Drogus Pipini primogenitus moritur. Cui adiungitur alius ex alia uxore filius Pipini, Karolus Vetulus,[40] uir elegans, egregius, atque utilis. Pipinus autem, multis bellis gestis contra gentes plurimas, anno Domini septingentesimo decimo migrauit in Alemanniam,[d] annoque sequenti, facta ingenti aquarum inundatione, Childeberdus rex migrauit ad Dominum. Cui successit Dagobertus[41] filius eius; cuius anno primo Grimaldus Pipini

[q] Eo *supplied by author N* [r] descendente *ACQI;* decente *X* [s] Austriam *β* [t] mouerant *N* [u] Lugduno *MSS;* Lauduno *Chron. Moiss.;* Lauduno Clauato *Fredegar* [v] recepit *N* [w] Emerfredo *N* [x] cui *supplied by author N* [y] Wuratonem *N* [z] illustram *N* [a] cepit *om. N* [b] uxore *supplied by author N* [c] sapente *N* [d] anno Domini . . . Alemanniam] *supplied by author N*

[32–32] Eo . . . suis dolose perimitur] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 288; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, continuatio 3, p 170; *Liber historiae Francorum*, c. 46, pp. 319–20.

[33] Pippin II (of Heristal), grandson of Pippin I, and mayor 680–714.

[34] Possibly duke of Champagne, and uncle of Pippin.

[35] Gervase's *Lugduno* (Lyons) is a corruption of *Lauduno Clauato* (Laon).

Others of the Franks found safety in flight, some of them having been sent into exile, others driven away from their own homes.[27]

[32]At this time Wulfoald died in Austrasia, and Pippin[33] and Martin[34] came to power there. They took up arms against Ebroin, and Ebroin and Theuderic went to meet them. Very great slaughter was inflicted on both sides, but in the end the Austrasians took to flight. Martin slipped away and withdrew to Laon,[35] while Pippin escaped in the other direction. Then Martin was tricked by a deceitful message from Ebroin: he came for a parley with Theuderic, and was treacherously killed along with his companions.[32]

[36]Ebroin, however, after perpetrating a great many acts of treachery, came to a violent end himself as well, at the hands of Ermenfred the Frank, for whom he had laid a trap; Ermenfred took refuge with Pippin in Austrasia. The Franks then made Waratto, a man of high standing, mayor of the household. When he died shortly afterwards, they appointed Berchar in his place. But Pippin came with an army from Austrasia and forced King Theuderic and Berchar to flee; and so victory fell to Pippin. Not long afterwards Berchar was killed by his own hangers-on, and Pippin became mayor of King Theuderic's household. Pippin's wife was an exceedingly wise woman; he had two sons by her, the elder being Drogo, who received the duchy of Champagne, and the younger, Grimoald.[36]

[37]At this time Theuderic died; his son Clovis succeeded him while still a boy, and reigned for two years.[38] He was succeeded by his brother Childebert.[39] Grimoald, son of Pippin, was appointed mayor in Childebert's household, and had a son, Theudoald, by a concubine. Pippin's first-born son, Drogo, died; but by a second wife another son was born to him: Charles the Elder,[40] a cultured, honourable, and capable man. Now Pippin, having conducted many campaigns against a great number of tribes, crossed into Alemannia in the year of our Lord 710. In the following year a huge flood occurred, and King Childebert departed to the Lord. His son Dagobert[41] succeeded him. In the first year of Dagobert's reign Pippin's son Grimoald was

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[36–36] Verum . . . et Grimaldum iuniorem] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, pp. 288–9; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, continuationes 4–6, pp. 170–2; *Liber historiae Francorum*, c. 47, pp. 320–2.

[37–37] Eo . . . maior domus regis (p. 444)] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, pp. 289–90; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, continuationes 6–7, pp. 172–3.

[38] Clovis III, 690–4.

[39] Childebert III, 694–711.

[40] i.e. Charles Martel, mayor 714–41.

[41] Dagobert III, 711–15.

filius interficitur, in cuius locum Teobaldus filius eius erigitur ut sit maior domus regis.[37]

[42]Anno[e] Domini .dccxiiii. Pipinus moritur. Franci uero denuo in Cocia silua[43] in Teobaldum et Austrios irruerunt, et post multam hinc inde stragem Teobaldus uix fuge consilio euasit. Quo fugato, Franci Ragumfredum maiorem domus elegerunt. Karolus quoque, Pipini filius, a Plectrude relicta Pipini sub custodia tentus, uix euasit.[f][42]

Dagobertoque defuncto, Franci Danielem clericum, relicta tonsura, regem constituunt, quem et Chilpericum nominant.[44] [45]Eo tempore Senna[g] rex Sarracenorum, Ispaniam ingressus, deuictis Yspannie Gothis[h] Yspanniaque capta, Narbonam[i] capit:[j] maribus occissis, mulieres captiuas in Yspanniam ducit; et eodem anno Tolosam obsidet.[k] Verum Eodone principe Aquitanie cum Francis preliante, Saraceni fugantur, ex quibus multi perimuntur. Postea quinto anno Ambisa rex Saracenorum potenter ingressus inuadit Gallias, Carcasonam capit, et usque Nemausum ueniens, eorum obsides Barchinonam transmissit.[45]

Anno Domini septingentesimo[l] septimo decimo Chilpericus rex cum Ragunfredo[m] et Francis Arduennam[n] siluam ingressus et usque ad Renum[o] Coloniamque urbem perueniens, terris uastatis, cum reuerterentur a Carolo Pipini filio grauiter inuaditur.[46] [47]Et cum, iterato bello, Carolo pacem postulante nec optinente,[p] fieret cumgressus, Chilpericus cum Raginfredo et Francis terga uertit. Carolus, in Austriam reuersus, uictor Coloniam ingreditur; Plectrudem thesauris[q] Pipini patris sui spoliat, illic Clotarium[48] regem instituens. Chilpericus Eodonem Aquitannie principem contra Carolum dirigit, qui dum fugatur Parisius reuertitur, et Cilpericus, sublatis tesauris multis,[r] ultra Ligerin recedit, fugiens Caroli persecutionem. Clotarius tunc in Austria obiit et, Carolo cum Eodone pacem faciente, moritur

[e] uero *add. after* anno *ACβ* [f] euasit] suasit *N* [g] Sanna *N;* Sema *Chron. Moiss.* [h] Cottis *N* [i] Narboniam (i *added by author*) *N* [j] capit *ACQI and Chron. Moiss.;* cepit *X;* capit *with* e *written by author above* a, *but no expunging dot, N* [k] obsedit *NX* [l] septigentesimo *N* [m] *sic XI*, Ragimfreido *Q;* et Raginfrido *written over an erasure by author N* [n] Arduennam *supplied by author N* [o] regnum *N* [p] obtinuente *N* [q] thesauri *N* [r] Parisius reuertitur . . . multis] *supplied by author N*

[42–42] Anno . . . tentus, uix euasit] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 290; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, continuatio 8, p. 173.

[43] Compiègne, 26 September 715.

[44] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 290; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, continuatio 9 pp. 173–4; *Liber historiae Francorum*, c. 52, pp. 325–6. Chilperic II (Neustria 715–21) was allegedly a son of Childeric II.

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murdered, and his son Theudoald was raised to the position of mayor of the king's household in his place.[37]

[42]In the year of our Lord 714 Pippin died. The Franks then launched another attack on Theudoald and the Austrasians in the Forêt de Cuise.[43] After much carnage on both sides, Theudoald resorted to flight and just managed to get away. Once he had been removed, the Franks appointed Ragamfred as mayor. Pippin's son Charles, who was being held in custody by Plectrudis, Pippin's widow, also managed to escape.[42]

On Dagobert's death the Franks made Daniel, who had been a cleric, forsake his tonsure to become king; they also changed his name to Chilperic.[44] [45]At that time Zama, king of the Saracens, invaded Spain, defeated the Goths there and conquered the country. He then took Narbonne, killing the men and taking the women captive into Spain; that same year he laid siege to Toulouse. But Eudo, prince of Aquitaine, took the field together with the Franks, and the Saracens were routed, losing many of their men. Five years later Anbasa, king of the Saracens, came in force and invaded Gaul; he took Carcassonne, and getting as far as Nîmes, he sent hostages from there to Barcelona.[45]

In the year of our Lord 717 King Chilperic marched into the Forest of the Ardennes with Ragamfred and the Franks, and penetrated as far as the Rhine and the city of Cologne, laying waste to the countryside; but when they were on their way back, he met with a fierce attack from Pippin's son Charles.[46] [47]In a further round of fighting, though Charles sued for peace he was not granted it, and when the armies met, Chilperic turned tail with Ragamfred and the Franks. Charles returned to Austrasia, where he made a triumphant entry into Cologne; he despoiled Plectrudis of his father Pippin's treasure, setting up Chlotar[48] as king there. Chilperic persuaded Eudo, prince of Aquitaine, to march against Charles, but he was put to flight and withdrew to Paris; then Chilperic, taking a large horde of treasure with him, retired beyond the Loire, fleeing from Charles's revenge. At this time Chlotar died in Austrasia and, while Charles was negotiating for peace with Eudo, Chilperic also died; the

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[45–45] Eo . . . obsides Barchinonam transmissit] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 290.

[46] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 291; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, continuatio 9, pp. 173–4.

[47–47] Et cum . . . Teodoricum filium Dagoberti (p. 446)] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 291; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, continuatio 10, p. 174; *Liber historiae Francorum*, cc. 52–3, pp. 326–8.

[48] Chlotar IV (perhaps a son of Theuderic III), Austrasia 718–19.

Chilpericus, cui successorem Franci erigunt Teodoricum[49] filium Dagoberti.[47]

[50]Post hec Abderamon, rex Yspannie Saracenus, in manu forti per Pampilonam transiens, Pireneisque montibus decursis, Burdegalim[s] obsidet, et Eodo dux Aquitannie a Sarracenis uincitur. Verum Caroli principis[51] Francorum auxilio uincit iterato bello Saracenos, rege eorum perempto;[52] sicque Carolus in Franciam regressus ipsam suo subiecit imperio.[50]

Nec mora Iusepibin, Abredaramonis regis in Narbona[t] prefectus, Arelatensem ciuitatem inuadit et[u] prouinciam uastat;[53] ob cuius defensionem Gregorius iunior papa Carolum ad patriciatum Romanum euocat, suadens ut a partibus imperatoris Grecorum recederet.[54] Quo facto, [55]Carolus Burgundiam ingrediens Auinionem capit, Saracenis occisis, et exinde Narbonam obsidet. Interim cum parte excercitus sui Aucupam Saracenorum regem uincit, et cum spoliis Franciam regreditur. Magalona destructa, arenisque Nemausensibus[v] et portis exustis, obsides in Frantiam duxit.[55]

f. 45v [56]Anno[w] Domini | septingentesimo[x] quadragesimo primo Carolus Pipini filius obiit. Cuius principatum filii Pipinus et Carlomannus diuidunt: Carlomannus Austriam, Allemanniam, atque Toringiam sortitur, Pipinus Burgundiam, Neustriam, atque Prouinciam.[56] Verum Carlomannus apud montem Cassinum monacatus, filios suos fratri commendat, et Pipinus regnum patris suscipit.[57] [58]Interea Guafario principe Aquitannie Narbonam[y] depredante, Ansemundus Gottus Pipino Nemausum, Maggalonam, et Biterris tradit, Francique Narbonam infestant. Pipinus Galfarium principem persequitur, eo

[s] Burbegalim *N* [t] Nerbona *N* [u] et *supplied by author* *N* [v] Nemausansibus *with* e *written by scribe above* a, *but no expunging dot*, *N* [w] De Carolo primo usque ad Carolum Magnum *add. as title before* Anno *CXQ* [x] septigentesimo *N* [y] Nerbonam *N*

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[49] Theuderic IV (son of Dagobert III), 721–37.

[50–50] Post . . . suo subiecit imperio] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 291; *Otia*, ii. 16, pp. 392–5.

[51] While Charles's official function remained mayor of the palace, he was already called, even by his contemporaries, *princeps*; see H. Wolfram, *Lateinische Königs- und Fürstentitel bis zum Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1967), pp. 136–54.

[52] i.e. the victory at Poitiers in 732.

[53] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 291. Yusuf ibn Abd-ar-Rahman, son of Abd-ar-Rahman, was appointed governor of Narbonne in 734; the following year he took Arles. See Collins, *Arab Conquest*, pp. 119–21.

[54] Cf. Honorius, *Historia*, *PL* clxxii. 189; *Chron. Moiss.*, pp. 291–2; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, continuatio 22, pp. 178–9. On the appeal referred to here, see *Otia*, Preface, n. 37, and ii. 16, nn. 168–9.

Franks raised up Theuderic,[49] Dagobert's son, to be Chilperic's successor.[47]

[50]After this the Saracen king of Spain, Abd-ar-Rahman, passing through Pamplona and traversing the Pyrenaean mountains with a strong force, laid siege to Bordeaux, and Eudo, duke of Aquitaine, was defeated by the Saracens. However, with the help of Charles, ruler[51] of the Franks, he resumed hostilities and this time defeated them, and their king was killed.[52] In the wake of this achievement Charles returned to Francia and subjected it to his rule.[50]

Straight after this Yusuf ibn, King Abd-ar-Rahman's governor in Narbonne, attacked the city of Arles and laid waste to the province.[53] In the hope of securing its defence, Pope Gregory the Younger invited Charles to accept the title of Roman Patrician, urging him to withdraw from the authority of the emperor of the Greeks.[54] Charles complied, and [55]marching into Burgundy he captured Avignon, slaughtering the Saracens, and then laid siege to Narbonne. Meanwhile with part of his army he defeated Uqba, king of the Saracens, and returned to Francia with the spoils. He destroyed Maguelone, burned down the amphitheatre and the gates of Nîmes, and took hostages into Francia.[55]

[56]In the year of our Lord 741 Charles, son of Pippin, died, and his sons Pippin and Carloman shared out the lands he had ruled: Carloman took Austrasia, Alemannia, and Thuringia as his share, while Pippin received Burgundy, Neustria, and Provence.[56] Carloman, however, became a monk at Monte Cassino, and entrusted his sons to his brother's care; and so Pippin took over the whole of his father's realm.[57] [58]In the mean time, Waifar, prince of Aquitaine, was pillaging Narbonne. Ansemund the Goth handed over Nîmes, Maguelone, and Bourges to Pippin, and the Franks invested Narbonne. Pippin was harrying Prince Waifar because the latter was

[55–55] Carolus . . . in Frantiam duxit] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 292. Charles destroyed the fortifications of Maguelone and Nîmes in 737; see Collins, *Arab Conquest*, p. 92.

[56–56] Anno . . . Neustriam, atque Prouinciam] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 292; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, continuationes 23–4, p. 179. Carloman (mayor 741–7) abdicated to become a monk; Pippin (the Short), took his dominions, and ruled as mayor 741–51, and then as king 751–68.

[57] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 292; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, continuatio 30, p. 181. Carloman initially entered his new monastery of St Sylvester on Mount Soracte near Rome, subsequently retiring to Monte Cassino. See *DBF*, sub nomine.

[58–58] Interea . . . paucos dies obiit (p. 448)] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 294; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, continuationes 41–53, pp. 186–93. The struggle between Pippin and Waifar was renewed annually from 760 until Waifar's death in 768. On Ansemund, see M. Rouche, *L'Aquitaine des Wisigoths aux Arabes, 418–781* (Paris, 1979), p. 121 and p. 522, n. 63.

quod se ditioni sue subtrahebat. Franci Narbonam,[z] diu obsessam, per Gottos recipiunt, peremptis Sarracenis, facta pactione cum Francis quod illic Gotti patriis moribus legibusque paternis uiuant.[a] Et sic Narbonensis prouintia Pipino subicitur, et Galfario mortuo, Pipinus, Aquitannia capta, post paucos dies obiit.[58]

Cui succedunt filii Carolus[59] et Carlomannus,[60] sed Carlomanno in breui defuncto,[b] Carolus solus regnauit.[61] Qui, congregato exercitu, Desiderium regem Longobardorum, Papie obsessum et captum, in Franciam mittit; sicque regnum Longobardorum finitur, Francisque tota subicitur Italia.[62] Carolus Romam uenit, susceptoque patriciatu redit in Yspanniam, ubi rex Saracenorum[c] Abamaurus Pampalonam ciuitatem et se ditioni illius subicit.[63] Hoc anno Carolo nascitur filius Ludouicus.[64] Exhinc nascitur et alius, quem nominabant Franci Carlomannum, sed Vrbanus papa mutauit eius nomen in Pipinum,[65] quem etiam Vrbanus[d] unxit in regem Italie, Ludouico regnum Aquitanie obtinente. Tunc Rethruda,[e] regis Caroli filia, Constantino imperatori desponsatur.[66]

[67]Post hec Abdelmech rex Saracenorum, ad uastandas Gallias ueniens, suburbium Narbone succendit, multaque christianorum strage facta ac preda, dum Carcasonam tendit, a comite Guillelmo[68] aliisque Francorum principibus conserto prelio prepeditur. Commisso itaque bello graui cum plurima internicione[f] christianorum, fugientibus comitibus Francorum, comes Guillermus post diutinam pugnam a bello diuertit, Sarracenis in Yspanniam cum spoliis regredientibus.[67]

[69]Anno ergo Domini[g] octingentesimo primo, cum apud Grecos

[z] Nerbonam *N* [a] uiuant *supplied by author N* [b] de|defuncto *N* [c] Saracenorum *supplied by author N* [d] papa mutauit . . . Vrbanus] *supplied by author N* [e] Rethrudra *N* [f] intermitione *N* [g] domni *N*

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[59] i.e. Charlemagne: king 768–814, emperor 800.

[60] 768–71.

[61] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 294; Fredegar, *Chronicae*, continuationes 53–4, pp. 192–3.

[62] 774; cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 295, and above, *Otia* ii. 16, n. 169, for the title of *patricius Romanorum*.

[63] 778; cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 296. See Collins, *Arab Conquest*, p. 178.

[64] Louis the Pious, king of Aquitaine 781, emperor 813–40.

[65] Pippin, king of Italy 781–810, was actually older than Louis; he was anointed as king of Italy by Pope Adrian I (Gervase's Urbanus). Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 297; *Otia*, ii. 16, n. 172. The name change Carloman/Pippin is well-documented as being associated with Adrian's king-making, but it is possible that Gervase is drawing on an unidentified source here. See B. Kasten, *Königssöhne und Königsherrschaft*, *Schriften der MGH*, xliv (Hanover, 1997), 139.

trying to withdraw from his suzerainty. After a long siege Narbonne was surrendered to the Franks by the Goths, and the Saracens were slaughtered; the Goths had come to an agreement with the Franks, whereby they would continue to live there by their own hereditary customs and ancestral laws. And so the province of Narbonne became subject to Pippin. After Waifar's death Pippin also conquered Aquitaine; a few days later, he died himself.[58]

His sons Charles[59] and Carloman[60] succeeded him, but Carloman did not live long, and then Charles became sole ruler.[61] He gathered an army and besieged Desiderius, king of the Lombards, in Pavia; he took him prisoner and sent him to Francia, and thus the kingdom of the Lombards came to an end, and the whole of Italy became subject to the Franks.[62] Charles went to Rome and received the title of Patrician. Then he went back to Spain, where Abu Tahir, king of the Saracens, acknowledged his suzerainty over himself and the city of Pamplona.[63] In this year a son, Louis,[64] was born to Charles. Subsequently another son was born, whom the Franks called Carloman, but Pope Urban changed his name to Pippin;[65] Urban also anointed this Pippin as king of Italy, while Louis acquired the kingdom of Aquitaine. At this time Rotrudis, King Charles' daughter, was betrothed to the emperor Constantine.[66]

[67]After this Abd-al-Malik, king of the Saracens, came into Gaul to lay waste the land. He set fire to the district around Narbonne, with much slaughter of Christians and taking of plunder, and he was on his way to Carcassonne when his progress was halted by Count William[68] and some princes of the Franks who came to help him. They joined battle, and so a grievous war commenced, in which a great many Christians lost their lives. The counts of the Franks took flight, but Count William went on fighting for a long time, and only abandoned the war when the Saracens went back to Spain with their spoils.[67]

[69]In the eight hundred and first year of our Lord, when the title of

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[66] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 296. Rotrudis was betrothed as a child in 781 to Constantine VI, son of the empress Irene, but this was broken off six years later.

[67–67] Post . . . cum spoliis regredientibus] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 300.

[68] i.e. William of Gellone, the historical basis for the William of Orange/Court-Nez of the *chansons de geste*; cf. *Otia*, i. 23, n. 21, and iii. 103, n. 40.

[69–69] Anno . . . quasdam partes occidentis (p. 450)] Charlemagne was crowned emperor on Christmas Day, 800. Gervase is here going some way beyond the account given by his source, *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 305. For the notion of reuniting the *nomen imperatoris* with the reality see Classen, *Karl der Große* (above, ii. 16, n. 169), pp. 70–1. For Gervase's commentary in what follows on the effects of Leo III's action, in which he is participating in contemporary debates amongst both historians and canonists on the

nomen imperatoris uacaret et feminis cessisset imperandi dominatio,[70] Carolus, Rome moram[h] faciens, accepit a Leone papa et uniuerso populo Romano decretum ut Carolus nomen imperatoris indueret et Augusti, eo quod imperatores in Romana urbe[i] sedem pridem habuissent, qui et Augusti uocabantur. In proxima itaque Christi natiuitatis sollempnitate, Carolus cum comsecratione nomen Augusti imperiumque a papa Leone suscepit.[j] Ex hoc igitur tempore, Grecorum imperio apud occidentem[k] euanescente, nomen rediit inperatoris ad quasdam partes[l] occidentis.[69]

Ex quo quedam Romani imperii facta est confusio dum, duobus nomen unum tenentibus, diuisio minuit potestatem, et sicut a solo Deo Grecorum pendet imperium, ita a sede tantum Romana papa occidentis asserit pendere imperium. Ecce enim noua et inusitata commutatio facit ut papa solus insignia ferat imperialia,[71] et imperator Romanus nomen imperiale teneat sub uulgaribus aliorum regum f. 46r insignibus. Papa dominum[m] urbis | ac imperialis sedis se monstrat, et imperator sub nomine dominationis[n] pape minister dicitur, et in temporalibus appostolorum executor hic, ille uicarius Christi et apostolorum successor nominatur.

Ecce quam infelix urbis permutatio, que sub unitate, ut dicit papa, domnii duobus seruire dicatur, uni ex corona, alteri ex potentia! Verum in hoc antique nobilitatis[o] recordatur efferitatem, quod utriusque domini Roma utrumque dominum nominat, cum pro sue uoluntatis arbitrio ipsa utrique dominetur, utrique molesta, utrique ceruicosa, neutrum fugit et utrumque paruipendit. Apud principes Alemannie imperatoris est electio, apud papam electi confirmatio[p] ac consecratio, et noua discretione imperator nominatur ut dominus, consecratur[q] ut non dominus: nempe imperialia non accipit[r] insignia, que sibi soli papa collata conseruat, et ad altare modicum in dextro

[h] morem *N* [i] urbe *supplied by author N* [j] *X has a substantial interpolation at this point: see Appendix ii. 1* [k] occidentem *β;* regnum *N* [l] partes *supplied by author N* [m] donimiun *N* [n] dominatonis *N* [o] nobi|tati *N* [p] confirmato *N* [q] consecratur *repeated N* [r] accepit *N*

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idea of 'translation of empire' from Greeks to 'Romans' and on the origins of papal and secular power, see Goez, *Translatio*, pp. 137 and 201–2; A. M. Stickler, 'Sacerdozio e regno nelle nuove ricerche attorno ai secoli XII e XIII nei Decretisti e Decretalisti fino alle decretali di Gregorio IX', in *Sacerdozio e regno da Gregorio VII a Bonifacio VIII* (Rome, 1954) pp. 1–26.

[70] When Leo IV died in 780, his son Constantine VI was only ten, and the power lay in the hands of his mother Irene; in 797 she had her son deposed, and declared herself sole emperor, but she was herself deposed in 802.

emperor was vacant among the Greeks and the imperial power had passed over to women,[70] Charles, during a stay in Rome, accepted from Pope Leo and the whole Roman people the decree that he should assume the title of emperor and Augustus; for the emperors, who always used to take the name of Augustus as well, had formerly had their headquarters in the city of Rome. And so the following Christmas Charles was consecrated by Pope Leo and received from him the title of Augustus and the imperial sovereignty. From this time on, therefore, the authority of the Greeks passed away in the west, and the title of emperor was restored to certain parts of western Europe.[69]

From this a measure of confusion has arisen in the Roman empire, for with two people holding the same title, division reduces their power. On the one hand, there is the authority of the Greeks deriving from God alone, but on the other, the pope claims that the authority over the west derives from the Roman see alone. For as you know, by a strange and novel change of rôles the pope alone bears the imperial insignia,[71] and the Roman emperor holds the imperial title while bearing the common insignia of other kings. The pope proclaims himself lord of the city of Rome and of the capital of the empire, while the emperor, though he has the title of one holding supreme power, is said to be the servant of the pope; the emperor is designated the executor of the apostles in temporal affairs, the pope the vicar of Christ and successor of the apostles.

See what an unhappy state Rome has been reduced to! Subject, as the pope maintains, to a single authority, she may be said to serve two lords, one wearing the crown, the other holding the power. In this, truly, Rome demonstrates the degeneracy of her nobility of the past, in that she calls each of the two lord of the other, while she herself lords it over both according to the dictates of her own will; she is troublesome to both, stiff-necked with both, abashed by neither, setting scant store by either. The emperor is elected by the princes of Alemannia, but the pope confirms the election and consecrates the emperor; so, as a result of this strange separation, the emperor's title proclaims his authority, while his consecration belies that authority: for he does not actually receive the imperial insignia, which the pope retains as having been conferred only on him, and he is consecrated

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[71] Goez, *Translatio*, pp. 201–2, points to the importance of this passage (ultimately dependent on the Donation of Constantine, on which see *Otia*, Preface, n. 36) for later medieval discussions of the relationship between papacy and empire.

latere basilice sancti Petri consecratur a solo papa, cum e diuerso papa imperatoris insignia teneat, et ad altare tantum sancti Petri inunctionem suscipiat. Sane Constantinopolitanus imperator, sede[s] mutata non dignitate, suo iure non papali beneficio imperialia gestat insignia, et uelut profuse largitionis[t] donator donatarium suum summum pontificem non euocat ad adiutorium, domi habens sue dignitatis plenitudinem. Verum de hoc querelam facere potest aduersus inbeneficiatum,[u] quod cum ex Constantini beneficio[72] inmensam receperit cum singulari honore dominationem[v] principi soli debitam, non debuit usurpare ut alii conferret Augusti appellationem, et nisi os uiderer in celum ponere,[73] constanter dicerem aut imperium Romam non posse cuiusuis[w] imperatoris[x] largitione exuere, aut si potuit ius imperii in pontificem mutare, non potuit in donatoris preiudicium donatarius Augusti nomen, quod ipse non habuit, alii conferre.[74]

Porro, quiescente contentione, in te uidetur Deus, princeps[y] sacratissime, ueteris imperialis[z] dignitatis plenitudinem conflasse, dum ex genere oriundus imperiali, duplicis electionis[a] et papalis confirmationis[75] stolam meruisti, dignoque Dei iudicio restitutus in regnum, sub cuius adquisitione pugnando diu uacillaueras, et[b] hostem sine tuo consilio ex alieno dolo prostratum uidisti,[76] et ad antique celsitudinis redintegrationem monarchiam Constinopolitani uendicabis, uita comite, imperii, quod ex propinquitate tue debetur Auguste.[77] Precor itaque, christianissime imperator, ut cum tuo consecratore nullam habeas controuersiam, sed uelut boni patris prudens filius, conuerte gladium ad gentes que te non nouerunt;[78] et, sicut ex sanctissimi Innocencii pape tercii duplici[c] gratia[79]

[s] imperator sede *supplied by author N* [t] largigitionis (*with* gitio *written by author above line*) *N* [u] beneficiatum *XI* [v] donationem *QI* [w] cuiusuis *supplied by author N* [x] imperatoris *om. N* [y] o *add. before* princeps *ACβ* [z] imperalis *N* [a] electonis *N* [b] et *supplied by author N* [c] dupluci *N*

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[72] See *Otia*, Preface, n. 36. [73] Cf. Ps. 72 (73): 9.

[74] Gervase is here uneasy about the validity of the donation and of theories of 'translation of empire', not least because since 1204 there existed a legitimate (in Latin eyes) emperor in Constantinople; cf. Goez, *Translatio*, p. 137.

[75] Otto was twice elected king, first by a minority of the German princes in 1198, and then by a majority in 1208; Innocent III, having confirmed the first election, regarded the second as unnecessary. See above, pp. xxxi–xxxii.

[76] An allusion to the murder of Philip of Swabia by Otto of Wittelsbach in 1208 (see above, p. xxxii).

[77] Philip of Swabia had married the Byzantine princess, Irene-Maria, and had been adopted by his father-in-law, the emperor Isaac II, as his heir. In 1209 Otto was betrothed to Philip's daughter and heiress, Beatrix; they were married in 1212, but Beatrix died within three weeks of the wedding. See Hucker, *Otto IV.*, pp. 160–1; cf. above, pp. xxxii and xxxix.

[78] Cf. Ps. 78 (79): 6; Jer. 10: 25.

by the pope alone at the small altar on the right-hand side of the basilica of St Peter's; the pope, on the other hand, does hold the emperor's insignia, and receives his anointing at the great high altar of St Peter's. Of course the emperor in Constantinople wields the imperial insignia by his own right and not by papal benefaction, for only the seat of power was changed, not the power itself; as the giver of lavish gifts, he does not call on the supreme pontiff, himself a recipient of his gifts, to help him, since he possesses the plenitude of his power in his own person. But it would be possible to lodge a complaint against the beneficiary on these grounds: that, while by Constantine's benefaction[72] he has received immense power, due only to a prince, and accompanied by extraordinary honour, he ought not to have taken it upon himself to confer the name of Augustus on another; and were it not that I should seem to be setting my mouth against heaven,[73] I would state firmly that either the empire has no right to relinquish Rome even by an emperor's gift, or, if it was lawful to transfer imperial authority to the pontiff, he still, having received that authority, had no right to confer on another the title of Augustus, which he did not hold himself, against the interests of the one who gave him his authority.[74]

Leaving argument aside, however, in you, most worshipful Prince, God seems to have re-established the fulness of the old imperial dignity. For you are born of an imperial family, and you have merited the imperial stole by virtue of a twofold election and papal confirmation;[75] further, having been restored to your kingdom by God's righteous judgment after your fortunes had wavered for a long time in your fight to secure it, you have seen your enemy laid low by no stratagem of yours, but by another's trickery;[76] and, with a view to the restoration of its ancient splendour, you will also claim the sovereignty of the empire based in Constantinople, as long as life remains to you; for it is your due as a result of your empress's right of inheritance.[77] I pray therefore, most Christian Emperor, that you will not engage in any quarrel with the one who consecrated you, but as a wise son of a good father, turn your sword against nations that have not known you;[78] and, just as you have received the highest title of emperor by the double grace[79] of the most holy pope, Innocent III, so

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[79] In using the terms *gratia* and *beneficium* (see also below, pp. 468–71) of Otto's relationship to Innocent, Gervase is affirming the radical dependence of the imperial power on the papacy; see W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn. (London, 1970), pp. 340–3, 474, 480.

ultimum imperatoris nomen obtinuisti, sic, per bonam innocenciam tuam et eius gratiam, imperium nouum et a Deo sub Constantino firmatum obtineas, et gaudium tuum impleatur,[80] dum nihil erit quod deesse tibi possit ad gloriam imperialem, hinc nomine tibi Augustali dato, illinc insignibus imperialibus que non habes obuenturis, et utrobique dominationis[d] augmento[e] crescente.

xix. *De inperatoribus Romanis post Carolum*

Regnum Francorum duximus usque ad imperium illi coagulatum, et quoniam imperium modico tempore per successiones continuas a patre in filium descendit, breuiter qui ex tunc in imperio Romanorum inperauerunt annectamus.

Dum ergo Carolus strenue rem publicam administraret, uolens laudabilem fidei christiane deffensionem ad suos successores f. 46v transmitere, | [1]regnante in Yspaniis Abiulaz[a] [2] filio Etham[b] Saraceno, destinauit[c] contra odiosam sibi gentem filium suum Ludouicum, regem Aquitannie;[3] qui, congregato exercitu Guasconum, Burgundionum, atque Gottorum, Barcinonam capit[4] regnoque Francorum subicit.[1] Videns itaque Carolus sue strenuitatis[d] heredem fore Ludouicum, [5]consilio episcoporum et ducum ac principum constituit Ludouicum imperatorem, tradens illi per coronam[e] auream imperium,[5] sicque feliciter migrauit ad Dominum,[f] anno Domini octingentesimo tercio decimo, quinto decimo Kalendas Februarii, regni eius anno quadragesimo septimo,[6] imperii sui duodecimo.

[7]Sane Ludouicus imperator, apud Aquis Granis in palatio congregatis episcopis, ducibus, et Francorum principibus, constituit ut unus ex tribus filiis eius imperium post eum haberet qui maior natu erat, Clotarius,[8] cui per coronam auream tradidit imperii[g] dignitatem.[7] [9]Hec grauiter ferens Bernardus rex Italie, Pipini filius et

[d] dominatonis *N* [e] aumento *N*

[a] Abiulam *β*; Abulaz *Chron. Moiss.* [b] Otham *I*; Axam *Chron. Moiss.* [c] destinaauit *N* [d] strenitatis *N* [e] caronam *N* [f] Dominum *supplied by author N* [g] imperii *om. XQ*

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[80] Cf. John 15: 11.

[1–1] regnante . . . regnoque Francorum subicit] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 307.
[2] Al-Hakam I, 796–822; see Collins, *Arab Conquest*, pp. 207–10.
[3] Cf. *Otia*, ii. 18, n. 64.
[4] 801.

may you receive, through your well-intentioned innocence and his grace, a new imperial sovereignty, the one established by God in the time of Constantine. May your joy then be full,[80] for there will be nothing which could be lacking to you for your imperial glory, since the title of Augustus has already been given to you on the one hand, and the imperial insignia which you as yet do not possess will come to you on the other, while on both sides your power will grow ever greater.

19. *The Roman Emperors after Charlemagne*

We have carried our account of the kingdom of the Franks up to the point at which the empire was united with it. Now, since the imperial sovereignty descended for only a short time in unbroken succession from father to son, let us add a brief account of those who ruled over the empire of the Romans from that time on.

While the administration of the empire was in Charlemagne's capable hands, [1]the Saracen al-Hakam,[2] son of Hisham, was reigning in Spain. Charlemagne wanted to hand on to his successors a laudable protectorate of the Christian faith, and so he sent his son Louis, king of Aquitaine,[3] against that race which he held in such abhorrence. Louis, having gathered an army of Gascons, Burgundians, and Goths, captured Barcelona[4] and subjected it to the rule of the Franks.[1] Charlemagne therefore, perceiving that Louis was going to prove to have inherited his own ability, [5]held a council of the bishops, dukes, and princes and appointed him emperor, handing over the sovereignty to him along with the golden crown.[5] This done, he passed peacefully to the Lord, on 18 January in the year of our Lord 813, when he had been king for forty-seven years[6] and emperor for twelve.

[7]The emperor Louis, having assembled the bishops, dukes, and princes of the Franks in his palace at Aachen, established that one of his three sons, Lothar,[8] the eldest, should possess the sovereignty after him, and handed over the imperial honours to him along with the golden crown.[7] [9]Bernard, king of Italy, son of Pippin and Louis's

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[5–5] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 310. Charlemagne crowned Louis emperor on 13 September 813, five months before he died; see McKitterick, *Frankish Kingdoms*, p. 108.
[6] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, p. 311; Charlemagne died in 814.
[7–7] Cf. ibid. p. 312. [8] Lothar I, 817–55.
[9–9] Cf. *Chron. Moiss.*, pp. 312–13. Bernard, son of Pippin (see above, ii. 18, n. 65) was king of Italy 813–17.

Luduuici ex fratre nepos, contra Ludouicem et filios eius insidias parat. Sed a Francis preuentus et captus, iussu imperatoris excecatus est, et eius fautores iusto iudicio puniti sunt.[9] Imperauit ergo Ludouicus cum filio Lotario, quem alii Clotarium nominant. Ipsoque mortuo,[10] imperauit solus Lotarius, et processu temporis filium suum Ludouicum[11] in imperatorem erexit. Cui successit filius eius Carolus secundus in imperatoria dignitate; nempe ante Carolum patrem Ludouici, patricii tantum erant Francorum reges senatus Romani, non imperatores.[12]

Carolo secundo successit Carolus tercius,[13] cui Ludouicus,[14] cui Berengarius,[15] cui Hugo,[16] cui Berengarius secundus,[h] [17] cui Lotarius,[18] cui Berengarius cum Aldeberto filio,[19] cui Otto primus,[20] cui[i] Otto secundus[21] cum Ottone filio. Mortuo quoque Ottone secundo, solus imperauit filius eius[j] Otto tercius,[22] post quem Henricus,[23] post quem Conradus,[24] post quem Henricus secundus,[25] post quem Henricus tercius,[26] post quem Henricus quartus rex Theutonicorum,[27] a quo, primo anno eius imperii, captus est Pascalis papa secundus, et factum est scisma,[k] imperatore tuente antipapam Girbertum et antipapam Galterum, tempore Pascalis et Vrbani secundi perseuerante scismate.[l] [28] Imperauit quoque memoratus Henricus[m] sedentibus Gelasio secundo[29] et Calixto secundo[30] et Honorio secundo[31] et Innocentio secundo.[n] [32] Cuius tempore moritur

[h] cui Hugo . . . secundus] *supplied by author N* [i] cui *supplied by author N*
[j] eius *supplied by author N* [k] scima *N* [l] scimate *N* [m] Hanricus *N*
[n] et Innocentio secundo *supplied by author N*

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[10] 840. By the Treaty of Verdun (843), Charlemagne's empire was divided into three kingdoms: Lothar's brother Louis (the German) took the German-speaking lands, his half-brother Charles (the Bald) took the mainly Romance-speaking kingdom of the West Franks, while Lothar kept the lands in between, along with the kingdom of Italy and the title of emperor.

[11] Louis II, crowned emperor in 850, king of Italy 855–75.

[12] Charles the Bald, actually the son of Louis I by his second wife Judith; king of the West Franks 840, of Lotharingia 869, emperor 875–7. On the patrician title, see P. Classen, *Karl der Große, das Papsttum und Byzanz*, 2nd edn. (Sigmaringen, 1988), pp. 21–2.

[13] Charles the Fat, king of Swabia 876, crowned emperor 881, sole king 884, deposed 887, died 888; he was a cousin of Louis II, and son of Louis the German. He was succeeded in Germany by his nephew Arnulf, crowned emperor in 896.

[14] Louis the Blind (grandson of Louis II), king of Provence from 890, seized the kingdom of Italy from Berengar I in 900, and was crowned emperor in 901, but in 905 he was blinded and driven out of Italy for good; he died in 928. See Mckitterick, *Frankish Kingdoms*, pp. 264–5, 270, 356.

[15] Berengar I, nephew of Charles the Bald, king of Italy 888, emperor 915, murdered 924. The Western imperial title was not held by anyone after Berengar's death until Otto I's coronation in 962.

[16] Hugh of Arles (a descendant of Lothar I), king of Italy 926–47.

[17] Hugh was succeeded by his son Lothar: see following note. For Berengar II, see n. 19.

nephew through his brother, was annoyed at this, and conspired treacherously against Louis and his sons. But he was forestalled by the Franks and taken prisoner; on the emperor's orders he was blinded, and his supporters received the punishment they deserved.[9] Louis therefore reigned in association with his son Lothar, whom others call Chlotar. On Louis's death,[10] Lothar became sole emperor, and in the course of time he raised up his son Louis[11] as the next emperor. After him his son Charles II held the imperial power; he is called Charles II, because before the time of Charlemagne, Louis's father, the kings of the Franks were only patricians of the Roman senate, not emperors.[12]

Charles III[13] succeeded Charles II; then came Louis,[14] then Berengar,[15] then Hugh,[16] then Berengar II,[17] then Lothar,[18] then Berengar with his son Adalbert,[19] then Otto I,[20] then Otto II[21] with his son Otto. After Otto II's death, his son reigned alone as Otto III.[22] After him came Henry,[23] then Conrad,[24] then Henry II,[25] then Henry III,[26] then Henry IV, king of the Germans.[27] In the first year of Henry IV's reign as emperor, he took Pope Paschal II prisoner, and a schism was created, with the emperor backing the antipopes Girbert and Walter; the schism persisted through the pontificates of Paschal and Urban II.[28] This same Henry was also emperor during the papacies of Gelasius II,[29] Calixtus II,[30] Honorius II,[31] and Innocent II.[32] He died

[18] King of Italy 947–50.

[19] Berengar II and his son Adalbert were joint kings of Italy, 950–61.

[20] Otto the Great, king of Germany 936–73, conquered Italy in 961, and was crowned emperor in 962.

[21] Otto II, associate king 961, associate emperor 967, sole emperor 973, died 983.

[22] Otto III, king 983–1002, emperor 996.

[23] Called Henry II by modern custom (Henry the Fowler, father of Otto I, being designated Henry I): duke (IV) of Bavaria 995–1004 and 1009–17, king 1002–24, emperor 1014, died 1024.

[24] Conrad II, king 1024–39, emperor 1027.

[25] Henry III, king 1039–56, emperor 1046.

[26] Henry IV, king 1056–1106, emperor 1084.

[27] Henry V, king 1106–25, emperor 1111.

[28] It was actually Henry IV (Gervase's Henry III) who initiated the schism when he set up his chancellor in Rome, Wibert (Gervase's Girbertus), as Clement III (1080–1100, antipope to Gregory VII (1073–85), Victor III (1086–87), and Urban II (1088–99)); Clement crowned Henry emperor in 1084. After him Theoderic (1100), Albert (1102), and Sylvester IV (1105–11, formerly called Maginulf; Gervase's Galterus?) were set up as antipopes to Paschal II (1099–1118). Henry V took Paschal II prisoner in 1111, and thereby forced him to crown him emperor in the same year. After Paschal's death in 1118, Henry V renewed the schism by setting up Gregory VIII as antipope while Gelasius II (1118–19) took refuge at Cluny; Gregory was overthrown by Calixtus II (1119–24) in 1121. See E. Boshof, *Heinrich IV. Herrscher an einer Zeitenwende* (Göttingen, 1979), p. 95; I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198. Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 525–6.

[29] 1118–19.

[30] 1119–24.

[31] 1124–30.

[32] 1130–43. Henry V actually died in 1125, in the time of Honorius II.

Henricus imperator, et succedit ei Lotarius imperator,[33] proauus tuus, princeps serenissime, qui sicut ab Innocencio consecratur, ita deuotus et innocens erga Romanam semper extitit ecclesiam. Hic legem feodorum primus instituit, sanciens ut nullus feodum uel partem feodi audeat uendere seu impignorare[o] uel quocumque modo alienare, sine permissione maioris domini ad quem feodum spectare dignoscitur.[34] Huic sane constitutioni, quia futuris tantum et non preteritis formam dabat negociis, Federicus imperator addidit: 'Nos autem, ad pleniorem regni utilitatem prouidentes, non solum in posterum, sed etiam omnes huiusmodi prius factas alienationes cassamus et in irritum ducimus, nullius temporis prescriptione impediente';[35] quod et mihi et meis contulisti.[36]

Piissimo Loctario successit Conradus,[37] uir quidem strenuus, qui et ipse,[p] iuncto[q] sibi piissimo rege Francorum Ludouico,[38] patre regis huius Philipi,[39] ultramarinam fecit peregrinationem,[r][40] comitatus nepote suo, milite strenuissimo Frederico,[41] cuius miliciam et audaciam Damascus testatur.

Conrado successit Fredericus, plus ad hoc operante strenuitate sua quam electione Theutonicorum. Hic, cum regnasset tempore pape | f. 47r Eugenii[42] genere Tusci, necnon Anastasii[s] tercii,[43] Adriani quoque genere Angli, Rufensis canonici,[44] ab ipso Adriano in imperatorem consecratur.[45] Cumque, mortuo Adriano papa, Alexander succederet tertius[t][46] genere Senensis, Fredericus scisma[u] longissimo tempore suscitauit ac defendit.[47] Verum Alexander, ut erat uir summi ingenii et inter constancie ac paciencie[v] semitas discretissimus, dum potuit exortando, dum locus fuit gladio spirituali feriendo,[48] omnia pro

[o] inpgnorare *N* [p] ipse *supplied by author N* [q] iuncto *ACβ; expunged in N*
[r] peregrinatione *N* [s] Anatasii *N* [t] succederet tertius] tercius successit *XQ*
[u] scima *N* [v] ac paciencie *om. N*

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[33] Lothar of Supplinburg, duke of Saxony 1106–27, king 1125–37, emperor (Lothar III) 1133, died 1137; cf. nn. 81 and 85 below.

[34] Edict of 6 November 1136, *Die Urkunden Lothars III.*, ed. E. von Otthenthal and H. Hirsch (*MGH, Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, viii (Berlin, 1927), 168, no. 105).

[35] Frederick's addition is dated Roncaglia, 5 December 1154; see *Die Urkunden Friedrichs I., 1: 1152–1158*, ed. H. Appelt (*MGH, Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, ix (1) (Vienna, 1975), 151, no. 91).

[36] It seems from *Otia*, iii. 92 that Gervase's entitlement to his wife's estate was disputed, but was confirmed by Otto IV (see above, p. xxix); that is possibly the benefit alluded to here.

[37] Conrad II, king (III) 1138–52; he was never crowned in Rome.

[38] Louis VII, 1137–80.

[39] Philip II (Augustus), 1180–1223.

[40] This was the Second Crusade (1147).

in the time of Innocent, and the emperor Lothar,[33] your great-grandfather, most serene Prince, succeeded him. This Lothar, in conformity with his consecration by Innocent, always showed himself loyal and innocent in relation to the Roman Church. It was he who first instituted the law of fiefs, ordaining that no one should presume to sell, mortgage, or alienate in any way a fief or part of a fief, without the permission of the overlord to whom the fief is acknowledged to pertain.[34] Because this decree gave a formulary for future transactions only, not for those of the past, the emperor Frederick added to it the clause: 'We moreover, making fuller provision for the best interests of the realm, annul and make void all alienations of property of this kind, not only for the future, but also those transacted in the past, without regard to considerations of date';[35] and this you have brought to bear on me and mine.[36]

The good Lothar was succeeded by Conrad,[37] an energetic man who, along with the devout King Louis of France,[38] father of the present king Philip,[39] made the pilgrimage to Outremer.[40] He was accompanied by his nephew Frederick,[41] a tireless warrior, to whose military prowess and boldness Damascus bears witness.

Frederick succeeded Conrad, his succession secured more by his own efforts than by the election of the Germans. He became king in the time of the Tuscan-born Pope Eugenius,[42] and his reign continued through the papacy of Anastasius III[43] and also that of the English-born Adrian, once a canon of Saint-Ruf;[44] by this same Adrian he was consecrated as emperor.[45] When, on Pope Adrian's death, Alexander III,[46] a native of Siena, was to succeed him, Frederick set up a schism and defended it for a very long time.[47] However Alexander, being a man of great ability and very practised in the ways of firmness and patience, by exhorting when possible but striking with the spiritual sword when there was need,[48] at times

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[41] Frederick I Barbarossa, king 1152–90, emperor 1155. The main event of this disastrous crusade was an unsuccessful siege of Damascus.

[42] Eugenius III, 1145–53.

[43] Actually Anastasius IV, 1153–4.

[44] Adrian IV, pope 1154–9, formerly a canon, later prior and abbot of Saint-Ruf, near Avignon (cf. *Otia*, i. 20, n. 27).

[45] 18 June 1155.

[46] 1159–81.

[47] Tension between empire and papacy was at a height when Adrian died, resulting in a double election: the imperialist minority among the cardinals elected Victor IV (1159–64), Paschal III (1164–8), and Calixtus III (1168–76), as antipopes to Alexander III.

[48] Alexander excommunicated Frederick and Victor IV, and released the emperor's subjects from their allegiance.

tempore sustinens[49] et pro tempore uindicans, ad ultimum imperatorem uicit, et quem atrocissimis morsibus in gregem dominicum seuientem uidimus, in breui uinctum[w] conspeximus catastis[x] [50] regni celestis. In Concilio siquidem Veneto[51] penitentem imperatorem, ad sinum matris ecclesie regressum, intuiti sumus cum summa humilitate stolam per manus sanctissimi pape Alexandri, quam dedit pater penitenti filio, recepisse. Tunc Mediolanum, in manu forti diutina obsidione pressum, lassatum,[y] ac deditum, in plures uicos distinxerat, deiectis turribus et cassatis munitionibus,[52] tribusque Magis Coloniam Agrippinam[z] usque perlatis,[a] [53] quasi fugiens uictor Italiam declinauit.[54] Verum in Italiam rediens resumptis uiribus,[55] Alexandriam, quam ciuitatem nouam, a Lonbardis constructam, suo nomine Alexander papa Alexandriam nominans decorauit, obsidet,[56] nec inpugnando proficit, quin immo inde rediens, in confinio comitatus Mediolanensis a ciuibus Mediolani grauem[b] iacturam conserto prelio sustinuit.[57] Ideoque, ut premisimus, uiribus humanis deficientibus, coactus est inmortali regi indomita colla submitere.

Quid plura? Tunc erecto in regem Theutonicorum, Arelatensium, et Lonbardorum filio suo primogenito Henrico,[58] salutato summo pontifice, cum innumera strenuorum militum multitudine, Fredericus ad pridem consuetas paganorum pugnas repetendas peregrinationis iter arripuit.[59] Decursis Hunis,[c] transito Danubio Meotidisque paludibus transactis ubi se in[d] mare Euxinumque pontum deiciunt ad Brachium sancti Georgii uulgo dictum,[60] Iconium uenit. Ibique multiplici paganorum resistencium pugna

[w] uictum *CXQ* [x] catastis *glossed by author* id est tormentis uel penis *N*
[y] lasassatum *N* [z] Agrippinamque *N* [a] usque perlatis *supplied by author N*
[b] grauam *N* [c] *sic QI;* Himis *N* [d] in | in *N*

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[49] Cf. 1 Cor. 13: 7.

[50] Lit. 'bound to the *catastae*'; a *catasta* was a device to which persons were bound for torture (see *Dict. of Med. Latin from British Sources*, s.v. (b)).

[51] July 1177. Gervase was present: see above, p. xxvi.

[52] Milan was under siege from the spring of 1160, and fell in March 1162; see Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa*, pp. 179–83.

[53] The transfer of the relics of the Magi to Cologne in 1162 established one of the most important western saints' cults of the later Middle Ages; cf. H. Hofmann, *Die Heiligen Drei Könige* (Bonn, 1975); *Ornamenta Ecclesiae: Kunst und Künstler der Romanik in Köln*, ed. A. Legner (Cologne, 1985), ii. 216–25.

[54] Gervase is here confusing the end of Barbarossa's second Italian expedition in 1162 with the end of his third in 1167, when he was forced to withdraw after his army had been destroyed by an outbreak of malaria or dysentery in August 1167; see Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa*, pp. 252–4.

[55] 1174.

bearing all things[49] and at times asserting his claims, finally subdued the emperor; and the man whom we had seen raging with cruel jaws against the Lord's flock, we beheld shortly afterwards being subjected to the punishments[50] of the heavenly kingdom. For we witnessed the penitent emperor's return to the bosom of his mother the Church at the Congress of Venice,[51] when he received the imperial stole with the utmost humility from the hands of His Holiness Pope Alexander, who gave it as a father bestowing a gift on a penitent son. Before this he had subjected Milan to a long siege with a strong force, and when it had surrendered in exhaustion, he had divided it into several villages, demolishing its towers and reducing its fortifications to rubble.[52] But then, carrying off the three Magi from there to Cologne,[53] the victor left Italy as if in flight.[54] However, he returned to Italy with renewed strength[55] and laid siege to Alessandria, a new city built by the Lombards, which Pope Alexander had adorned with his own name, calling it Alessandria;[56] but Frederick's attack was not successful. On the contrary, on his way back from there he sustained heavy losses at the hands of the citizens of Milan, who engaged him in battle on the border of their territory.[57] And so, as we have already recounted, when human strength failed him, he had no choice but to bend his stubborn neck before the immortal King.

Let us now be brief. Frederick then raised up his first-born son, Henry, as king of Germany, Arles, and Lombardy,[58] and having paid his respects to the pope he enthusiastically took the crusaders' route, with a countless multitude of valiant soldiers, intending to renew the time-honoured custom of fighting the pagans.[59] He passed through the land of the Huns and crossed the Danube; then, after traversing Lake Maeotis where it empties into the Euxine Sea at the straits commonly called the Arm of St George,[60] he went on to Iconium. There his strength was worn down by repeated encounters with fatigatus, terram Antiocenam ingressus, cum sue felicitatis consummationem iocundam suscepturus terram promissionis accederet, lauacrum in satis modico amne sui corporis faciens, diem clausit extremum.[61]

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[56] Built in 1168 at the junction of the rivers Bormida and Tanaro to bar future German invasions, Alessandria was besieged by Frederick in 1175; see Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa*, p. 301.

[57] Frederick was defeated in a pitched battle with the Lombard League near Legnano, 29 May 1176; see Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa*, pp. 310–11.

[58] Henry VI (1190–7) was actually Frederick's second son. He was declared king of the Romans; in 1186 he was crowned king of Italy; in 1191 he received the imperial crown from Celestine III (see below).

[59] This was the Third Crusade (1189); Frederick was himself a survivor of the Second Crusade (see above, nn. 40–41).

[60] Frederick and his army went via the Hellespont, which was known as the Arm of St George (see Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa*, p. 394; *Otia*, ii. 2, n. 13); they did not pass anywhere near Lake Maeotis (the Sea of Azov).

Exactis ergo, post Alexandrum papam,[62] sub regno Henrici, filii Frederici, summis pontificibus Lucio,[63] Vrbano tertio Mediolanense[64] (facundissimo ac in animositate et constantia Mediolanum sapiente);[e] Gregorio[65] (qui citius se uidit morientem fere quam pontificem), Clemente,[66] tempore Celestini[67] Henricus Rome coronatus, ab eo nomen suscepit Augusti, dato Tusculano ad internicionem[f] ob fauorem senatus adipiscendum.[68] Erat autem Henricus uir apud moderatos modestus, apud rebelles atrocissimus, hostibus inuictus, contumacibus seuerus, proditoribus immisericors, litteratis ipse literatior, quod in armorum minus erat exercitio supplebat ingenio;[g] facundus et munificus, gratiosus apud bonos, expositus apud simplices, contra superbos ceruicosus. Animo patrem sapiebat, non gladio; quoscumque seditiosos praua faciebat intentio, preueniebat consilio.

f. 47^{v} Hic legem instituit apud Teutones | ut milicie, more Gallorum et Anglorum, successionis iure deuoluerentur ad proximiores cognationis gradus, cum antea magis penderent ex principis gratia.[69] Ideoque ad suum refundens commodum quod aliis inpertitus est beneficium, inpetrauit a subditis ut, cesante pristina Palatinorum electione, imperium in ipsius posteritatem distincta proximorum successione transsiret, et sic in ipso terminus esset electionis principiumque successiue dignitatis.[70]

[e] sapientie *N* [f] internicionem *glossed by author* id est mortem uel aliam penam *N*
[g] ingenio *om.* *NA*

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[61] Frederick drowned in Cilicia, 10 June 1190; see Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa*, p. 396.

[62] Alexander III died in 1181. Gervase's relative chronology is confused at this point.

[63] Lucius III, 1181–5.

[64] Urban III, 1185–7.

[65] Gregory VIII, 21 October to 17 December 1187, hence Gervase's comment.

[66] Clement III, 1187–91.

[67] Celestine III, 1191–8.

[68] Celestine crowned Henry VI in 1191, after Henry had given up Tusculum, a small town near Rome, to the vengeance of her Roman enemies.

[69] A development associated not only with Henry VI but with the Staufer rulers more generally: cf. W. Goez, *Der Leihezwang* (Tübingen, 1962) and K.-F. Krieger, *Die Lehnshoheit der deutschen Könige im Spätmittelalter* (*ca. 1200–1437*) (Aalen, 1979).

[70] A much-discussed passage; it refers obliquely to the so-called 'plan of hereditary imperial succession' (acknowledgement of hereditary succession in the kingdom by the princes in return for acknowledgement of hereditary succession in benefices by the ruler) put forward by Henry VI in 1196 and initially accepted by the princes, though after they turned against it Henry settled for a pragmatic anticipatory election of Frederick II at Erfurt in October 1196. On this see U. Schmidt, *Königswahl und Thronfolge im 12. Jahrhundert* (Cologne 1987), pp. 225–60, P. Csendes, *Heinrich VI.* (Darmstadt, 1993), pp. 171–8, and B. Schimmelpfennig, *Könige und Fürsten, Kaiser und Papst nach dem Wormser Konkordat* (Munich, 1996), pp. 54–8, 79–84. But it also implies Gervase's apparent belief that the right of proposing candidates for election in the German kingdom had once belonged to the holders of the four court offices; the idea that there were specially privileged electors is otherwise first found (not in this form) in Innocent III's *Deliberatio*, *RNI*, no. 29, pp. 88–9: for commentary on Gervase's view and its relation to the problem of the origins of the German electoral college see, besides the literature just mentioned, H. Jakobs, '*Cessante pristina palatinorum electione:* Dynastisches Thronfolgerecht in höfischer Vorstellung', in *Deus qui mutat tempora: Menschen und Institutionen im Wandel des Mittelalters, Festschrift für Alfons Becker*, ed. E.-D. Hehl, H. Seibert, and F. Staab (Sigmaringen, 1987), pp. 269–82.

hostile pagans; but he reached the territory of Antioch and was approaching the Promised Land when, on the point of attaining the joyous consummation of his blessedness, while washing his body in quite a small stream, he died.[61]

After the death of Pope Alexander,[62] Frederick's son Henry continued to reign as king through the papacies of Lucius,[63] Urban III of Milan[64] (a man of great eloquence, and a true Milanese in his resolution and firmness), Gregory[65] (who saw himself dying almost before he saw himself pope), and Clement.[66] Then, in the time of Celestine,[67] Henry was crowned emperor in Rome, and received from him the title of Augustus, having delivered Tusculum to destruction in order to win the senate's support.[68] Now Henry was a man who was forbearing with the submissive but harsh indeed with the rebellious, unyielding to his enemies, severe with the insolent, and merciless to traitors; himself more learned than any men of learning, what he lacked in fighting-skill he made up for in intelligence; eloquent and generous, he was gracious towards the good, approachable with the simple, stubborn against the proud. He resembled his father in his thinking, but not in his fighting; he used strategy to outwit anyone whose vicious designs led them into sedition.

It was he who made it a law among the Germans that, as was the custom with the French and the English, fiefs should pass by right of succession to the next of kin, while before this they used to depend rather on the overlord's gift.[69] Taking advantage himself, therefore, of the right which he had bestowed on others as a favour, he procured from his subjects an assurance that, with the discontinuance of the former electoral rights of the Palatines, the imperial sovereignty should pass to his posterity by its own proper succession of next of kin; thus was to occur with him the end of election and the beginning of hereditary title.[70]

Hic regem Ricardum,[71] non tam Anglorum regem quam fidei christiane deffensorem, consilio Filipi regis Francorum,[72] dum ab ultramarina peregrinatione post plurima incredibiliter ac strenue gesta rediret, capit et redemptioni pecuniarie addicit, ut non timeat depauperatum quem timebat affluentem. Recipit imperator minus honeste redemptionis precium, non, ut arbitror, uoto cordis assueto satisfaciens,[h] sed instantie sue ac necessitati consulens.

Quippe ut antiquitati cognitum est, pridem e Normannia uenientes, Robertus Guiscardus et Rogerus fratres,[73] Campannie partem quam principatum dicimus Capuanum aut Terram Laboris inuadentes, pigriciam ac pusilanimitatem Longobardorum persecuti usque ad extremos cineres, auctore gladio doloque interdum intercurrente, Appuliam, Calabriam, Siciliam, Africamque superiorem sue dicioni subiciunt. Vnde rex Rogerus[74] in gladio suo inscribi iussit illud triumphale ac apoforeticum:

Appulus et[i] Calaber, Siculus mihi seruit et Afer.[75]

Hec indigne possessa indignanter[j] sustinens, magnanimus imperator Fredericus[76] quibus potuit modis imperio Romano terras illas reddendas uendicat. Verum strenuissimus rex[k] Rogerus, eiusque successores reges Guillelmi[l][77] paterno usi consilio, semper ut eos attentat imperator, Lonbardos precio clam dato corruptos excitant ad arma in imperatorem mouenda, ut illorum labor eorum sit quies et eorum commotio sit ipsorum inter suos fortitudo. Tandem exquisito Fredericus consilio amitam regis Guillelmi (qui materteram[m] tuam, princeps excellentissime, reginam Iohannam duxerat in uxorem),[78] Henrico, de quo res agitur, filio suo copulat Constanciam,[79] spe

[h] satifaciens *N*
[i] et *supplied by author N*
[j] indignenter *N*
[k] rex *supplied by author N*
[l] in plurali ponit Guillelmi *written by author above* Guillelmi *N*
[m] materam *N*

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[71] Richard I (the Lion Heart) of England (1189–99) was captured in Vienna on his return from the Holy Land in 1192. Henry VI held him to ransom for the enormous sum of 150,000 marks, on the payment of which he was released early in 1194.

[72] Philip II (see n. 39 above) was independently plotting with Richard's brother John to prevent his return.

[73] In the second half of the eleventh century, the brothers Robert Guiscard and Roger (I) established principalities in Sicily and South Italy in defiance of both the eastern and western empires; see D. J. Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 11 and 13–19.

[74] Roger II, count, then king of Sicily, 1105–54, obtained the title of king from the antipope Anacletus II in 1130.

[75] This verse is mentioned by two other English writers (Ralph de Diceto and Ralph Niger), and, in the fourteenth century, by Doge Andrea Dandolo of Venice; see D. Abulafia, 'The Norman kingdom of Africa and the Norman expeditions to Majorca and the Muslim Mediterranean', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, vii (1984), 26–49, at pp. 48–9.

Henry, acting in collusion with King Philip of France,[72] captured King Richard,[71] who was not so much the king of England as the defender of the Christian faith; Richard was on his way back from a pilgrimage to Outremer in which he had performed a great many feats of incredible valour. Henry held him for a cash ransom, in order that the man whom he feared in his wealth he need no longer fear reduced to poverty. The emperor collected the ransom sum, though this was hardly to his credit; he was acting, in my opinion, not in accord with the usual inclination of his heart, but out of consideration for his own pressing needs.

For, as an earlier generation well knew, the brothers Robert Guiscard and Roger,[73] coming in the first place from Normandy, had invaded the region of Campania which we call the principality of Capua or the Terra di Lavoro. They hounded the lazy, cowardly Lombards to utter destruction, achieving their ends alternately by the sword and by guile, and brought Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, and Upper Africa under their control. Consequently King Roger[74] had the following triumphal epigram engraved on his sword:

Apulian and Calabrian, Sicilian and African alike serve me.[75]

Taking ill these ill-gotten gains, the great-hearted emperor Frederick[76] used every means at his disposal to achieve the restitution of those lands to the Roman Empire. But the able King Roger, and his successors William I and II,[77] maintaining the same strategy from father to son, bribed the Lombards with secret payments and thus incited them to take up arms against the emperor every time he attacked the Normans, so that the Lombards' trouble should be the Normans' respite, and the Normans' war-mongering should seem to the Lombards their own bravery. At length, by a judicious plan, Frederick joined Constance,[79] the aunt of King William (who had married Queen Joanna, your mother's sister, most excellent Prince),[78]

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[76] i.e. Frederick I (Barbarossa); see n. 41 above.

[77] William I (the Bad), 1154–66; William II (the Good), 1166–89. For their bribery of the Lombards see D. J. Matthew (n. 73 above), p. 273.

[78] William II married Joanna, daughter of Henry II of England, sister of Otto's mother Matilda (see above, pp. xxviii and xxxi; *Otia*, ii. 21, n. 59).

[79] Constance was the daughter of Roger II by his third marriage. On the dynastic planning here mentioned see G. Baaken, '*Unio regni ad imperium*: die Verhandlungen von Verona 1184 und die Eheabredung zwischen König Heinrich VI. und Konstanze von Sizilien', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, lii (1972), 219–97, and W. Fröhlich, 'The marriage of Henry VI and Constance of Sicily: prelude and consequences', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, xv (1993), 99–115.

concepta quod, deficiente prole legitima ex rege Guillelmo, amitta tamquam propinquior succedens iura imperii reintegret.[n] Deficiente itaque illustre rege Guillelmo, per multos regulos sparsa dominatione tanti principis, imperator Henricus, amore querende pecunie qua sumptus tante questionis explicet, regem illustrem auunculum uestrum, ut premissimus, captum precio subiecit redemptionis. Cumque per multos labores tristesque amnestias, post tam clericorum quam principum atrocissimas punitiones, quicquid cordi fuerat subiecisset imperio, familiari potatus ueneno, positus est ad patres suos.[80]

Exhinc tua procedit electio, restituta tibi ex proaui tui piisimi imperatoris Lotarii successione debita imperandi dominatione.[81] Sane successibus felicitatis tue inuidit hostis anticus, et licet conuentione[o] pridem cum principibus Teutonie facta a Henrico de successione imperii per sanctissimum papam Innocencium[82] cassata—tum quia uis[p] eligendi principibus adempta[q] per hanc fuerit, tum quia permutatio beneficiorum dampnosa fieri posset imperio, tum quia si filius paruulus aut minus discretus iure successionis imperium uendicaret, | f. 48r pendente etatis inperfecte consilio, tocius imperii ruina[r] immineret, tum quia ius Romane ecclesie circa confirmationem imperatoris ac consecrationem aut reprobationem pateretur diminutionem[s]—licet, inquam, tua in expedito esset dominatio, metuens rex Francorum Filipus strenuitatem auunculi tui[83] maiestate tue celsitudinis ad inaccesibilem potendi[t] paritatem adiuuari, Philipum Henrici fratrem, ducem tunc Sueuorum,[84] uelut sue cogitationis instrumentum mouet ad uendicandum regnum. Enimuero post multos arridentis tibi fortune applausus et uictorias de hoste possessas, iam rota tue prosperitatis ad deciduum flecti uidebatur, cum Dominus, omnium moderator et rector, fraude suorum preuentum Philipum de medio exemit, dans iterata electione nouaque domini pape Innocentii

[n] reintegraret *β*   [o] conuentone *N*   [p] ius *XQ*   [q] ademptum *I*
[r] ruia *N*   [s] pat. dim.] diminutionem pateretur *N*   [t] potenti *N*

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[80] For the rumour that Henry's death on 28 September 1197 was due to his wife's poisoning him, see T. Toeche, *Kaiser Heinrich VI*, Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte (Leipzig, 1867), p. 482 and n. 2.

[81] Lothar's only child, Gertrude, married Henry the Proud, duke of Bavaria and Saxony; their son Henry the Lion was Otto's father.

[82] The reasoning whereby Innocent concluded that the election of the boy Frederick had been unlawful (though not on quite the same grounds as Gervase gives here) is set out in his *Deliberatio* of the year 1200 (*RNI*, no. 29, pp. 77–8).

[83] i.e. that of the king of England: Richard I until 1199, and then John.

[84] Duke from 1196, king 1198–1208; see *Otia*, ii. 18, nn. 76–7.

in marriage to his son Henry, of whom we are now speaking; for he had conceived the hope that if King William had no legitimate offspring, his aunt, succeeding as next of kin, would restore the imperial rights. So then, when the renowned King William died and the dominion of that great ruler was divided among many petty princes, the emperor Henry, as we have said, kept the illustrious king, your uncle, in captivity and fixed a price for his ransom, in his desire to procure the money with which to defray the expenses of such a major expedition. And when, by means of many struggles and harsh peace-treaties, and after dealing out the cruellest punishments to princes and clerics alike, he had subjected to the empire everything he had set his heart on, his drink was poisoned by one of his household, and he was laid to rest with his fathers.[80]

Out of this came your election, with your recovery of the imperial power, owing to you by succession from your great-grandfather, the most pious emperor Lothar.[81] But the old Enemy clearly envied your happy fortunes. For, even though the agreement which Henry had recently come to with the princes of Germany concerning the imperial succession had been annulled by His Holiness Pope Innocent[82]—on the grounds partly that the princes were thereby deprived of their electoral power; partly that an alteration in the granting of benefices could be detrimental to the empire; partly that if an infant son or one lacking discretion laid claim to the sovereignty by right of succession, while his immaturity betrayed itself in unstable judgment, there would be a risk of the whole empire collapsing; and partly that the rights of the Roman Church with regard to the confirmation and consecration, or the rejection, of an emperor would suffer a diminution—even though, as I say, your rule was without impediment, King Philip of France, fearing that your uncle's[83] strength supported by your authority as emperor would be such a powerful combination that he would be able to do nothing against it, prompted Henry's brother Philip, then duke of Swabia,[84] to lay claim to the kingdom, using him as an instrument in his own plans. And indeed, after the many plaudits which a smiling fortune had bestowed on you and the victories which you had gained over the enemy, the wheel of your prosperity seemed already to have started turning downwards, when the Lord, the governor and ruler of all, removed Philip from our midst, his end hastened by the treachery of his own supporters; he then granted you, by a repeated election and a fresh confirmation by the lord confirmatione tibi pendentis quin inmo iam prope labentis dominationis statum.

Considera igitur, princeps sacratissime, quod ab Innocentio secundo papa sanctissimo proauus[u] tuus accepit imperium,[85] quod, longo tempore intermissum[86] et post electionem confirmationemque primam relapsum, pereque sanctissimus tibi reddidit Innocentius.[87] Vtinam innocens Innocentio exhibearis et sinceritatem tuam, quam presumo esse in te, operibus pie deuotionis probes a[v] tuo consecratore! Nichil enim est quo illum iuste offendas,[w] nec quod tam merito dignum rependas. Si credis in aliquo illum minuere uelle tui[x] ius imperii, cedas in modico ei qui totum in te contulit imperium. Inpugnare illum desiste, per quem expugnatores tuos uicisti! Dator effici potes de donatario, si partem ei cesseris eius quod per ipsum totum accepisti. Profecto imperium tuum[y] non est, sed Christi; non tuum, sed Petri. Non a te tibi obuenit, sed a uicario Christi et successore Petri. Non tibi perpetuabitur, quia nec tu cum illo aut in illo eris perpetuus. Cum enim interieris homo, non sumes omnia, neque descendet tecum gloria tua.[88] Si times conscienciam tuam quasi iniusticiam[z] propter sacramentum Augustale paciatur,[a] consule famam publicam que tibi impingit criminationem de ingratitudine.[b] Si conscienciam tuam metuis[c] propter Deum, illam expone pape et Domino transmitte per eum. Ipse tibi et tuus iudex est, a nemine mortali iudicandus. Si causam eius reponis in sinu tuo,[d][89] satius[e] est si famam tuam redimis per iusticiam illi debitam, animum factumque tuum contegendo. Nihil amittis quod tuum est si dimitis Petro quod suum est. Petro Constantinus imperium occidentis dedit, cui seruierat regnum Francorum, regnum Teutonicorum,[f] regnum Britonum,[g] quin imo totus occidens[h] et totus circumfusus orbis.[90] Hic Petro uoluit sub Christo totum seruire occidentem. Beneficio pape, non suo, Roma tempore Caroli nomen recepit[i] imperii.

[u] proauus *supplied by author N* [v] at *N* [w] offendas *supplied by author N* [x] tui *supplied by author N* [y] tuum *supplied by author N* [z] iusticiam *N* [a] paciantur *altered by author from* pacientur *N* [b] ingrutudine *N* [c] metuis *supplied by author N* [d] tuo *XI;* suo *ACQ, supplied by author N* [e] satius *supplied by author N* [f] Teutonicorum *altered by author from* Teutonium *N;* Teutonum *ACβ* [g] Britonium *N* [h] occidentis *N* [i] recipit *N*

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[85] Lothar III was crowned emperor by Innocent II in 1133; cf. n. 33 above.

[86] From Lothar's death in 1138 until Otto's first election in 1198, the kingdom and empire were in the hands of the Staufer rulers Conrad III, Frederick I Barbarossa, and Henry VI.

[87] Otto was crowned emperor by Innocent III in 1209; cf. *Otia*, ii. 18, n. 75; p. xxxii above.

[88] Cf. Ps. 48 (49): 18 (17).

pope, Innocent, the title to an unstable, or rather by now a well-nigh lost, dominion.

Bear in mind therefore, most worshipful Prince, that your great-grandfather received the imperial sovereignty from the most holy pope Innocent II,[85] which same sovereignty, lost for a long interval,[86] and withdrawn again after your original election and confirmation, another Innocent of equal holiness has restored to you.[87] Would that you would show yourself innocent to Innocent, and give proof of the sincerity which I presume to exist in you in relation to your consecrator in deeds of filial devotion! For you could never be justified in offending him, nor could you ever worthily repay such a deserving benefactor. If you think that he means to diminish your imperial rights in some way, you should give way in a small thing to him who conferred the whole of your power upon you. Stop attacking the one through whom you have overcome those who were attacking you! You can become a giver instead of a receiver if you relinquish to him a part of what you received in its entirety from him. The empire, to be sure, is not yours, but Christ's; not yours, but Peter's. It has not come to you from yourself, but from the vicar of Christ and the successor of Peter. It will not be your possession for ever, because you yourself will not live for ever with it or in it. For when you die, mortal as you are, you will carry nothing away, nor will your glory descend with you.[88] If you fear for your conscience, in case it should be violated with regard to your imperial oath, take note of public opinion, which brings an accusation of ingratitude against you. If you fear for your conscience with regard to God, lay it before the pope and commit it to the Lord through him. He is judge over you and for you: he who is himself subject to no mortal judge. If you have his cause at heart,[89] you would be well-advised to recover your good reputation by rendering him the justice you owe him, imposing it upon your will and actions. You lose nothing of your own if you let Peter have what is his. Constantine, to whom the kingdom of the Franks, the kingdom of the Germans, the kingdom of the Britons, in fact the whole of the west, even the whole round world had been subject, granted authority over the west to Peter.[90] He meant the whole of the west to be subject to Peter under Christ. By the pope's gift, not her own, Rome regained the title of empire in the time of

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[89] Cf. Job 19: 27 (Vulgate).

[90] See *Otia*, Preface, n. 36. Note that Gervase's views are here much more unreservedly pro-papal than in his commentary at ii.18 following n. 71.

Beneficio pape Francorum regi confertur imperium. Beneficio pape regi nunc Teutonicorum[j] et non Francorum debetur imperium. Nec cedit imperium cui uult Theutonia, sed cui[k] cedendum decreuit papa. Enimuero bonus tibi erit papa cause communis arbiter, aut minus bonus, ne dixerim malus. Si bonus, iusto eius iudicio, si iustam tenes causam, uinces; si minus[l] bonus, ipsum in sua causa iudicem[m] constituendo te exonerabis a periculo fame, ipsumque grauabis honere[n] iusticie.

XX. *De successione regum Francorum*[a] *post Karolum*[b]

f. 49^{r} Explicuimus imperatorum Romanorum catalogum; | [c] consonans erit operi cepto reges Francorum suis nominibus designare, qui post Carolum in regno Francorum[1] regnauerunt. Regnauit ergo post Carolum Magnum Ludouicus Pius filius eius,[2] cui successit filius eius Carolus Caluus,[3] cui successit Ludouicus[4] qui nihil fecit, cui successit Karolus Stultus,[d] [5] cui successit Ludouicus Vltramarinus,[6] cui successit Lotarius.[7] Lotario successit Ludouicus,[8] qui adhuc puer Blachiam duxit uxorem.

Exhinc reges de familia Caroli defecerunt. Ludouicus enim iste Hugonem[9] militem strenuissimum in maiorem domus sue elegit, cui una nocte duo sancti[10] apparuerunt, proponentes se in loco minus honorato sepultos esse; rogabant itaque Hugonem ut ossa eorum cum debita reuerentia transferret et in loco honesto recondita sepeliret, sub huiuscemodi[e] spe mercedis, quod ei daretur regnum Francorum et usque in septimam generationem apud suos successiue perseueraret. Visioni repetite fidelis affuit executor, et dum talia sollempnius

[j] Teutonicorum *altered by author from* Teutonicum *N;* Teutonum *ACXQ; context om. I* [k] cui *supplied by author N* [l] minus *supplied by author N* [m] iudicem *supplied by author N* [n] honere *supplied by author N*

[a] Francie *ACβ* [b] post Karolum *supplied by author N* [c] *f. 48*^{v} *is blank save for the catchword,* Consonans, *written by the author at the bottom right; see p. lxxx* [d] cui suscessit (*sic*) Karolus Stultus *supplied by author N* [e] -modi *supplied by author N; om. β*

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[1] i.e. (initially) West Francia; cf. *Otia*, ii. 19, n. 10.

[2] See *Otia*, ii. 18, n. 64.

[3] See *Otia*, ii. 19, nn. 10 and 12.

[4] Louis II (the Stammerer), king of France 877–9. Louis II was succeeded by his sons Louis III (879–82) and Carloman (879–84). The emperor Charles III (the Fat) then ruled until he was deposed in 887 (see *Otia*, ii. 19, n. 13). His successor in West Francia was Odo, marquess of Neustria (king 888–98).

Charlemagne. By the pope's gift, the imperial sovereignty was conferred on the king of the Franks. By the pope's gift, the sovereignty is now due to the king of the Germans, not the king of the French. Nor is the sovereignty granted to whomever Germany chooses, but to whomever the pope has decreed it should be granted. Now the pope will either be good to you as the arbiter of your common cause, or not so good, not to say bad. If he is good, you will gain by his just judgment, if you have a just cause; if he is not so good, by making him the judge in his own case you will unburden yourself of the danger of ill-repute, and you will lay on him the burden of justice.

20. *The Line of the Kings of the Franks after Charlemagne*

Now that we have completed our catalogue of the Roman emperors, it will be fitting to continue the work we have undertaken by giving the names of the kings of the Franks who reigned after Charlemagne in the kingdom of France.[1] So then, next after Charlemagne his son Louis the Pious[2] reigned. He was succeeded by his son Charles the Bald;[3] then came Louis,[4] who achieved nothing; then Charles the Simple;[5] then Louis d'Outremer;[6] then Lothar.[7] Lothar was succeeded by Louis,[8] who, while still a boy, married Blanche.

Thereafter there were no more kings from Charlemagne's line. This last Louis appointed one Hugh,[9] a very able knight, as mayor of his household. One night two saints[10] appeared to Hugh, and declared that they had been buried in a place that did not do them sufficient honour; they were therefore asking Hugh to move their bones with due reverence and bury them again in fitting surroundings. They proffered the hope of a great reward, namely that the kingdom of France would be bestowed on him, and would remain with his descendants down to the seventh generation in succession. Hugh faithfully put into effect the instructions he had received in this

[5] Charles the Simple (crowned 893, reigned 898–922, died 928) was a son of Louis II by his second marriage. But the crown was recovered by the powerful marquesses of Neustria in 922, with the reign of Odo's brother Robert I (922–3), and the latter's son, Raoul of Burgundy (923–36), brother of Hugh the Great (see n. 12 below).

[6] Louis IV (son of Charles the Simple), 936–54.

[7] Lothar, son of Louis IV, 954–86.

[8] Louis V succeeded his father Lothar in 986, but died on 21 May 987.

[9] Hugh Capet, duke of the French 856, king 987–96.

[10] In a later insertion in *C*, these saints are named as 'Vnalricus et Richerius'.

agerentur ac deuocius, Ludouicus rex egritudine graui correptus decubuit, nec diutinam passus languoris instanciam, testamentum conditurus, reginam simul unice dilectam et Hugonem ad iuranda mandata que daret adegit. Iure iurando hinc inde prestito, donat regnum uxori sue, sub prestiti sacramenti fide Hugonem obtestans ut post datum legibus diem ducat in uxorem Blachiam, regno suo potiturus et dominio. Sepulto rege cum pietate et reuerentia regi debita tanto, Hugo Blachiam sub tempore et ordine canonico duxit sollempniter, et licet regnum uiriliter moderaretur, noluit tamen ungi in regem, ut declinata sua unctione ad ulteriorem gradum successio septena decurreret.[11]

Successit igitur ei filius eius Hugo, illius[f] Hugonis Magni[12] filius. Cui successit Robertus eius filius,[13] cui successit Henricus eius filius,[14] cui successit Philipus eius filius,[15] cui successit Ludouicus Lippus.[16] Cui successit Ludouicus piissimus,[17] amator cleri et uerus Dei cultor, qui, a multis deceptus nullumque decipiens, in sancta simplicitate transiuit ad Dominum, relicto Philipo filio.[18] Qui, paternam postponens simplicitatem, materni generis astucias duxit in usum.[19] Hic, regni sui nobilissimos ui atque[g] ingenio suppeditans, terminos auite proprietatis, intra sui tamen regni metas ampliauit.

Quid de cetero de futura successione sit per futura tempora uenturum iudicare nescio, cum apud me spiritus non sit profetie, satisque sit narrasse preterita et ignorasse futura.

[f] illius *om.* *Cβ*   [g] atque *supplied by author N*

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[11] Hugh Capet was crowned king at Noyon on 3 July 987. Neither Hugh the Great nor Hugh Capet married Louis's wife Adelaide of Anjou, whom Gervase evidently confuses with Hugh Capet's wife Adelaide (for rumours about Adelaide of Anjou's role in the end of the Carolingian dynasty and for the association of both her and Constance, wife of Robert II, with the name Blanche see F. Lot, *Les derniers Carolingiens* (Paris, 1891), pp. 166, 358–69): this was a fiction adopted to legitimate the transfer of the realm to the Capetians, since Blanche was alleged to have possessed Carolingian blood; see Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text* (Baltimore and London, 1997), p. 118. For the story of Hugh and the two saints, and for his having refused unction, see Lot, *Derniers Carolingiens*, pp. 117, 380–2, and id., *Études sur le règne de Hugues Capet* (Paris, 1903), pp. 326–7. These misconceptions were not new to Gervase, but they do not give us any clear indications of the sources for French history he drew on in this chapter.

[12] Hugh the Great of Neustria was duke of the French 923–56. It was his son, Hugh Capet, who succeeded Louis V (see n. 9 above).

[13] Robert II (the Pious), 996–1031.

vision, which he saw more than once; and while such duties were being performed with great solemnity and devotion, King Louis was stricken with a serious illness and took to his bed. He had not long suffered the onset of sickness when, wishing to make his will, he had his queen, whom he loved above all else, and Hugh brought into his presence together, to pledge obedience to the commands he would give. Once both parties had taken an oath, he bestowed the kingdom on his wife, entreating Hugh, in fidelity to the oath he had sworn, to take Blanche as his wife after the interval prescribed by law; thus he would come into possession of his kingship and his domain. When the king had been buried with the respect and reverence due to so great a monarch, Hugh solemnized his marriage to Blanche at the time and in the manner approved by the Church. He governed the kingdom with firmness, but nevertheless he refused to be anointed king, in the hope that if he declined the anointing himself the sevenfold succession might pass down to a further generation.[11]

This Hugh, therefore, known as Hugh the Great,[12] was succeeded by his son Hugh. Then came the latter Hugh's son Robert,[13] then Robert's son Henry,[14] then Henry's son Philip,[15] then Louis the Rheumy-Eyed.[16] He was succeeded by another Louis,[17] a man of great piety, a friend of the clergy and a true worshipper of God; he was deceived by many in his life, but he deceived no one, and went to the Lord in holy simplicity, leaving a son, Philip.[18] This Philip laid aside his father's simplicity and adopted instead the shrewdness of his mother's family.[19] Bringing the great nobles of his realm to heel by means of his strength and intelligence, he has extended the boundaries of his ancestral possessions, though remaining within the frontiers of his own kingdom.

I am unable to pronounce on what is yet to come in future times with regard to the succession from now on, since I do not possess the spirit of prophecy; let it suffice to have narrated the past, and to remain in ignorance of the future.

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[14] Henry I, 1031–60.

[15] Philip I, 1060–1108.

[16] Louis VI, 1108–37. According to A. Luchaire, *Louis VI le Gros, annales de sa vie et de son règne* (Paris, 1890), p. 284, Gervase is the only writer to say that Louis was rheumy-eyed. We have not been able to ascertain from where Gervase derived his information.

[17] Louis VII, 1137–80.

[18] Philip II (Augustus), 1179–1223.

[19] Philip's mother was Adela, daughter of Theobald II of Champagne and sister of Gervase's patron of earlier days, William of the White Hands (see pp. xxvii–xxix).

xxi. *De regibus Anglorum a tempore Normannorum*

Iam nunc ad reges Anglorum enumerandos ueniamus ab eo tempore quo, regno Britonum profligato, Saxones Anglorum regnum susceperunt, illud celebre uetustissimumque maioris Britannie nomen in Anglie nuncupationem transumentes. Verum quia opus nostrum ad inutilem protractionem ducere superfluum esset ac uano ocio plenum, omissis multis regum ac regni permutationibus per regulos et generationes e latere uenientes, nunc ab ipsa Anglia, nunc a Dacia procedentibus regibus, omisso Canuto[1] strenuissimo rege eiusque sequacibus, ad sanctissimum regem Eduardum[2] ueniamus, cuius f. 49v fidem et scientiam leges quas scripsit[3] sancte | testantur et miracula cotidiana loquuntur.[a]

Hic in die Apparitionis, anno Domini millesimo quadragesimo, celos ingressus sub sancta confessione, heredem reliquit Haraldum nepotem,[4] uirtute corporis incomparabilem, moribus ingenuum, milicia singularem, cuius tanta erat magnanimitas[b] quod omnia terrena sibi subicienda[c] credebat, et secundum mentis quantitatem successuum ipsi prosperitas arridebat. Dum pueriles ageret annos, ex mandato regis auunculi sui apud ducem Neustrie (quam uulgus Normanniam[d] nominat[e]) educatur,[5] eo quod apud nobilisimos Anglos usus teneat filios suos apud Gallos nutriri ob usum armorum et ad lingue natiue barbariem tollendam. Erat duci illi filius spurius, Guillelmus nomine, ex subinducta illi ciuis cuiusdam filia genitus, eo consilio ut quodam modo[f] soboles ex eo Normanis nasceretur. Cum ergo, more iuuenculorum in curia, heres Anglie et filius ducis essent

[a] loquutur *N* [b] magnanimitas *supplied by author N* [c] subicienda *supplied by author N* [d] *sic XI;* Normannorum *NA;* Normannum *CQ* [e] nominant (*altered by author from* nominat) *N* [f] quodam modo *N;* quomodo *CXQ;* quoquomodo *AI*

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[1] 1017–35.

[2] 1042–66. Gervase did not apparently have access to any written source which would have given him information about the troubled years before the return of the throne to a king of the West Saxon royal line.

[3] 'According to the *Vita Aedwardi Regis*, Edward abolished bad laws and with the help of his wise counsellors enacted good ones.' But '[t]here is nothing to show that Edward was a law-giver and little evidence that he was particularly interested in justice. His historical reputation as a just judge and a law-reformer probably depends on this passage in the *Vita*, which was taken into ecclesiastical legend.' Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, p. 178; cf. *Vita Aedwardi Regis*, pp. 18–20.

[4] Harold was Edward's brother-in-law, not his nephew or grandson (depending on what Gervase meant by *nepos*): this confusion over the generations gives an entirely false picture

21. *The Kings of England from the Time of the Normans*

Let us now turn to an enumeration of the kings of England from the time when the Saxons, overthrowing the rule of the Britons, established English rule, and discarding the renowned and ancient name of Great Britain, started calling the country England. But as it would be superfluous and entirely empty vanity to draw out our work to undue length, let us pass over the many permutations of kings and kingship among the petty rulers and their collateral generations, some of the kings coming from England itself and others from Denmark; let us likewise pass over the valiant King Canute[1] and his successors, and go straight to the saintly King Edward.[2] The laws which Edward wrote[3] bear solemn witness to his faith and understanding, which miracles of daily occurrence likewise proclaim.

When, having received holy absolution, he entered heaven on the feast of the Epiphany in the year of our Lord 1040, he left his nephew Harold as his heir.[4] Harold was a man of unrivalled physical prowess, upright in character, and outstanding in warfare; so great was his spirit that he believed that everything on earth ought to be subject to him, and the good fortune of success smiled on him in proportion to his ambition. During his boyhood, at the command of his uncle the king, he was educated in the household of the duke of Neustria (commonly known as Normandy);[5] for it was the custom among the English nobility to have their sons brought up among the French, so that they could learn how to handle weapons, and remove the barbarism of their native speech. Now the duke had a bastard son, whose name was William; the boy's mother was the daughter of one of his citizens, who had been brought to him in secret, with the intention that by some means a child of his loins should be born to the Normans. Since, then, England's heir and the duke's son became sworn friends, as youths at court tend to do, they eventually

of the relations between Edward and Harold, which are presented as though Harold could have been related to Edward by blood. According to Norman sources, Edward originally named Duke William of Normandy as his heir, and Harold had sworn to support his claim, but when Edward was dying he changed his mind in favour of Harold. However, some historians have questioned the accuracy of this account; see e.g. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, ch. 10, esp. pp. 228–9; P. Stafford, *Unification and Conquest* (London, 1989), pp. 92 and 97; B. Golding, *Conquest and Colonisation: the Normans in Britain 1066–1100* (Basingstoke and London, 1994), pp. 10–26.

[5] Harold did not spend his childhood at the Norman court, although King *Edward* spent a number of years in exile there before 1042 (*Vita Aedwardi Regis*, p. 12, n. 23).

confederati, tandem uenit eis in mentem ut Haraldus sororem Guillelmi acciperet in uxorem ac reginam, et e conuerso Guillelmus Haraldi[g] sororem in coniugem iuraret et ducissam,[h] unoquoque pro suo tempore pacta se seruaturos iurantibus.[6]

Mortuo igitur sanctissimo rege Eduardo, Haraldus regnum suscepit; et defuncto duce, Guillelmus ducatum Neustrie, partim ui, partim quibusdam cum rege Francorum pactionibus, obtinuit.[7] Mandat ergo dux regi ut secundum pristina iurata et uxorem suam recipiat et duci debitam non neget. Quorum utrumque[i] detestatus, Haraldus, cum apud castrum Doloberniam in scafa per mare spatiandi causa se faceret cum paucis uectitari, tandem subito flatu aduectus[j] in Flandriam,[8] comentatus est se ad ducem uenisse ut uxorem pollicitam acciperet et daret promissam. Gaudenter exceptus et ad ducem ueniens, spondet firmius[k] complere promissa et, ducta sorore ducis, redit in Angliam; ubi sue redditus potestati conuertitur in archum prauum,[9] spretoque tociens iterato iure iurando, in tantam ex priuilegio singularis milicie euehitur superbiam quod, omnia temptans et de mala causa nullam capiens diffidenciam, cum Scotis pugnam aggreditur;[10] et dum inter atrocia uulnera hinc inde inflicta uictor existit, audit ducem Normannie, conuocatis auxiliariis ex nobili styrpe Francorum, partem meridianam Anglie intrasse ut contemptum suum et uerecundiam illatam ultore ferro uindicaret.

Comperiens talia rex Haraldus, ut erat audacissimus, uix alligatis uulneribus nuper in pugna contritorum, occurrit inconsiderate Normannis, exercitu suo non expectato. Eius aduentum sencientes Normanni, de paucitate diffisi, de strenuitate regis timentes, aggerem

[g] Haraudi *N* [h] ducissam *crossed out in N* [i] uterque *NC;* utrinque *I*
[j] aduentus *N* [k] firmus *N*

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[6] These marriage plans are fictitious. William married, not Harold's sister, Queen Edith, but Matilda, the daughter of Count Baldwin V of Flanders. William had no sisters, though according to William of Malmesbury and Robert of Torigny, a daughter of his was betrothed to Harold (see Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 394).

[7] The chronology of this passage is bewildering: in fact William succeeded to the duchy in 1035, at the age of seven; but Harold did not succeed to the English throne until over thirty years later (not, as Gervase says above, in 1040).

[8] Harold's Channel-crossing is shown on the Bayeux Tapestry (see Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, p. 176). Its exact date has been much debated, but it was certainly before Edward's death. Harold was captured by the count of Ponthieu, and rescued by William; he then swore to support William's claim to the throne. *Dolobernia* (Dover or Canterbury; cf. *Otia*, ii. 25, n. 28) is more usually spelt *Dorobernia*.

[9] Cf. Ps. 77 (78): 57.

conceived the notion that Harold should take William's sister as his wife and queen, and William in turn should swear to make Harold's sister his wife and duchess; they each swore that they would keep their pledge when the time came.[6]

When, therefore, the saintly King Edward died, Harold took over the kingdom; and on the demise of the duke, William gained the duchy of Neustria, partly by force, and partly by agreeing certain terms with the king of France.[7] The duke then charged the king both to take his own wife and not to refuse the duke the wife owing to him, in accordance with the oaths they had sworn long ago. Harold, however, meant to renounce them both; but when he had gone out for a sail with a few others in a light boat on the sea near the town of Dover, a sudden gale arose, and in the end he was driven across to Flanders.[8] So he pretended that he had come to the duke to receive his promised wife and to give the one he had pledged. He was given a joyful welcome, and on coming into the duke's presence, he vowed yet more solemnly to fulfil his promises. He married the duke's sister, and returned to England. But once he was restored to power there, he was turned aside like a crooked bow,[9] and spurned the oath which he had reaffirmed so often. Moreover, he reached such a pitch of pride from his confidence in his pre-eminence in warfare that, setting no limit to his ambitions and completely undeterred by the injustice of the cause, he took the offensive against the Scots.[10] Dreadful casualties were inflicted on both sides, but he emerged victorious, only to hear that the duke of Normandy, having gathered allies from among the French nobility, had invaded the southern part of England, meaning to exact vengeance with the sword for the slight he had suffered and for the shame that had been brought upon him.

When King Harold learnt how things stood, he displayed his characteristic boldness and set off precipitately to meet the Normans, without stopping to rally his army, while the wounds of the men who had been hurt in the recent battle had hardly been bound up. When the Normans became aware of his approach, feeling nervous on account of their small numbers and fearful regarding the king's strength, they built an earthwork to serve as a wall; and since the

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[10] In fact it was Harald Hardrada, king of Norway, who took the offensive, landing in the north of England in September 1066. Harold's brother, Tostig, invaded at the same time, and joined forces with Harald Hardrada; both invaders were killed at the battle of Stamford Bridge (25 September), after they had previously defeated an English army (20 September) at Gate Fulford (Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 296–7; D. C. Douglas, *English Historical Documents* (London, 1966), ii. 142–6).

pro muro faciunt; et cum instaret dies sabbati, uoto perpetuo se suamque posteritatem obligauerunt quod in perpetuum carnibus die sabbati abstinerent si, de manu forciorum sine dampno liberati, secundum iusticiam cause sue uictoriam reportarent. Miserator igitur et misericors Dominus,[11] qui iustos exaudit et humiliat sicut uulneratos superbos,[12] quos inter primos insultus paulisper contriuit, in fine cum paucitate uictores facit; et Haraldus utrum fuga sibi consuleret an in prelio ceciderit adhuc dubium relinquit.[l] [13]

f. 50r Dato igitur populo in dispersionem regeque euanescente, dux Normannie Londoniam aduectus in regem prouehitur, | sorore Haraldi in uxorem ducta. Exhinc prodit Guillelmus rex Anglorum per nupcias[14] et dux Normannorum per paternam successionem. Hic, post multos cum Anglis singulares conflictus, potens bellator, iustus princeps, et in omnibus tam modestus quam strenuus, tres filios relinquit:[m] regem Guillelmum, Robertum cognomento Curtamhosam, ducem Normannorum, et Henricum.

Defuncto patri succedit Guillelmus[15] primogenitus in regnum, uir impius, ecclesiarum persecutor,[n] immisericors circa imbelles, qui archiepiscopum Cantuariensem plurimum persecutus,[16] ab angelo percuciente[17] peremptus Guintonie sepultus est sub infamie perpetuo monimento.

Dux Normannorum Robertus,[18] inter illos qui per manum sanctissimi Vrbani secundi[19] ultramarinam peregrinationem susceperunt primarius, cum comite sancti Egidii Raymundo[o] [20] (patre comitis Namfulsi), et duce Godefredo de Bulhon,[21] et comite

[l] reliquit *ACβ*   [m] reliquit *ACβ*   [n] persecutorum *N*   [o] Roimundo *N*

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[11] Cf. Ps. 85 (86): 15.   [12] Cf. Ps. 88 (89): 11 (10).

[13] The Normans won the battle of Hastings on Saturday, 14 October 1066. Harold was almost certainly killed in the battle; his body was identified by his mistress, and his death is portrayed on the Bayeux Tapestry (see Douglas, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 200–1). There were, however, persistent rumours that he had escaped; see J. C. Holt, *Colonial Essays, 1066–1265* (London, 1997), pp. 3–4; *Vita Haroldi*, ed. W. De Gray Birch (London, 1885), pp. ix, x, and 82. See also *The 'Carmen de Hastingae Proelio' of Guy Bishop of Amiens*, ed. F. Barlow (OMT, 1999), pp. lxxvii–xci.

[14] See n. 6 above. In putting forward this view that William succeeded through marriage, Gervase is ignoring the existence of Edgar Aetheling (grandson of King Edmund Ironside), and passing over the problem of 'inheritance' through the female line. William did claim succession by 'hereditary right', but it was through his relationship to Edward's mother Emma/Aelfgifu, who was William's great-aunt (see tables to Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, and Douglas, *William the Conqueror*).

[15] William Rufus (1087–1100) was the second son, designated to succeed his father in England in preference to Robert Curthose, who inherited Normandy alone.

next day was Saturday, they bound themselves and their posterity by a perpetual vow to abstain from meat on Saturdays for ever if they should be delivered unharmed from the hands of the stronger force and win the victory, as the justice of their cause deserved. Therefore the merciful and compassionate Lord,[11] who hears the just, and humbles the proud as those who are slain,[12] after allowing them to be hard-pressed for a while during the first assaults, made the Normans the victors in the end, in spite of their small numbers; as for Harold, it remains uncertain to this day whether he saved himself in flight or fell in battle.[13]

Since the people then scattered and the king's whereabouts were unknown, the duke of Normandy rode to London and had himself made king, taking Harold's sister as his wife. So William came to be king of the English through marriage[14] and duke of the Normans through paternal inheritance. He proved himself a powerful warrior, a just ruler, and in all things as moderate as he was firm. After many prodigious struggles with the English, he left three sons behind him: King William, Robert called Curthose, duke of the Normans, and Henry.

On their father's death the first-born son, William,[15] inherited the kingdom. An impious man and a persecutor of the churches, one who showed no mercy to those unable to resist, he subjected the archbishop of Canterbury to grievous persecution;[16] but in the end he was struck down by a destroying angel,[17] and he is buried at Winchester under a monument of perpetual disgrace.

Robert, duke of Normandy,[18] was one of the foremost among those who undertook the pilgrimage to Outremer at the instigation of the most holy Urban II.[19] He went to Jerusalem with Count Raymond of Saint-Gilles[20] (the father of Count Alphonse), Duke Godfrey of Bouillon,[21]

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[16] William attempted to enrich the Crown at the expense of the Church, and met with dogged resistance from Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury from 1093; see F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (London, 1983), pp. 306–7.

[17] Cf. 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 24: 16; *Otia*, iii. 83. William was killed by an arrow when out hunting, probably by Walter Tirel, count of Poix; see F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (London, 1983), pp. 420–5.

[18] Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy 1087, held in captivity from 1106, died 1134; see below, pp. 480–1.

[19] Urban II (1088–99) preached the First Crusade in 1095–6.

[20] i.e. Raymond IV (cf. *Otia*, iii. 103, n. 48; Setton, *Crusades*, i. 272–4, 469).

[21] Duke Godfrey was to become the first ruler of Jerusalem (see n. 28 below; Setton, *Crusades*, i. 267–9 and 338–9).

Baldewino,[22] et Boemundo principe,[23] et comite Stephano,[24] et episcopo Anitiense,[25] cum multis proceribus, Ierosolimam adiit, uir in armis strenuissimus, misericordia plenus, et sicut sub armis consultissimus, ita depositis armis in perfectiore scientia defectiuus. Capta Antiochia[26] receptoque dominico sepulcro,[27] dux Robertus in regem ultramarine adquisitionis eligitur, eo quod filius regis Anglorum, strenuitate potens, stemmate[p] cunctos precelleret. Iam de morte primogeniti fratris sui regis Guillelmi nuncii aduenerant et, spe regni pacifici obtinendi, regnum sanctum in quo pro Christo pugnandum erat declinauit. Dux quoque Godefridus regnum suscipiendum in excusationem duxit pretextu sancte humilitatis, asserens se indignum illic corona aurea insigniri[q] ubi Christus corona spinea pro nostra salute uoluit coronari.[28] Cessit ergo diadema Ierosolimitanum comiti Baldewino,[r][29] eo quod ipse inter tot agones excellentissimo ac singulari ictu paganum armatum per medium in duo frustra[30] diuiserat. Dux uero Robertus, post multa mirabiliter ac laudabiliter acta, spe regni Anglicani repatrians, Henrico fratri minori,[s] qui iam regnum inuaserat, obuius factus apud Tenarchebrai infra fines Normannie, conserto prelio capitur.[31] Exhinc apud Claudii Castrum quatuordecim annis incarceratus,[32] diem functus est utroque regno priuatus, Ierosolimitano quod contempsit, Anglicano quod appetiit.

Regnauit ergo rex Henricus in pace feliciter, cuius unico filio in mari Britannie naufragato,[33] filia filio imperatoris Romani nuptui traditur.[34] Hec in tantum paternam sapientiam imitabatur quod cum paucis non dicam suppeditauit imperium, uerum etiam ipsam Romam, que caput extat imperii, dicioni uoluntatique sue subiecit.

[p] strenuitate potens, stemmate *QI*; strenuitate potens strenuitate *with* pot. stren. *supplied by author N* [q] consigniri *N* [r] Balduwino *altered by author from* Balde- *N* [s] iuniori *ACβ*

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[22] Baldwin I, younger brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, count of Edessa 1098–1100 and king of Jerusalem 1100–18 (ibid. i. 284–6).

[23] Bohemond I of Taranto; he is probably designated *princeps* because of the title he acquired as ruler of Antioch (ibid. i. 269–72, 326–8).

[24] Stephen, count of Chartres and Blois (ibid. i. 275 9).

[25] Adhémar of Monteil, bishop of Le Puy (ibid. i. 272, 274, 287).

[26] 28 June 1098.

[27] Jerusalem fell on 15 July 1099.

[28] Godfrey was appointed 'Advocatus Sancti Sepulchri' in 1099, but died the following year (Sir Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, 1952), i. 292–3; Setton, *Crusades*, i. 339).

[29] Baldwin succeeded his brother and reigned 1100–18 (Setton, *Crusades*, i. 381–3, 651).

[30] All the MSS read *frustra* for *frusta;* the two spellings were confused even in antiquity: see *TLL* s.v.; *Appendix Probi*, in *Grammatici Latini*, iv. 199.

Count Baldwin,[22] Prince Bohemond,[23] Count Stephen,[24] the bishop of Le Puy,[25] and many other leading men. Robert was a very able soldier, but full of mercy; however, in the measure that he was skilled under arms, to the same measure was he deficient in a more general understanding once he had laid his arms aside. When Antioch had been captured[26] and the Lord's sepulchre recovered,[27] Duke Robert was chosen to be king over the newly-won territory of Outremer, on the grounds that, as the son of the king of England and a man mighty in valour, he excelled all the rest in nobility. But messengers had just arrived with news of the death of his elder brother, King William, and in the hope of acquiring a kingdom at peace, he turned down the holy kingdom, where there was fighting to be done for Christ. Duke Godfrey also excused himself from assuming the sovereignty on the pretext of a holy humility, maintaining that he was unworthy to be honoured with a golden crown in the place where Christ accepted to wear a crown of thorns for our salvation.[28] The diadem of Jerusalem therefore fell to Count Baldwin,[29] because in so many combats he had with a single magnificent blow sliced an armed pagan down the middle into two pieces.[30] Meanwhile Duke Robert, with many wonderful and praiseworthy deeds to his credit, returned home in hopes of the English throne; but he was met at Tinchebray, within the territory of Normandy, by his younger brother Henry, who had by this time seized the throne himself; they joined battle, and Robert was captured.[31] He was kept prisoner in Gloucester for the next fourteen years,[32] and died deprived of both kingdoms, the kingdom of Jerusalem which he spurned, and the kingdom of England which he tried to win.

Henry was therefore established as king, and enjoyed a happy and peaceful reign. His daughter—his only son having drowned in the British Sea[33]—was given in marriage to the son of the Roman emperor.[34] She emulated her father's wisdom to such an extent that I shall not just say that she subdued the empire, as few have done, but she subjected even Rome itself, which remains the capital of

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[31] On the death of William Rufus, and in the absence of Robert Curthose on Crusade, Henry, the youngest brother, had himself crowned king (1100–35). Robert attempted to assert his claim in 1101, but to no avail. In 1106 Henry invaded Normandy and defeated Robert at Tinchebray (28 September).

[32] He was in fact held in prison for twenty-eight years (1106–34).

[33] Henry's son, William the Aetheling, died in 1120 when the White Ship was wrecked in the Channel.

[34] Matilda married Henry V in 1114 (cf. *Otia*, ii. 19, n. 27).

Infra paucos annos uiro defuncto,[35] dum ad patrem redit in Angliam occultis insidiis capitur, eodemque furore continuato ducitur in uxorem a strenuissimo comite illustri Andegauensi Gaufredo,[36] regis Fulconis Vltramarini[37] filio, ex quo suscepit tres filios, Henricum, Gaufredum Plantegenest,[t] et Guillelmum Longam Spatam,[38] rege Anglorum Henrico raptum filie dissimulante et de uiolencia faciente uoluntatem. Post aliquot annos mortuo comite Andegauensi | f. 50v Gaufredo, filiaque regis eademque imperatrice retinente iure mariti ex successione filiorum Andegauiam, Turoniam, et Cenomaniam, tandem auus, sola imperatrice cum filiis superstite, testamentum condit in quo filiam cum Henrico, filio comitis Andegauensis, instituit heredem.[39]

Verum quia infans nundum trimus[u] consilium tanto regno debitum non habebat, muliebrisque sexus constanciam tam ferocissimis gentibus edomandis oportunam, necessarium[v] uisum fuit tutele nomine regem ad tempus inserere, cuius uirtute ac strenuitate motus barbare gentis refrenarentur et enormia delicta punirentur. Erigitur ergo ex ipsius regis Henrici deliberatione comes Stephanus in regem pro tutore,[40] regis Henrici ex sorore nepos, comitis Theobaldi frater, illustris Henrici Guintoniensis episcopi germanus, uir quidem in fide uerax, in promissis fidelis, milicia singularis, simplicitate pius, omnis cupiditatis ac auaricie expers. Hic, sacramento constrictus quod fideliter regnum tueatur et usque ad prefinita tantum tempora[w] moderetur, coronatur, inungitur, et[x] prospere rexit populum in fortitudine uirtutis sue, ab omnibus formidatus et dilectus. Tandem simplicitate bonitatis ductus, circa puniendos compatiens et ad affligendos[y] emollitus, ut arcus humectus lentescit, et a superbis et

[t] *superscript* e *add. by author at end of* Plantegenest *N* [u] trinus *altered by author from* trinius *N* [v] necessarium *supplied by author N* [w] tempora] ipsa *NQ* [x] et *om. N* [y] ad affligendos] adfligendos *with* d *expunged N*

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[35] 1125.

[36] In 1128 Matilda married Geoffrey V Plantagenet of Anjou. The unfounded assertion that the Plantagenet connection was achieved by force is of a piece with the complimentary portrait of King Stephen that follows. There may, however, be confusion with Queen Eleanor, who *was* nearly kidnapped after her divorce in 1152.

[37] Fulk V of Anjou, king of Jerusalem 1131–44 (Setton, *Crusades*, i. 430–4).

[38] Henry was to rule as Henry II (1154–89); Geoffrey died in 1158, and William in 1164.

[39] The future Henry II was born in 1133 and Henry I died in 1135. Geoffrey of Anjou actually lived until 1151. Henry had been willing to offer him the throne, but the English barons refused to accept him; they did, however, swear fealty to Matilda before Henry's death. The whole of this account of the succession to Henry I is riddled with factual error.

the empire, to her sway and will. Within a few years her husband died,[35] and while she was on her way back to her father in England she was captured in a secret ambush, and by an extension of the same violence she was taken to wife by the mighty Geoffrey, the illustrious count of Anjou,[36] son of King Fulk d'Outremer.[37] She bore him three sons: Henry, Geoffrey Plantagenet, and William Longsword.[38] King Henry of England, concealing the fact that his daughter had been abducted, decided to accept what had been forced upon him as if it had been his own wish. Some years later, when Count Geoffrey of Anjou was dead and the king's daughter, this same empress, was holding Anjou, Tours, and Le Mans in her husband's stead pending her sons' succession, the grandfather eventually made a will, with only the empress and her sons still alive, in which he named his daughter as his heiress, in association with Henry, son of the count of Anjou.[39]

Since, however, an infant not yet three years old did not have the requisite judgment for ruling so great a kingdom, and a member of the female sex did not have the suitable firmness for taming such fierce peoples, it seemed necessary to appoint a temporary ruler with the title of protector, by whose competent exercise of power the seditions of a barbarous race might be held in check and gross crimes might be punished. By King Henry's own decision, therefore, Count Stephen, his nephew through his sister, the brother of Count Theobald and also of the illustrious Henry, bishop of Winchester, was raised up to reign as protector.[40] He was a man true to his word, reliable in his undertakings, matchless in warfare, of a straightforward goodness, and free from all greed or avarice. Having bound himself on oath to protect the kingdom faithfully and to govern it for a prescribed period only, Stephen was crowned and anointed. He ruled the people prosperously with a manly strength, and was feared and loved by all. But in the end, led astray by his simple kindness, showing compassion towards those whom he should have punished and indulgence towards those whom he should have chastised, he became slack like a damp bow; then he was attacked by the proud and

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[40] Stephen (king 1135–54) was the son of Adela, sister of Henry I, who had married Count Stephen of Blois; his elder brother was Theobald IV of Blois and II of Champagne (died 1152), and his younger, Henry, bishop of Winchester (died 1171). Stephen won the throne in spite of Henry I's plans, and ruled as consecrated king, not as protector to the future Henry II; but after the death of his son, Eustace IV of Boulogne, in 1153, he agreed that Matilda's son Henry should succeed him (Treaty of Winchester). See R. H. C. Davis, *King Stephen 1135–1154* (London, 1967).

magnanimibus Anglis iam ex lenitate regis in insolentiam ductis attemptatur; et impugnatus contradictionem sentit potentum, et guerram faciebat ad causam seditionis quod, fide oblita et sacramento pridem prestito consilio assecretum[z] [41] suorum postposito, in animo gerit imperatricem cum filio, legitimo regni herede, prorsus exheredem facere, et loco illorum filium proprium substituere, comitem Eustacium, uirum speciosum forma, affabilem, graciosum, militibus placentem, largum, milicia patrissantem. Huic ad defensionis augmentum in uxorem datur Constancia, regis Ludouici Francorum soror, huius regis Philipi amita;[42] sed post modicum tempus euanescente uiro, eadem comiti Tholosano Raimundo nubit, ex qua ortus est comes iste Raimundus cuius uitam miseranda[a] testatur afflictio.[43] Defuncto Eustacio regis Stephani unico,[44] mota fuit in patrem Anglia, nobilibus regni regem propter fidem qua imperatrici tenebantur persequentibus.

Exinde iam pubescente Henrico et in armorum exercitio crescente, ducatus Normannie se mittit in deditionem,[45] assumptoque ducis nomine, Henricus fideles ac potentes regni excitat in arma. Tandem rebus actis strenuiter, dum conserto prelio inter regem Stephanum et ducem acies hinc inde consisterent, pax fit in hac forma, quod rex Stephanus dum uixerit regni teneat gubernacula, et adoptato Henrico in filium post eius fata cedat regnum.[46] Nec mora, infra paucos annos diem functo rege Stephano, dux coronatur in regem;[47] qui, ducta regina Francie et a piissimo rege Ludouico dimissa pretextu consanguinitatis probate, filia scilicet quondam illustrissimi ducis Aquitannie et comitis Pictauie, Alienor,[48] genuit ex ea filios, concreto sibi dominio Aquitannie.

Igitur Henricus rex Anglorum, dux Normannorum et Aquitannorum, et comes Andegauensis, genuit Guillelmum primogenitum,

[z] assecretum *NAQI;* procerum *C;* ac secretum *X* [a] miserandam (-em *C*) *ACI*

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[41] The title *a secretis* (indeclinable) denotes a secretary or counsellor (see Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, s.v. *a*, *ab*). Here and in iii. 100 (at n. 4) Gervase uses *assecretis* as one word, and treats it as a noun of the third declension.

[42] Eustace married Constance, sister of Louis VII of France; she subsequently married Raymond V, count of Toulouse 1148–94.

[43] Raymond VI, count of Toulouse 1194–1222; see *Otia*, iii. 103, n. 46.

[44] Stephen did in fact have another son, William, count of Boulogne 1153–9.

[45] Geoffrey of Anjou conquered the duchy of Normandy (1141–5) and placed it under Henry's rule in 1149/50, when Henry was seventeen.

[46] Henry arrived in England in 1153 and rallied his supporters, but Stephen made peace with him at Wallingford, and recognized him as his heir (see n. 40 above).

headstrong English, who had already been emboldened to insolence by the king's leniency. When their hostility flared up, Stephen realized that he was facing the opposition of powerful men, and he embarked on a war to further a seditious scheme; for, forgetting his pledge and, on the advice of his adherents,[41] disregarding the oath he had sworn earlier, it was his intention to disinherit the empress entirely, along with her son, the legitimate heir of the kingdom, and to substitute in their place his own son, Count Eustace. This Eustace was a man of handsome appearance, affable and gracious, popular with soldiers, and munificent; he took after his father in his military prowess. With a view to strengthening his claim, Eustace was given Constance, the sister of King Louis of France and the aunt of Philip, the present king, as his wife.[42] But Eustace passed away after a short time, and then Constance married Count Raymond of Toulouse; the present Count Raymond, to whose manner of life his pitiable suffering bears witness, is her son.[43] With the death of Eustace, King Stephen's only son,[44] England rose against the father, the nobles of the realm fighting against the king on account of the fealty by which they were bound to the empress.

At this time the duchy of Normandy placed itself under Henry's rule,[45] since he was by this time growing up and acquiring skill in the exercise of arms. So Henry took the title of duke, and summoned to arms the leading men of the kingdom who were loyal to him. At length, after a vigorous campaign, peace was made when King Stephen and the duke had actually met for battle, while the lines were drawn up on either side; the terms of the peace were that, as long as he lived, King Stephen should retain control of the kingdom, but after his death the kingship should pass to Henry, whom he would adopt as his son.[46] And in due course, when King Stephen died a few years later, the duke was crowned king.[47] He had married Eleanor, queen of France, who had been divorced by the God-fearing King Louis on the grounds of proven consanguinity; she was the daughter of a most illustrious man, the late duke of Aquitaine and count of Poitou.[48] Henry fathered sons by her, and thus secured for himself the lordship of Aquitaine.

Henry was therefore king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou. The first son born to him was

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[47] 1154.

[48] Eleanor, heiress of William X of Aquitaine, married first Louis VII of France, and then Henry in 1152.

f. 51r qui uelut[b] ros matutinus nec solis expectato calore | pertransiit.[49] Adicitur regi filius alter Henricus, qui uix plene pubertatis effectus ungitur in regem et diademate paterno coronatur,[50] iuniorque rex appellatur. Hic statura procerus, effigie preclarus, uultu pro[c] debito iocunditatem et maturitatem pretendebat; speciosus inter filios hominum,[51] affabilis, hylaris, et apud omnes graciosus, ab omnibus diligebatur, et omnibus amabilis, inimicum habere non poterat; milicia singularis, ut corporis uenustate omnes antecedebat, sic strenuitate, fauore, et morum insigni gracia, largitate, et fidei sinceritate omnibus preferebatur. Quid plura? In hoc omnia probitatum et uirtutum genera Deus conflauit, et que plus illustribus sors singularibus largitur singularius, huic in omnia contendit generalius et pinguius dare preconia. Nichil in eo terrenum fuisse putaretur, si non prematura morte fuisset interceptus.[52] Nempe in ipso adolescentie feruore, ut uiuens mundo fuit solatium, ita moriens uniuerse milicie fuit exitium. Vnde in eius planctu memini me dixisse:

Rosa forme singularis
Marcet, perit alter Paris,
Hector alter occubuit,
Alter primo non secundus,
Illi Troia, huic mundus
Et ius omne paruit.

Cum obiit Henricus, celum esuriit et mundus abiit mendicus.

Post hunc genitus floruit ille rex regum terrenorum Ricardus,[53] in strenuitate, magnanimitate, milicia, scientia, et omnis generis uirtute nulli mortalium secundus, sacri patrimonii Iesu Christi terreque sancte strenuissimus defensor, timor gentilium, mors hostium, gladius et tutamen christianorum,[d] cui mundus ad largitiones non sufficeret et orbis uelut pugillus erat ad dominandum.

Successit proles tercia,[e] [54] comes aut pocius dux Brittonum,

[b] uelut *supplied by author* N [c] pro *supplied by author* N
[d] christianiorum N [e] Gaufredus *add. after* tercia Q, *after* pocius X

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[49] William, died 1156. [50] 1170. [51] Cf. Ps. 44 (45): 3 (2).

[52] Henry died of fever in 1183, while engaged in a campaign against his brother Richard and Henry II in the Quercy; cf. p. xxvii above.

[53] Richard I (the Lion Heart), 1189–99. Immediately after he was crowned king, he joined the Third Crusade. On his way home, he became the emperor's prisoner (see *Otia*, ii. 19, n. 71). He returned to England briefly after his release in 1194, but after a symbolic crown-wearing in Winchester cathedral he left for France, where he spent the rest of his reign.

[54] i.e. not counting William, who died. This was Geoffrey, who in 1181 married the

William, who passed away like the morning dew without staying for the sun's warmth.[49] The king's next son was another Henry. He was anointed king and crowned with his father's diadem[50] when he had hardly reached full manhood; he was known as the Young King. He was tall in stature, and distinguished in appearance; his face expressed merriment and mature judgment in due measure; fair among the children of men,[51] he was courteous and cheerful. Gracious to all, he was loved by all; amiable to all, he was incapable of making an enemy. He was matchless in warfare, and as he surpassed all others in the grace of his person, so he outstripped them all in valour, cordiality, and the outstanding graciousness of his manners, in his generosity, and true integrity. In short, in this man God assembled every kind of goodness and virtue, and the gifts which fortune usually bestows singly on individuals of special distinction, she exerted herself to give all together and in richer measure to this one man, so as to make him worthy of all commendation. It might have been thought that there was nothing mortal in him, had he not been cut off by an early death.[52] Assuredly, as he was a solace to the world while he lived, so it was a blow to all chivalry when he died in the very glow of youth. And so I remember saying in a lament I wrote for him:

A rose of matchless beauty fades,
Another Paris dies,
Another Hector lies asleep,
Not second to the first;
Troy to one, to the other the world
And every power bowed down.

When Henry died, heaven was hungry, so the world went begging.

The next son to win renown after Henry was Richard,[53] that king of the kings of the earth, second to none of the human race in valour, greatness of soul, military prowess, knowledge, and virtue of every kind. A most vigorous defender of the Holy Land, the sacred patrimony of Jesus Christ, he brought terror to the heathens, death to his enemies, and a protecting sword to Christians. The whole world would not have been enough for him to give away, and the earth seemed but a handful to his powerful grasp.

After Richard came a third[54] son, the count, or rather duke, of

heiress of Brittany, Constance, daughter of Conan IV, and was duke of Brittany 1181–6. He had a son, Arthur, duke of Brittany 1186–1203. *X* and *Q* insert the name *Gaufredus* in the text (see apparatus); however, the comparison with King Arthur suggests that Gervase may have confused the father with the son.

Arcturo fabuloso animali uirtute non inferior, strenuus, milicia pollens, liberalitate excelsus,[f] probitate et magnanimitate incomparabilis, exactis paucis in uirtute immensa annis obiit.

Adiungitur quartus illustris regis filius, Iohannes,[55] cuius incrementum ac laudes presentiali conspectioni committo, ne uidear aut ex[g] insufficientia mea minus dixisse de eo quam est, aut adulationi deseruire in eo quod dixero circa id quod est.

Ecce quod de[h] leone rugiente quatuor leunculi prodierunt,[56] quorum quilibet in fortissimum creuit leonem, aut itidem spe[i] future nobilitatis inmitantem. Nec tacenda sunt insignia illa learum ubera, que suo lacte et strenuitate[j] potentissimas orbis partes illustrauerunt. Dum ex eodem rege Henrico prodiit hinc ducissa[k] Saxonie,[57] cuius flos tu,[l] serenissime princeps, ut bone arboris dulcissimum pomum[m] processisti, cum illustri comite Palatino Henrico et Guillelmo Longa Spata fratribus tuis, utroque parente coniunctis, necnon nobilissima comitissa Alienor, germana tua. Ex altera eiusdem regis Henrici filia,[58] nouelle et insignes plantationes Hyspanie pullulant,[n] filii illustrissimi regis Compostellani, quorum initia,[o] si medium et finem cepto prosequuntur auspicio, magis patrum preambuli uidebuntur[p] quam pedissequi. Ex tercia,[59] quondam illustris regis Siculi coniuge, prodiit Raimundus dux Narbonensis, f. 51v comes Tolose, et marchio Prouincie, | qui utinam utriusque aui fidem, uirtutem, et constanciam imitabitur,[q] ut sub ducis, comitis, et marchionis nomine, uirtuti et strenuitati regum auito[r] more equiperetur!

Hucusque, excellentissime imperator, regum Anglie stemma[s] stirpesque perduxi, ueniam postulans quia minus dixi, cum ad

[f] excelsus *corr. by scribe from* in excelsis *N;* inexcessus *β* [g] ex *om. NX* [h] de *supplied by author N* [i] sepe *N* [j] strenutate *N* [k] ducissa *supplied by author N* [l] tu *om. β* [m] pomum] beneficium *Cβ* [n] pullularunt *XQ* [o] initia *supplied by author N* [p] aspicio (*sic*) . . . uidebuntur] *supplied by author N* [q] imitetur *I, presumably a scribal correction* [r] auito *supplied by author N* [s] stennua *N*

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[55] John, king of England 1199–1216; this passage was evidently composed before 1216.

[56] Probably an echo of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Prophecies of Merlin: see *HRB*, cc. 112–17 (= ed. Griscom, vii. 2–4), especially c. 113 (11–12) and c. 114 (15).

[57] Henry's third child, Matilda (died 1189), became the second wife of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony 1142–80, and of Bavaria 1156–80. Their first child (died 1208–9) was called Richenza, and afterwards Matilda, not Eleanor, as here; she married Count Godfrey II of Perche, and after his death, Engelram III of Coucy. There were also four sons: Henry I, Count Palatine of the Rhine 1195–1227, Lothar (died 1190), Otto IV, and William Longsword (died 1213).

Brittany, not inferior in physical courage to the legendary Arthur, valiant, mighty in warfare, unsurpassed in generosity, beyond compare in honesty and magnanimity; but after living for a few years with boundless virtue, he died.

The illustrious king Henry also had a fourth son, John,[55] whose glorification and praises I commit to present observation, lest I should seem either to have said less than the truth about him as a result of my own inadequacy, or to be indulging in servile flattery if I were to present the facts as they are.

You see, then, how from the roaring lion there sprang four cubs,[56] each of which grew into a powerful lion himself, or at least gave evidence of having a similar nature, fostering the hope of future distinction. Nor must we fail to mention the glorious paps of the female cubs, which have brought renown to the most influential parts of the earth by their strengthening milk. For the same King Henry was the father firstly of the duchess of Saxony,[57] who produced you, most serene Prince, as her fairest offshoot, the sweetest fruit of a good tree, along with your brothers, Henry, the illustrious Count Palatine, and William Longsword, both sons of the same two parents, and also your full sister, the most noble countess Eleanor. Sprung from the second daughter[58] of the same King Henry, fine young scions of Spain are growing up, the sons of the most illustrious king of Compostela; if they sustain the auspicious character of their beginnings through the middle and end of their course, they will seem to be leading the way ahead of their forefathers rather than following in their footsteps. From the third daughter,[59] formerly the wife of the illustrious king of Sicily, has sprung Raymond, duke of Narbonne, count of Toulouse, and marquis of Provence. If only he would imitate the integrity, virtue, and constancy of either of his grandfathers, in order that, possessing as he does the titles of duke, count, and marquis, he might attain, like his grandfathers, to the virtue and valour of kings!

Here, most excellent Emperor, I conclude my account of the line of descent of the kings of England, craving pardon for its inadequacy, ueritatem strenuitatemque predecessorum tuorum recensendam[l] nec dies sufficere posset nec calamus.

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[58] Henry's sixth child, Eleanor (died 1215), married Alfonso VIII of Castile; their children were Berengar, Blanche (who married Louis VIII of France), Urraque, Eleanor, and Henry.

[59] Henry's seventh child, Joanna (died 1199), married William II of Sicily (see *Otia*, ii. 19, n. 77); that marriage was childless, but by her second husband, Raymond VI of Toulouse (see n. 43 above), she had a son, the future Raymond VII.

xxii. *Epilogus capitalium prouinciarum tocius orbis et primo Asie usque ad terram sanctam*

Decursis ab excidio Troiano regnis ac regibus prodeuntibus Romanorum,[a] Francorum, ac Britonum, epilogus nobis retexendus erit prouinciarum,[b] ut in summa lector percurrat que diffuso tractatu per orbis distincta climata prenotauimus. Et quoniam terre sancte situm breuius quam oportuit propter materie continuationem transcurrimus, ipsum hic sub suis terminis lacius prosequemur.

[1]Sunt ergo in Asia a prima fronte orientis paradisus, locus quidem deliciarum, omnibus montibus supereminens, uicinus celo, nihil habens quod saluti hominis possit obesse;[1] et post paradisum, Indie tres: superior, in qua predicauit Bartholomeus,[2] in qua ciuitas est Antochion Polinici regis;[3] inferior, ad occidentem, in qua predicauit Thomas, et hec ducit ad Medos, in qua est ciuitas Edissa, et urbs Elioforus in qua beatus Thomas, ueniens a Cesarea mandato dominico, repperit Gondoforum regem;[4] est et India meridiana,[c] ducens ad Ethiopiam, in qua predicauit in ciuitate Nadauer Matheus apostolus, unde fugerunt[d] ab eius facie Zaram[e] et Arfaxat[f] magi,[5] qui exinde fugientes in[g] Persidem, postea reperti sunt in Perside a Symone Cananeo et Iuda Zelote apostolis;[h][6] unde apostoli,[i] rege Astiage cum toto populo suo ad fidem Christi conuerso, exeuntes a Babilone, circuierunt duodecim prouincias Persidis[j] et ciuitates earum, quibus peragratis, uenerunt ad ciuitatem magnam Suenis, ubi a magis memoratis sunt occisi, et apud Babilonem sepulti,[7] ut scribit Abdias

[l] recessendam *N*

[a] Ro|Romanorum *N* [b] pronunciarium *N* [c] meridiana *supplied by author N* [d] fugierunt (ier *supplied by author*) *N* [e] Zaroem *Q;* Zaroes *Pseudo-Abdias* [f] Arfexat *Pseudo-Abdias* [g] in *supplied by author N* [h] apostoli *N* [i] unde apostoli *supplied by author N* [j] Persides *N*

[1-1] Cf. Pseudo-Abdias, l8v; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 8 (ed. Flint p. 52 = *PL* clxxii. 123); Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 13 (*PL* cxcviii. 1067); *Otia*, i. 10, n. 16. On Pseudo-Abdias, see n. 8 below. [2] Cf. Pseudo-Abdias, m8r.

[3] The king is called Polymius in Pseudo-Abdias (n1r); his city is not named.

[4] Cf. ibid. m8r, n6v–7v and q1v; *Passio Sancti Thomae Apostoli*, pp. 133, 140, and 159; *Otia*, ii. 3, n. 11, and iii. 26, n. 2. [5] Cf. Pseudo-Abdias, k3r, l5v, m3r, and m8r.

[6] Cf. ibid. k2v–k3r; *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 10.

since to convey the true quality and vigour of your forbears neither time nor pen could suffice.

22. *An Epilogue containing the Chief Provinces of the Whole World, giving First Place to those of Asia up to the Holy Land*

Now that we have completed our account of the kingdoms and kings issuing from the destruction of Troy—those of the Romans, the Franks, and the Britons—we must furnish in addition an epilogue on the provinces, in order that the reader may scan in summary form the information which we presented in an extended treatment above, when we went through the different regions of the world. And since we passed over the topography of the Holy Land more briefly than we should have done, so as to preserve the continuity of the subject-matter, we shall here describe the lie of the land as far as its boundaries at greater length.

[1]In Asia, then, beginning from its easternmost edge, there are the following lands: paradise, that is, 'a place of delights', is next to heaven, high above all mountains; it contains nothing which could be an obstacle to human well-being.[1] After paradise come the three Indias: Upper India, in which Bartholomew preached,[2] and where King Polynices' city of Antochion is found;[3] Lower India, towards the west, in which Thomas preached: this leads to the land of the Medes, and contains the city of Edessa, and the city of Elioforus where the blessed Thomas, coming from Caesarea at the Lord's command, found King Gundaphorus;[4] there is also Southern India, leading to Ethiopia: here the apostle Matthew preached in the city of Naddaver, where the magicians Zaroes and Arfaxat fled from his presence.[5] Fleeing from India into Persia, they were subsequently found there by the apostles Simon the Canaanite and Jude the Zealot.[6] After converting King Astyages with his whole people to faith in Christ, these apostles went out from Babylon and travelled round the twelve provinces of Persia and their cities; when they had gone through them all, they came to the great city of Suanir, where they were killed by the magicians just mentioned; they were buried in Babylon.[7] These things were recorded in Hebrew by Abdias, bishop

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[7] Cf. ibid. k2v–l5r. According to Pseudo-Abdias, it was King Xerxes of Babylon who was converted by Simon and Jude; Astyages was the king who had Bartholomew put to death (n5r–n6r).

Babilonis episcopus Ebraice, Eutropius Grece, Affricanus hystoriographus[k] Latine.[8]

Porro Indie iungitur Scichia, Ymabo ac Caucaso montibus ab India distincta; huic subiacet Yrcania ad occasum.[9] Sane ab Indo flumine, quod est ab oriente, usque ad flumen Tigrim, quod est ad occasum, sunt hee prouincie: Arachosia, Parchia, Assiria, Persida, et Media.[10] A flumine Tigri usque ad flumen Eufraten est Mesopotania,[11] in qua [12]in yeme profunditas luti, in estate aque defectus; in saltibus latrunculi. In ea Caram, urbs Nacor.[12] In Mesopotania mansit Iacob cum Laban, et ex aduerso est mons Galaat, transmisso amne;[13] in qua ad septentrionem est ciuitas Niniue, ad meridiem Babilonia.[14] Babilonie suscedit Chaldea, cui iungitur Arabia[l] ad austrum, Nabathea regio Saracenorum uersus occidentem.[15] Sane propter sui nobilitatem nomine Babilonie quandoque Assiria, Caldea, et Mesopotania censebantur.[m] [16]

[17]A flumine Eufrate quod est ab oriente, usque ad mare Mediterraneum quod est ab hoccasu, deinde a septemtrione, ubi ciuitas est Dacusa in confinio Capadocie et Armenie sita, haut[n] procul ubi[o] nascitur Eufrates, usque[p] ad Egyptum et extremum sinum Arabicum, qui[q] ad meridiem longo angustoque sulco a Rubro mari, ubi est
f. 52^{r} occeanus, occasum uersus extenditur, Syria generaliter | nominatur.[17] In qua sunt prouincie Sirie Cyle, in qua est Antiochia, Siria Palestina, Siria Fenice, Siria Eolia iuxta montem Taurum.[18] [19]In capite Syrie superioris est Capadocia, habens ab oriente Armeniam, ab occasu Asiam minorem, ab aquilone mare Cimericum,[r] a meridie montem Taurum, cui subiacent Cilicia et Ysauria usque ad Cilicinum sinum, qui respicit insulam Ciprum.[19] Capadocie urbs maxima est Cesarea, in quam applicuit beatus Thomas.[20] Sirie inferioris caput est

[k] hystoriogracus *N* [l] Babilonie suscedit . . . Arabia] *supplied by author N* [m] censebantur *Cβ;* esse ferebantur *NA, with* ferebantur *supplied by author N* [n] haut *supplied by author N* [o] ubi *supplied by author N;* a loco ubi *Orosius* [p] usque *Orosius;* qui *MSS* [q] est *add. after* qui *MSS* [r] Ciminericum *N*

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[8] In Book VI of *De historia certaminis apostolici* (l3r), Abdias is said to have been ordained as the first bishop of Babylon by Simon and Jude. A preface to this work, purporting to be by Julius Africanus, says that Abdias wrote his history in Hebrew; it was then translated into Greek by his disciple Eutropius, and into Latin by Julius Africanus. In fact, however, the work was put together in France, probably in the sixth century AD. There is no modern edition; for an English summary, see James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 438–9 and 462–9.

[9] Cf. *Otia*, ii. 3, n. 38.

[10] Cf. *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 1.

[11] Cf. *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 13.

[12–12] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 60 (*PL* cxcviii. 1106); Josephus, *Ant.* i. 244; Gen. 24: 10.

[13] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 79 (*PL* cxcviii. 1119); Gen. 31: 21.

of Babylon, in Greek by Eutropius, and in Latin by the historian Africanus.[8]

To continue, Scythia borders on India, divided from it by the Imavus and Caucasus mountain ranges; next to Scythia, to the west, lies Hyrcania.[9] Between the river Indus in the east and the river Tigris in the west are the following provinces: Arachosia, Parthia, Assyria, Persia, and Media.[10] Between the river Tigris and the river Euphrates lies Mesopotamia,[11] where [12]in winter there is deep mud, and in summer a shortage of water; bandits lurk in its wooded areas. Haran, Nahor's city, is in this land,[12] and it was in Mesopotamia that Jacob dwelt with Laban. Opposite it, across the river, is Mount Gilead.[13] The city of Nineveh is in northern Mesopotamia; to the south is Babylonia.[14] After Babylonia comes Chaldaea, bordering on which is Arabia to the south, and Nabataea, the land of the Saracens, to the west.[15] At various times Assyria, Chaldaea, and Mesopotamia have all gone by the name of Babylonia, owing to the name's renown.[16]

[17]The area from the river Euphrates in the east to the Mediterranean Sea in the west, and from where the city of Dagusa is situated on the border of Cappadocia and Armenia, not far from where the Euphrates rises, in the north, to Egypt in the south and the top of the Arabian Gulf, which extends westwards in a long, narrow gully from the Red Sea, where the ocean is—this whole area is called Syria.[17] Within Syria are the provinces of Coele-Syria, which contains Antioch, Syria Palestine, Syria Phoenicia, and alongside the Taurus Mountains, Syria Aeolia.[18] [19]At the top of Upper Syria lies Cappadocia, which has Armenia to the east, Asia Minor to the west, the Cimmerian Sea to the north, and the Taurus Mountains to the south. Beneath these mountains lie Cilicia and Isauria, leading down to the Cilician Gulf, which looks across at the island of Cyprus.[19] The main city of Cappadocia is Caesarea, to which came the blessed Thomas.[20]

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[14] Cf. *Otia*, ii. 4, nn. 15 and 17.

[15] Cf. *Otia*, ii. 4, nn. 24, 26, and 28.

[16] Cf. *Otia*, ii. 1, n. 30.

[17–17] A flumine . . . Syria generaliter [f. 52^{r}] nominatur] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 23–4; *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 34.

[18] Cf. Polemius Silvius, 8 (ed. Riese, p. 132). There was no such province as Syria Aeolia: it is a corruption of *Isauria, Cilicia*.

[19–19] In capite . . . respicit insulam Ciprum] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 25; *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 35.

[20] According to the *Passio Sancti Thomae Apostoli* (pp. 133–4), Gundaphorus' messenger, Abbanes, found Thomas in Caesarea in Palestine, not Caesarea in Cappadocia. The verb *applico* generally has a nautical sense when it is used intransitively (cf. Mark 6: 53); this would be appropriate for Caesarea Maritime, but not for the capital of Cappadocia.

Damascus,[21] [22]ubi mansit Abraham, cuius nomen illic celebre habetur, ubi et uicus eius Abiram[s] dicitur; unde fuit Nicholaus Damascenus.[t][22]

Nunc situm terre sancte, que terminis Syrie circumcluditur, describamus, sicut a Theodocio Diacono tractatu breui notatum legimus, profusiorem descriptionem aliis tractatoribus relinquentes.

xxiii. *De situ terre sancte secundum Theodosium et*[a] *de*[b] *uia filiorum Israel*

[1]Ciuitas ergo Ierusalem habet portas sex extra posticia. A porta Benyamin ad Iordanem et ad Ierico dicunt decemocto esse miliaria. A Ierico ad orientem distant Galgala stadiis decem. A Iordane ad Galgala stadia quinquagenta. Illic est Ager Domini, quem Dominus noster Iesus Christus uno sulco arauit propria manu. Ibi sunt duodecim lapides[2] quos eleuauerunt[c] filii Israel de Iordane,[1] ad quos Iohannes fecit demonstrationem, dicens: 'Potens est Dominus de lapidibus istis suscitare filios Abrahe.'[3] [4]A Ievicho ad fontem Elisei miliaria duo. Ibi erat domus Raab, que recepit exploratores.[5]

A Ierusalem usque Bethsaida miliaria duodecim. In hac uidit Iacob angelos ascendentes et descendentes,[4] quod alii in Luza dicunt factum, ideoque Bethel dicta est.[d][6] [7]A Bethsaida ad Samariam, que nunc dicitur Neapolis, miliaria triginta tria. Ibi est puteus quem fecit Iacob;[e][8] illic sunt ossa sancti Ioseph.[9] A Samaria in Sebastem miliaria sex. Illic decolatus dicitur Iohannes Baptista,[7] uel quod uerius est, [10]in

[s] Abyron *N;* habitatio Abram *Comestor* [t] Damasceni *N*

[a] et *supplied by author N* [b] de *om. CXQ* [c] leuauerunt *ACβ and Theodosius* [d] dictam esse *XQ* [e] Iacob *Theodosius;* Ioseph *MSS*

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[21] Cf. *Otia,* ii. 4, n. 36.

[22–22] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 44 (*PL* cxcviii. 1093); Josephus, *Ant.* i. 159–60; *Otia*, i. 20, n. 100.

[1–1] Ciuitas . . . Israel de Iordane] Cf. Theodosius, *De situ terrae sanctae*, c. 1 (ed. Geyer, p. 137). Theodosius' work, written in the third decade of the sixth century, is reproduced in this chapter nearly in full, but with many additions and some adaptation and reorganization by Gervase. Gervase frequently improves the eccentric Latinity of his source; but he also introduces a number of errors. Here he wrongly implies that Jericho was on the Jordan; Theodosius states that it was seven miles from Jericho to the Jordan, and one from Jericho to Gilgal. There are many variations in the MSS of Theodosius with regard to the distances given; as a rule, therefore, Gervase's departures from the figures in Geyer's text have not been noted.

[2] Cf. Josh. 4: 3, 8, 20. [3] Cf. Matt. 3: 9; Luke 3: 8.

The capital of Lower Syria is Damascus,[21] [22]where Abraham dwelt; his name is held in honour there, and the quarter where he lived is called Abram. Nicholas of Damascus came from there.[22]

Let us now describe the topography of the Holy Land, which is enclosed within the boundaries of Syria. We shall base our description on a brief account we have read, set down by Theodosius the Deacon, leaving it to other writers to supply a fuller description.

23. *The Topography of the Holy Land according to Theodosius, and the Route of the Children of Israel*

[1]The city of Jerusalem has six gates, not counting the posterns. They say that from the Gate of Benjamin to the Jordan and to Jericho it is eighteen miles. From Jericho, Gilgal is ten stades to the east. From the Jordan to Gilgal it is fifty stades. At Gilgal is the Lord's Field, which our Lord Jesus Christ ploughed with a single furrow with his own hand. There too are the twelve stones[2] which the children of Israel took up from the Jordan,[1] to which John pointed when he said: 'The Lord is able to raise up children to Abraham from these stones.'[3] [4]It is two miles from Jericho to the spring of Elisha. The house of Rahab, who took in the spies,[5] was in Jericho.

It is twelve miles from Jerusalem to Bethsaida. That is where Jacob saw the angels ascending and descending,[4] though others say that this happened in Luz, which came to be called Bethel on account of this event.[6] [7]From Bethsaida to Samaria, which is now called Neapolis, it is thirty-three miles. In Samaria is the well which Jacob dug;[8] the bones of the holy man Joseph are also there.[9] From Samaria to Sebaste it is six miles. John the Baptist is said to have been beheaded in Sebaste,[7] or, with greater accuracy, [10]in the fortress of Machaerus.

[4–4] A Ierícho . . . ascendentes et descendentes] Cf. Theodosius, cc. 1–2 (ed. Geyer, p. 137).

[5] Cf. Josh. 2: 1 ff., 6: 17 and 22–5. [6] Cf. Gen. 28: 19; *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 57.

[7–7] A Bethsaida . . . dicitur Iohannes Baptista] Cf. Theodosius, c. 2 (ed. Geyer, p. 137). Samaria was the name both of a city and of a district; the two are confused here. Neapolis was a Roman city near the ancient Shechem (where Joseph was buried). The city of Samaria was renamed Sebaste by Herod (see *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 141).

[8] Cf. John 4: 6; the MSS have *Ioseph* for *Iacob*. [9] Cf. Josh. 24: 32; John 4: 5.

[10–10] in castello . . . episcopo oblata sunt (p. 496)] Cf. Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 73 (*PL* cxcviii. 1574–5). The Comestor was drawing on the first of two books which Rufinus added to his translation of the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Eusebius of Caesarea, based probably on the lost history of Gelasius of Caesarea: see Eusebius-Rufinus, *HE* xi. 28 (ed. Mommsen, ii (2), 1033–4).

castello Macheronta, et Herodias in palatio ipso caput eius sepeliuit, non sustinens cum corpore reliquo ipsum[f] sepeliri, timens ne si capiti corpus iungeretur, facile resurgeret. Vnde corpus eius apud Sebastem (Palestine urbem quam dictam asserunt olim Samariam) sepultum est, usque ad tempora Iuliani Apostate,[g] cuius exercitus ossa dispersit, et collecta pro magna parte, cremauit; sed quedam ex hiis, coacta a monachis Ierosolimitanis, Atanasio Alexandrino episcopo oblata sunt.[10] Caput a Felice monacho translatum et apud Aquitanniam, uico Engeriaco iuxta flumen Vultumiam, a Pipino rege Francorum patricioque Romanorum est in basilica noua sub ciborio repositum.[11]

[12]A Sebasta in Cenopolim[h] miliaria triginta. Ibi passus est beatus Basilius. A Cenopoli[i] ad Tiberiada, ubi mare est,[j] [13] miliaria quatuordecim. Super illud mare Christus ambulauit.[14] Exhinc ad Magdalum[k] miliaria duo; unde Maria Magdalena. A Magdalo[l] usque ad[m] Bersabee,[n] quod interpretatur ‘Septem Fontes’,[12] aut ‘Fedus Putei’, quod pepigit Abraham cum Abimelech,[15] [16]miliaria quinque. Illic saturauit Dominus quinque milia hominum de quinque panibus et piscibus duobus.[17] A Septem Fontibus in Chapharnaum miliaria duo. Exinde ad Bethsaida (que est probatica piscina,)[o] [18] miliaria tria. Hinc nati sunt Petrus et Andreas, Philipus, et filii Zebedei. A Bethsaida usque[p] Paneam uel Paneadem quinquaginta miliaria. Inde ex duobus f. 52v locis oriuntur duo fontes, Ior et Dan, qui sub ciuitate Paneada | (que nunc Belinas dicitur aut Cesarea Philipi) iuncti Iordanem conficiunt. Inde fuit mulier illa quam Dominus noster de profluuio sanguinis liberauit,[19] cuius nomen Mariosam dicunt. Illic est statua electrina in ecclesia quam ipsa Mariosa construxit, ubi incipit mons Lybani.[16]

[20]A porta[q] usque ubi pugnauit Dauid cum Golia in monte Bizina[r] ⟨(quod interpretatur ‘lucerna’), milia quindecim. De Buzana⟩[s] usque in Euthoporim[t] miliaria quindecim. Ab Euthopori[u] usque ubi iacet

[f] eum *XQ* [g] Apostate *supplied by author N* [h] *sic MSS for* Scythopolim [i] *sic MSS for* Scythopoli [j] est *om. XQ* [k] Magdale *Theodosius* [l] Magdolo *N;* Magdale *Theodosius* [m] ad *om. β* [n] Belsabee *N* [o] probatica piscina *supplied by author N* [p] ad *add. after* usque *XQ;* in *add. after* usque *Theodosius* [q] Purgu *add. after* porta *Theodosius* [r] Bizuna *XI;* Buzana *Theodosius* [s] quod . . . Buzana] *Theodosius; om. MSS* [t] *sic MSS for* Eleutheropolim [u] *sic MSS for* Eleutheropoli

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[11] The Comestor (col. 1575) reports that after various vicissitudes John the Baptist’s head ended up in Gaul; it was taken there by a monk named Felicius or Felicianus, according to some MSS of Fretellus (ed. Boeren, p. 27, c. 42, apparatus; Fetellus, *Description of the Holy Land c. 1130 A.D.*, transl. J. R. Macpherson, Palestine Pilgrims’ Texts Society, Publications, v (London, 1896), 32).

[12–12] A Sebasta . . . interpretatur Septem Fontes] Cf. Theodosius, c. 2 (ed. Geyer, pp. 137–8).

[13] Cf. John 6: 1.

Herodias buried his head in the palace itself, not allowing it to be buried with the rest of his body for fear lest, if the body were united with the head, he might easily come back to life. And so his body was buried at Sebaste (a city of Palestine which they say was once called Samaria), until the time of Julian the Apostate, whose army scattered the bones, then collected most of them together again and burned them; but some of them were gathered up by the monks of Jerusalem and presented to Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria.[10] The head was taken away by the monk Felix, and was laid by Pippin, king of the Franks and patrician of the Romans, under a baldacchino in a new basilica in the town of Engeriac on the river Vultume in Aquitaine.[11]

[12]From Sebaste to Scythopolis it is thirty miles. There the blessed Basil suffered. From Scythopolis to Tiberias, where the sea is,[13] it is fourteen miles. It was on that sea that Christ walked.[14] From here to Magdala, the home of Mary Magdalene, it is two miles. From Magdala to Beer-sheba, which means ‘Seven Springs’,[12] or ‘Covenant of the Well’ (the covenant which Abraham made with Abimelech),[15] [16]it is five miles. There the Lord satisfied the hunger of five thousand people with five loaves and two fishes.[17] From Seven Springs to Capernaum it is two miles. From there to Bethsaida (that is, the sheep-pool)[18] it is three miles. This was the birth-place of Peter and Andrew, Philip, and the sons of Zebedee. From Bethsaida to Paneas it is fifty miles. Two springs, the Jor and the Dan, rise from two places there, and meet to form the Jordan below the city of Paneas (which is now called Belinas or Caesarea Philippi). The woman whom our Lord freed from an issue of blood[19] came from there; they say that her name was Mariosa. There is a statue of amber there, in a church which Mariosa herself built. Here Mount Lebanon begins.[16]

[20]From the city-gate to where David fought with Goliath on Mount Buzana (which means ‘lamp’), it is fifteen miles. From Buzana to Eleutheropolis it is fifteen miles. From Eleutheropolis to

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[14] Cf. John 6: 19; Matt. 14: 25; Mark 6: 48.

[15] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 57 (*PL* cxcviii. 1104); Gen. 21: 22–32, 26: 15–23 and 32–3.

[16–16] miliaria . . . incipit mons Lybani] Cf. Theodosius, c. 2 (ed. Geyer, p. 138); the phrases in parentheses were added by Gervase.

[17] Cf. Matt. 14: 13–21; Mark 6: 32–44; Luke 9: 10–17; John 6: 1–13.

[18] The sheep-pool in Jerusalem is called Bethesda in the A.V., but Bethsaida in the Vulgate (John 5: 2): hence Gervase’s mistaken identification of it with the town of Bethsaida on the Sea of Galilee (John 1: 44).

[19] Cf. Matt. 9: 20–2; Mark 5: 25–34; Luke 8: 43–8. On the association of this woman with Paneas, see *Otia*, iii. 50.

[20–20] A porta . . . miliaria uiginti quatuor (p. 498)] Cf. Theodosius, c. 3 (ed. Geyer, p. 138).

sanctus Zacharias miliaria quinque. Exhinc ad Ascalonem miliaria uiginti. Exhinc usque[v] Gazam miliaria uiginti quatuor.[20] A Gaza circiter quinque miliaria Thabatha uicus ad austrum situs, ex quo ortus est beatus Ylarion.[21] De Rafia[w] in Betuliam,[x] ubi Holofernes occisus est a Iudith, miliaria duodecim.[22]

A Ierusalem in Silona,[y] ubi fuit archa testamenti, miliaria octo.[23] Exhinc a Ierusalem ad Emaus sexaginta quinque stadia, ubi Aimon et Cleofas cognouerunt Dominum in fractione panis, ubi et martyrium susceperunt.[24] [25]De Diospoli[z] usque Ioppe miliaria duodecim. Ibi sanctus Petrus suscitauit Tabitam;[26] illic cete iactauit Ionam. A Ioppe usque ad[a] Cesaream Palestine miliaria triginta. Ibi baptizatus[b] est Cornelius centurio a Petro,[27] et ibidem martyrium succepit. A Cesarea Palestina ad alteram Cesaream,[c][28] unde fuit Symon magus, miliaria uiginti quinque. A Diochira[d] ad Nazareth miliaria quinque. A Nazareth usque in Deidiopirum,[e][29] ubi Dominus post resurrectionem discipulis apparuit, miliaria septem.[25]

[30]A Ierusalem usque quo baptizauit Philipus eunuchum[31] miliaria sedecim. Hinc usque ad terebintum quod[f] dicitur Mambre[32] miliaria duo. A terebinto ad speluncam duplicem[33] miliaria quatuor. Hinc in Cebron[g] miliaria duo. Illic mansit Dauid cum fugit a Saul.[30]

[34]A Ierusalem usque in Ramatha[h] miliaria quinque, ubi requiescit Samuel.[35] A Ierusalem usque quo habitabat sancta Elisabeth miliaria sex. A Ierusalem usque in Anatoth,[i] ubi natus est[36] et[j] sepultus Ieremias propheta, miliaria sex. A Ierusalem in Bethaniam, ubi suscitatus est Lazarus,[37] miliaria duo. Exhinc ad montem Olíueti

[v] ad *add. after* usque *CX and Theodosius* [w] De Rafia *Theodosius;* Ab Arabia *MSS* [x] Betuliam *Theodosius;* Bethulia *C*, Bethuba *NAβ* [y] Silona *Theodosius;* Sidonem *MSS* [z] De Diospoli *Theodosius;* Ab Indionopoli *MSS* [a] ad *om. ACβ* [b] baptizans *N* [c] alteram Cesaream] Diocaesarea *Theodosius* [d] *sic MSS for* Diocesarea [e] Deidiopirum *MSS;* syce Taburi *Theodosius* [f] quod *β and Theodosius;* quo *N* [g] Cebron *Theodosius;* Cedon *N*, Cedron *β* [h] Ramatha *Theodosius;* Tamnatha *NQI*, Ianatha *X* [i] in Anatoth] Manatoth *N* [j] et *supplied by author N*

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[21] Cf. Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*, ii. 1 (ed. Bastiaensen, p. 74 = *PL* xxiii. 30). The hermit St Hilarion was born *c*.291. This sentence replaces a statement in Theodosius that it is twenty-four miles from Gaza to Raphia; at the beginning of the next sentence, Theodosius' *Rafia* is corrupted to *Arabia* in Gervase's text.

[22] Cf. Theodosius, loc. cit.; Judith 10–13.

[23] Cf. Theodosius, c. 4 (ed. Geyer, p. 139); Josh. 18: 1; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 4: 3.

[24] Cf. Theodosius, loc. cit; Luke 24: 13–35. Theodosius gives the distance of Emmaus from Shiloh (nine miles), not from Jerusalem. In his account, as in the gospel, only Cleopas is named; Gervase's 'ubi Aimon' probably represents a corruption of Theodosius'

where St Zacharias lies buried it is five miles. From there to Ascalon it is twenty miles. From Ascalon to Gaza it is twenty-four miles.[20] About five miles south of Gaza lies the village of Tabatha, the birthplace of the blessed Hilarion.[21] From Raphia to Bethulia, where Holofernes was slain by Judith, it is twelve miles.[22]

From Jerusalem to Shiloh, where the ark of the covenant was, it is eight miles.[23] Next, from Jerusalem to Emmaus, where Aimon and Cleopas recognized the Lord in the breaking of bread, and where they also underwent martyrdom, it is sixty-five stades.[24] [25]From Diospolis to Joppa it is twelve miles. There St Peter raised Tabitha;[26] there too the whale cast up Jonah. From Joppa to Caesarea in Palestine it is thirty miles. There the centurion Cornelius was baptized by Peter,[27] and underwent martyrdom in the same city. From Caesarea in Palestine to the other Caesarea,[28] where Simon the sorcerer came from, it is twenty-five miles. From Dioceasarea to Nazareth it is five miles. From Nazareth to Mount Tabor,[29] where the Lord appeared to the disciples after the resurrection, it is seven miles.[25]

[30]From Jerusalem to the place where Philip baptized the eunuch[31] it is sixteen miles. From here to the terebinth tree which is called Mamre[32] it is two miles. From the terebinth tree to the double cave[33] it is four miles. From here to Hebron it is two miles. David dwelt there when he fled from Saul.[30]

[34]From Jerusalem to Ramah, where Samuel lies buried,[35] it is five miles. From Jerusalem to where St Elisabeth lived it is six miles. From Jerusalem to Anathoth, where the prophet Jeremiah was born[36] and lies buried, it is six miles. From Jerusalem to Bethany, where Lazarus was raised from the dead,[37] it is two miles. It is one mile from Jerusalem to Mount Olivet, from where the Lord ascended to the

'in qua Emmau'. Theodosius goes on to state that it is twelve miles from Emmaus to Diospolis (= Lydda).

[25–25] De Diospoli . . . apparuit, miliaria septem] Cf. Theodosius, loc. cit.

[26] Cf. Acts 9: 36–42. [27] Cf. Acts 10.

[28] i.e. Diocaesarea (= Sepphoris).

[29] The text of Theodosius is corrupt here, but it seems that Mount Tabor is meant (*Itabyrium* in Greek and Latin); this mountain was believed to have been the scene of the Transfiguration, and also of the resurrection appearance described in Matt. 28: 16–20.

[30–30] A Ierusalem . . . fugit a Saul] Cf. Theodosius, c. 5 (ed. Geyer, pp. 139–40).

[31] Cf. Acts 8: 26–39. [32] Cf. Gen. 18: 4 etc.; *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 69.

[33] i.e. the cave of Machpelah (Gen. 23: 19 etc.); cf. *Otia*, i. 19, n. 7; ii. 4, n. 37.

[34–34] A Ierusalem . . . propheta, miliarium ⟨unum⟩ (p. 500)] Cf. Theodosius, c. 6 (ed. Geyer, p. 140).

[35] Cf. 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 25: 1. [36] Cf. Jer. 1: 1, 29: 27.

[37] Cf. John 11: 1–44.

miliare unum, unde Dominus in celos ascendit;[38] illic asserunt uiginti quatuor ecclesias edificatas fuisse. A monte Olieuti ad uicum Hermippo,[k] ubi dormiuit Abimelech discipulus Ieremie, ubi fuit Baruch in spelunca propheta,[39] miliarium ⟨unum⟩.[l][34]

A passione Domini,[m] qui est Caluarie locus, usque sepulcrum Domini passus quindecim;[40] illic decaluabantur homines.[41] [42]Illic obtulit Abraham filium suum in holocaustum Domino, et quia mons saxosus est, per gradus ascenditur. Ibi crux Domini inuenta[n] est, ubi Golgotha dicitur.[42] Sunt tamen[o] qui affirmant partem omnem que corpus Domini contigerat[p] nudum et sanguine eius ubique tincta fuit ab humano tactu atque conspectu statim in celum raptam fuisse, eamque demum in iudicio apparituram. Et nota quod [43]uallis uisionis dicitur locus Ierusalem ab Ysaia[q] [44] propter eminentiam montium, in quorum summo est monticulus Moria dictus, in quo Abraham immolauit Ysaac,[45] ubi Iudei tradunt post templum factum,[46] et altare in quo et Abraham fecit altare, et Dauid uidit angelum reponentem gladium in area Ornam Iebusei;[47] de quo dixit Ysaias:

> Erit mons in uertice meo:
> Ad eum confluent omnes gentes.[48,43]

Omnis enim secta templum adorat. Ibi quoque uidit Iacob scalam, unde Betel dicitur.[49]

[50]A Golgotha[r] usque ad sanctam Syon[51] passus ducenti, que est mater, ut tradunt, omnium ecclesiarum, quam Christus cum apostolis fundauit, et eam dicunt ⟨domum⟩[s] Marchi euangeliste fuisse. A sancta Syon usque ad domum Cayfe ⟨plus minus⟩[t] passus ⟨quinquaginta⟩.[u]

[k] Hermippo *Theodosius;* Hermicum *NXQ,* Erinicum *I*
[l] unum *ed.; om. MSS: space left NAQI*
[m] Domini *supplied by author N*
[n] iumenta *N*
[o] autem *XQ*
[p] contingerat *N*
[q] Esaia, *with* Y *written by author* (?) *above* E, *but* E *not expunged, N*
[r] *sic XQ;* Golgatha *N*
[s] domum *ed.; om. MSS*
[t] plus minus *Theodosius; om. MSS*
[u] numero L *Theodosius; om. MSS: space left NACQ*

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[38] Cf. Acts 1: 12.

[39] A reference to the pseudepigraphon generally designated as 4 Baruch, though its title in Greek is *Ta Paraleipomena Ieremiou tou Prophetou* ('Things omitted from the Prophet Jeremiah'; see A.-M. Denis, *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament* (Leiden, 1970), pp. 70–8; R. A. Kraft and A. E. Purintun, *Paraleipomena Ieremiou*, Pseudepigrapha Series 1 (Missoula, 1972)). Jeremiah ensured that his servant Abimelech (Ebed-melech in the A.V., Jer. 38: 7 etc.) would be spared when Jerusalem was destroyed, by sending him out of the city to gather figs; he took a nap under a tree and slept for 66 years. Baruch also stayed behind, finding refuge in a tomb.

[40] Cf. Theodosius, c. 7 (ed. Geyer, p. 141).

[41] This etymology may be indebted to Isidore, *Etym.* xi. 1. 27: 'Calvaria ab ossibus

heavens;[38] they say that twenty-four churches have been built there. From Mount Olivet to the village of Hermippus, where Jeremiah's disciple Abimelech slept, and where the prophet Baruch was in the tomb,[39] it is one mile.[34]

From the scene of the Lord's passion, that is, the place called Calvary, to the Lord's sepulchre, it is fifteen paces;[40] people used to have their hair shorn off (*decaluabantur*) there.[41] [42]There Abraham offered his son as a holocaust to the Lord. Because the hill is rocky, one climbs up it by means of steps. The Lord's cross was found there, in the place called Golgotha.[42] There are some, however, who maintain that any part of the cross which had been in contact with the Lord's bare flesh or was stained at all with his blood was immediately borne off to heaven, away from human touch and sight; they say that it will appear at the last on the Day of Judgment. Note, too, that the location of Jerusalem [43]is called the valley of vision by Isaiah[44] on account of the height of the mountains. At their highest point is the mount called Moriah, on which Abraham sacrificed Isaac,[45] where Jewish tradition has it that the temple was afterwards built,[46] the altar being sited where Abraham built his altar, and where David saw the angel sheathing his sword on the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite.[47] Isaiah said of this place:

> There shall be a mountain on my heights:
> All nations shall flow unto it.[48,43]

For all worshippers honour the temple. There too Jacob saw the ladder; and so it is called Bethel.[49]

[50]From Golgotha to Hagia Sion[51] it is two hundred paces. Hagia Sion is traditionally regarded as the mother of all the churches; it was founded by Christ, with his apostles, and they say that it had been the house of Mark the evangelist. From Hagia Sion to the house of

calvis dicta' ('The skull is so-called from being bones without hair'). Cf. Appendix ii. 2, at n. 88.

[42–42] Cf. Theodosius, c. 7 (ed. Geyer, pp. 140–1).

[43–43] uallis . . . confluent omnes gentes] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 58 (*PL* cxcviii. 1104).

[44] Cf. Isa. 22: 1, 5.

[45] Cf. Gen. 22: 2.

[46] Cf. 2 Chr. 3: 1.

[47] Cf. 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 24: 16; 1 Chr. 21: 15–27.

[48] Cf. Isa. 2: 2; the Vulgate reads: 'Et erit in novissimis diebus | Praeparatus mons domus Domini | In vertice montium, | Et elevabitur super colles; | Et fluent ad eum omnes gentes.' This is abbreviated by the Comestor to: 'Erit mons domus Domini in vertice montium, et ad eum fluent omnes gentes.'

[49] See n. 6 above.

[50–50] A Golgotha . . . mento quam oculis (p. 502)] Cf. Theodosius, c. 7 (ed. Geyer, p. 141).

[51] A church founded by Bishop John II of Jerusalem in the fourth century.

Illic[52] est ecclesia sancte Sophie, et e uicino missus est Ieremias in lacum leonum.[v] [53] In domo Caiphe columpna fuit ad quam flagellatus f. 53r est Christus,[54] et iussu Domini | ipsum in sanctam Syon secuta est. Dum uero flagellaretur Dominus et columpnam amplexaretur, sicut in cera molli brachia, manus, ac digiti[w] immerserunt, et adhuc uestigia expressa comparent tam in facie et mento quam oculis.[50]

[55]Porro sanctus Stephanus foras portam Galilee lapidatus est, ubi a Teodocia[56] imperatrice[x] ecclesia fundata est. A Siloa ad lacum[y] leonum,[z] ubi missus est Ieremias, passus centum; piscina intra muros est.[57] A domo Pylati ad probaticam piscinam passus centum. Illic est grabatus paralitici quem curauit Dominus.[58] In probatica[a] est ecclesia Beate Virginis.[55]

Item super Iordanem fabricata est ecclesia, ubi[b] Dominus baptizatus est.[59] [60]Exinde usque quo Iordanis mare Mortuum influit sunt miliaria quinque. In loco illo submerse sunt cum Sodoma ciuitates alie, ubi et statua salis est in quam[c] uersa fuit uxor Loth;[61] hec cum luna crescit et decrescit.[60]

[62]Sed et in monte Oliueti posuit Dominus humeros super lapidem in quo fixi humeri adhuc apparent, qui locus Ancona[d] uocatur; et est illic ecclesia fabricata, iuxta quam[e] est ecclesia in qua sancta Tecla requiescit. Est et e uicino Betphage,[63] unde pullus super quem sedit Dominus adductus est, cum quo portam Beniamin intrauit,[62] pueris clamantibus osanna.

[64]Ibi legitur: 'Mare uidit, et fugit; Iordanis conuersus est retrorsum.[f] Quid est tibi, mare, quod fugisti? Et tu, Iordanis, quia conuersus es retrorsum?'[g] [65] Asserunt enim cum baptizaretur

[v] leonum *om. Theodosius* [w] se *add. after* digiti *β* [x] imparatrice (*sic*) *supplied by author* (?) *in space left by scribe N* [y] locum *N* [z] leonum *om. Theodosius* [a] In probatica *MSS;* Iuxta piscinam probaticam *Theodosius* [b] ubi *supplied by author N* [c] qua *N* [d] Ancona *Theodosius;* ideo Chana *MSS* [e] quem *N* [f] est retrorsum *supplied by author N* [g] quia . . . retrorsum] *supplied by author* (*replacing* etc.) *N*

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[52] Gervase has omitted the following sentence: 'De domo Caiphae ad praetorium Pilati plus minus passi numero C' ('From the house of Caiaphas to Pilate's judgment hall it is more or less a hundred paces'); the church of Hagia Sophia was on the site of the judgment hall.

[53] Cf. Jer. 38: 6. The lions are not mentioned by Theodosius; it was actually Daniel whose *lacus* contained lions (Dan. 6: 16).

[54] Jesus' scourging took place at the hands of the Romans (Matt. 27: 26; Mark 15: 15; John 19: 1; but cf. Mark 14: 65 and Luke 22: 63).

[55–55] Porro . . . ecclesia Beate Virginis] Cf. Theodosius, c. 8 (ed. Geyer, pp. 141–2).

[56] St Stephen's Church was built by Eudocia, wife of the emperor Theodosius, as most of the MSS of Theodosius say, though the reading *Theodosia* also occurs.

Caiaphas it is more or less fifty paces. The church of Hagia Sophia is there,[52] and it was near there that Jeremiah was thrown into the lions' den.[53] The column at which Christ was scourged[54] was in the house of Caiaphas, but at the Lord's command it followed him to Hagia Sion. Now while the Lord was being scourged and had his arms round the column, his arms, hands, and fingers sank into it as if it were soft wax, and distinct traces are still clearly visible of his face and chin, and of his eyes.[50]

[55]St Stephen was stoned outside the Galilean Gate; a church was founded on the spot by the empress Theodosia.[56] From Siloam to the lions' den into which Jeremiah was thrown, it is a hundred paces; Siloam is a pool enclosed within walls.[57] From the house of Pilate to the sheep-pool it is a hundred paces. The bed of the paralytic whom the Lord cured[58] is there. At the sheep-pool is a church of the Blessed Virgin.[55]

A church was likewise built on the Jordan, at the place where the Lord was baptized.[59] [60]From that point to where the Jordan flows into the Dead Sea, it is five miles. In that area Sodom and the other cities were submerged; there too is the pillar of salt into which Lot's wife was turned.[61] The size of this pillar varies according to the waxing and waning of the moon.[60]

[62]On Mount Olivet the Lord leant his shoulders against a stone, and the impression of his shoulders can still be seen in it. This place is called Ancona, and a church has been built there, next to which is another church in which St Thecla is buried. Also in the vicinity is Bethphage;[63] the colt on which the Lord sat was fetched from there. Riding this colt he came in through the Gate of Benjamin,[62] with the children shouting Hosanna.

[64]There one reads: 'The sea saw it, and fled; Jordan was driven back. What ailed you, sea, that you fled? And you, Jordan, that you were driven back?'[65] For they say that when Christ was being

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[57] Cf. 2 Esd. (Neh.) 3: 15; John 9: 7, 11. [58] Cf. John 5: 2–9.

[59] Cf. Theodosius, c. 20 (ed. Geyer, p. 145); see n. 85 below. This sentence is inserted here to facilitate a jump from c. 8 to the latter part of c. 20 of Theodosius; Gervase then continues to the end of c. 24 before returning to c. 9 (see n. 69).

[60–60] Exinde . . . crescit et decrescit] Cf. ibid., c. 20 (ed. Geyer, p. 146).

[61] Cf. Gen. 19: 26.

[62–62] Sed et . . . portam Beniamin intrauit] Cf. Theodosius, c. 21 (ed. Geyer, p. 146).

[63] Cf. Matt. 21: 1; Mark 11: 1; Luke 19: 2.

[64–64] Ibi . . . uelut agni ouium (p. 504)] Cf. Theodosius, c. 22 (ed. Geyer, pp. 146–7); Gervase has freely adapted his source here. This section harks back to the mention of the place where Jesus was baptized (see above). [65] Ps. 113 (114): 3, 5.

Christus, Iordanem asscendisse ut operiret eum. Sed et trans Iordanem sunt montes qui, cum Dominus descenderet ad baptismum, ante eum ambulabant gestiendo, et hodie uelut[h] saltantes apparent, secundum illud Dauid: 'Montes exultauerunt ut arietes, et colles uelut[i] agni ouium.'[66, 64]

[67]Sarepta Sidonie iuxta Siriam est (ipsam Penicem dicunt),[j] iuxta montem Carmeli, et dicitur Sarepta Sidonie cum a se distent duodecim miliaribus, quia illis diebus Sidonia metropolis fuit Sarepte; nunc uice uersa Sarepta metropolis dicitur[k] esse Sidonie. Illic Helias ad uiduam mittitur cuius nomen tacetur.[67]

In Arabia sunt ciuitates quas destruxit Iesus Naue, in quibus manebant Amorrei, Ferezei, et Iersei.[l][68]

Iuxta ciuitatem[69] est locus qui uocatur [70]Sanctus Iacobus, quia illic beatus Iacobus, ordinatus ab ipso Christo Ierosolimorum episcopus, unam construxit memoriam in qua corpora sancti[m] Zacharie et sancti Symeonis recondidit, ibi se cum illis reponi constituens; ubi et post ascensionem Domini a pinna[n] templi precipitatus et pertica fullonis excusso cerebro positus est.[70]

[71]Inde est locus ubi Iudas tradidit Dominum. Illic ecclesia Matris Domini, ubi Dominus lauit pedes discipulorum et cenauit. Ibi quatuor sunt accubitus ternos homines capientes, et nonnulli religione tenti illic alia preter carnes comedunt et lucernas accendunt. Est enim spelunca in loco et in[o] interiore loco monasterium est castimonialium,[72] que numquam uiue uel mortue exeunt uel efferuntur, uictum de muro accipientes et aquam de cisterna quam apud se habent.[71]

[73]Ciuitas Cersona est ad mare Ponticum,[p] ubi sanctus Clemens[74] martirium cepit, cuius in mari memoria est, et anchora collo eius appensa. In eius natali mare sex miliaribus siccatur et, tentoriis[q] uelut

[h] uelut *supplied by author N* [i] uelut *supplied by author N;* sicut *AC and Vulgate* [j] iuxta Siriam . . . dicunt] quod scriptum est, in ipsa Fenice, secunda Syria *Theodosius* [k] dicitur *supplied by author N* [l] Gergesaei *Theodosius* [m] sancti *ed.;* sanctorum *MSS* [n] pinna *crossed out and rewritten in the margin by the author, with the gloss:* id est pinaculo *N* [o] in *supplied by author N* [p] Pontium *N;* Pontum *Theodosius* [q] temptoriis *N*

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[66] Cf. Ps. 113 (114): 4.

[67–67] Sarepta . . . cuius nomen tacetur] Cf. Theodosius, c. 23 (ed. Geyer, p. 147); 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 17: 9; Luke 4: 26.

[68] Cf. Theodosius, c. 24 (ed. Geyer, p. 147); Josh. 12: 8.

[69] i.e. Jerusalem; Gervase, or someone before him who rearranged the order of Theodosius' text, inserted this phrase to ease the transition back to c. 9 of Theodosius.

baptized the Jordan flowed upwards to cover him. And on the other side of the Jordan there are mountains which went bounding before the Lord when he was coming down to be baptized; even today they look as if they were dancing. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of David: 'The mountains skipped like rams, and the hills like the lambs of the flock.'[66, 64]

[67]Sarepta of Sidon is near Syria (the part of Syria they call Phoenicia), alongside Mount Carmel. It is called Sarepta of Sidon since the two places are only twelve miles apart, and in those days Sidon was the metropolis of Sarepta; now it is said to be the other way round, Sarepta being the metropolis of Sidon. Elijah was sent to Sarepta, to a widow whose name is not given.[67]

In Arabia are the cities which Joshua, son of Nun, destroyed, in which the Amorites, the Perizzites, and the Jebusites lived.[68]

Near the city[69] is a place which is called [70]St James, because there the blessed James, ordained bishop of Jerusalem by Christ himself, built a single tomb in which he interred the bodies of St Zacharias and St Simeon, arranging to be buried there with them himself; and he was indeed laid to rest there when, after the Lord's ascension, he was hurled down from a pinnacle of the temple and had his brains beaten out with a fuller's pole.[70]

[71]Then one comes to the place where Judas betrayed the Lord. The church of the Mother of the Lord is there, where the Lord washed the disciples' feet and had supper. There are four couches there, each accommodating three people. Some visitors are drawn by religious devotion to eat a meatless meal there and to light lamps. There is a cave in the place, in whose inner reaches is a monastery of nuns.[72] They never come out or are carried out, alive or dead; they receive their food through a wall and take water from a cistern which they have inside.[71]

[73]The city of Cersona is by the Black Sea. There St Clement[74] underwent martyrdom; his tomb is in the sea, with an anchor fastened to his neck. On his feast day the sea dries up for a stretch of six miles, tents are erected as if on dry land, and the people gather, together

[70–70] Sanctus . . . cerebro positus est] Cf. Theodosius, c. 9 (ed. Geyer, p. 142).

[71–71] Inde . . . apud se habent] Cf. ibid., cc. 10–11 (ed. Geyer, pp. 142–3).

[72] According to Theodosius, there was a monastery of monks in a cave at the site of the Last Supper; the monastery of nuns lay beneath the temple.

[73–73] Ciuitas . . . olim Sinope Nimidonia (p. 506)] Cf. Theodosius, cc. 12–13 (ed. Geyer, pp. 143–4).

[74] i.e. Pope Clement I; see *Otia*, ii. 6, n. 16.

in plano protensis,[r] populus ad diuina celebranda cum clero conuenit; et si quis anchoram tetigerit, statim ab omni[s] furore demonumque uexatione liberatus redit. A Cersona usque in Sinope,[t] ubi sanctus Andreas liberauit sanctum Matheum a carcere, sunt miliaria * *.[u] [75] Dicebatur autem olim Sinope[v] Nimidonia.[w] [73]

[76]Porro in Egypto ciuitas est Menfis (que nunc Babylonia Minor f. 53v dicitur); in hac manebat Pharao. Illic | Ioseph (cum pistore et pincerna) in carcere missus est.[77] Illic duo sunt monasteria, unum Armeniorum,[x] alterum Romanorum, hoc[y] sancti Ieremie, illud sancti Apollonii heremite.[76]

In Cesarea (quam diximus)[z] [78] Capadocie, beatus Mammes,[a] heremita ac martir, mulsit agrestia siluestriaque animalia et ex lacte caseum conficiebat.[79] [80]Ager Domini, qui est in Galgala, irrigatur fonte Elisei extenditurque miliaribus sex.[81] Hic aratur et colitur ac seritur pro media parte in Augusto et occurrit ad Pasca, ita quod in cena Domini populus illo pane communicatur. Alia uero pars, illo collecto, aratur ac uelociter occurrit. Ibi est uitis quam Dominus plantauit, que in Pentecostem[b] fructum sic maturum reddit et maturat quod de uino illo Constantynopolitani in Pentecoste[c] communicantur.[80]

[82]Ciuitas Leuiada trans Iordanem distat a Iericho miliaribus duodecim, et in ipsa Moyses silicem uirga percussit, et fluxerunt aque;[83] que, quia habundantius terram totam[d] irrigant, dactilorum incolatum maiorem habent.[84] Illic aque calide sunt, ubi leprosi mundantur. Ibi Moyses migrauit a seculo.[82]

[85]Super Iordanem, ubi baptizatus est Christus, est columpna marmorea, et in ipsa crux ferrea; ubi ecclesia sancti Iohannis Baptiste, constructa ab Anastasio imperatore,[e] super cameras edificata in

[r] protentis *crossed out*, stensis *written above by author N* [s] omnu *N* [t] Sinope *Theodosius;* Ronope *MSS* [u] *space left for number NACQI* [v] Sinope *Theodosius;* Ronope *MSS* [w] Myrmidona *Theodosius, emended to* Myrmiciona *Gildemeister* [x] Wandalorum *Theodosius* [y] est *add. after* hoc *XQ and Theodosius* [z] duximus *N* [a] Mannes *N* [b] Pentecoste *ACβ* [c] Pentecostem *N* [d] totum *N* [e] imperatore *supplied by author N*

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[75] The distance is omitted in most MSS of Theodosius, but is given as twenty miles in MS W (ed. Gildemeister, p. 22, section 55).

[76–76] Porro . . . sancti Apollonii heremite] Cf. Theodosius, c. 14 (ed. Geyer, p. 144); the phrases in parentheses were added by Gervase.

[77] Cf. Gen. 40.

[78] *Otia*, ii. 4 (p. 200).

[79] Cf. Theodosius, c. 15 (ed. Geyer, p. 144). Mamas was a shepherd who was martyred at Caesarea in Cappadocia during the reign of Aurelian (feast day August 17).

[80–80] Ager . . . in Pentecoste communicantur] Cf. ibid., c. 18 (ed. Geyer, p. 145).

with the clergy, to celebrate the divine service. If anyone touches the anchor, he is immediately freed from any madness or torment at the hands of demons, and is restored to health. From Cersona to Sinope, where St Andrew released St Matthew from prison, it is * *[75] miles. Sinope was formerly called Myrmiciona.[73]

[76]In Egypt is the city of Memphis (which is now called Lesser Babylon); this is where Pharaoh lived. It was there that Joseph was cast into prison (along with the baker and the butler).[77] There are two monasteries there, one belonging to the Armenians, the other to the Romans; the former is dedicated to St Jeremiah, the latter to Apollonius the Hermit.[76]

In Caesarea in Cappadocia (which we have mentioned elsewhere),[78] the blessed Mamas, hermit and martyr, milked the wild animals out in the country, and made cheese from their milk.[79] [80]The Lord's Field, which is in Gilgal, is watered by the spring of Elisha and extends for six miles.[81] Half of this field is ploughed and tilled and sown with seed in August, and the crop is ready for Holy Week, so that the people receive bread made from that grain in their commemoration of the Lord's Supper. The other half is ploughed after that first harvesting, and quickly produces a crop. There is a vine there too, which the Lord planted; the fruit it produces is so full and ripe by Pentecost that the people of Constantinople receive wine made from it at their celebration of that feast.[80]

[82]The city of Livias is twelve miles from Jericho on the other side of the Jordan. That is where Moses struck the rock with his rod, and a stream gushed forth;[83] because this stream provides more than enough water for the whole land, date-palms are cultivated on quite a large scale there.[84] There are hot springs there, in which lepers are cleansed. It was there that Moses departed this life.[82]

[85]On the bank of the Jordan, where Christ was baptized, is a marble column, and on top of it is an iron cross. Here too is the church of St John the Baptist, built by the emperor Anastasius; it is raised above

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[81] Instead of 'extenditurque miliaribus sex', Theodosius has: 'ferit plus minus modios sex' ('it yields more or less six pecks').

[82–82] Ciuitas . . . migrauit a seculo] Cf. ibid., c. 19 (ed. Geyer, p. 145).

[83] Cf. Exod. 17: 6; Num. 20: 11.

[84] The text of Theodosius here reads: 'inde maior aqua exiit, quae ipsa Liviada omnem inrigat; ibi habet dactalum Nicolaum maiorem' ('Quite a large stream sprang up from there, which irrigates the whole of Livias; the Nicolaus date, larger [than ordinary dates], is grown there'). The word *incolatum* in Gervase's text clearly arose from a failure to recognize *nicolaum* as the name of a species of date.

[85–85] Super . . . fontem illum benedixit (p. 508)] Cf. Theodosius, c. 20 (ed. Geyer, pp. 145–6).

excelso propter metum fluminis inundantis, in qua monachi morantur, senos solidos[86] a fisco accipientes. Mons Subar[f] in Galilea, ubi Helias raptus est.[87] Illic memoria est Helisei, ubi fontem illum benedixit.[85]

[88]Ciuitate Effrat[g] sunt septem dormientes, et catulus Verricanus ad pedes eorum, quorum nomina sunt hec: Sisoco, Tellidis, Eugenis, Stophanis, Pronatis, Sabbatis, Simpliacis.[h] [89] Horum mater Hylarian[i] Grece dicitur, Latine Felicitas. Ibi est Thimoteus, discipulus sancti Pauli.[88]

Iuxta montem Sina, Effrat ciuitate,[j] Moyses pugnauit cum Abimelec.[k] [90] [91]A Ierusalem usque Babiloniam sunt mansiones sedecim;[l] de Ierusalem usque Madyan[m] * *[n] mansiones sunt, quas Alexander Magnus Macedo fabricauit. Inde usque montem Sina mansiones sunt quatuordecim si per compendium ambulaueris, si per Egyptum mansiones sunt[o] uiginti quinque.[91]

[92]Est locus tercio miliario a Ierusalem in quo sancta Dei Genitrix, cum iret in Bethleem, descendit ab asina cui insederat super lapidem, et super eum sedit, benedicens ei. Vrbicius uero, prepositus imperialis palacii, qui capitibus imperatorum coronas imponere consueuit ipsosque uelut patricius castigare, lapidem in speram quadram[93] incidit ad formam altaris, proponens ipsum Constantynopolim dirigere; uerum cum ad portam sancti Stephani uenisset, lapis immobilis factus est qui prius unico iugo boum ducebatur. Consilio itaque facto, lapis sepulcro Domini applicatur, ubi post sepulcrum in altare erectus, ad communicandum populum suum

[f] Tabor *Theodosius*
[g] *sic MSS for* Epheso
[h] Sisoco . . . Simpliacis] Achellidis, Diomedis, Eugenius, Stephanus, Probatus, Sabbatius et Quiriacus *Theodosius*
[i] Caritina *Theodosius*
[j] Infra ciuitatem *MSS of Theodosius, emended to* in Fara ciuitate *by Sittl*
[k] *sic MSS for* Amalec
[l] A Ierusalem . . . sedecim] *om. β*
[m] Indiam *ACβ*
[n] *space left for number N*
[o] sunt *om. XQ and Theodosius*

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[86] The *solidus* was the standard gold coin of the late Roman world; see A. Burnett, *Coinage in the Roman World* (London, 1987), p. 127.

[87] Cf. 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 2: 11. The text of Theodosius here reads: 'ibi est mons modicus, qui appellatur Armona; [mons Tabor in Galilaea est] ibi sanctus Helias raptus est' ('there is a small mountain there, which is called Armona; [Mount Tabor is in Galilee] there St Elijah was taken up'). Gildemeister (p. 25, section 67, n.) suggested that the words 'mons Tabor in Galilaea est' must have originated as a marginal addition, explaining that this mountain was not in fact Tabor, which is in Galilee; the confusion has been compounded here by Gervase's abbreviation of the text, and the corruption of *Tabor* to *Subar*.

[88–88] Ciuitate . . . discipulus sancti Pauli] Cf. Theodosius, c. 26 (ed. Geyer, p. 148).

[89] Seven young men (whose names vary in different accounts) were said to have been walled up in a cave at Ephesus during the Decian persecution (*c.*250), and awoke to life again under Theodosius II, two hundred years later (feast day 27 July; cf. *Otia,*

the ground, resting on vaults, for fear of the river's flooding. There are monks living here, who receive six solidi[86] each from the public treasury. Mount Subar, where Elijah was taken up, is in Galilee.[87] Elisha's tomb is there, where he blessed the spring.[85]

[88]In the city of Ephesus are the Seven Sleepers, with a little dog, Verricanus, at their feet; their names are Sisoco, Tellidis, Eugenis, Stophanis, Pronatis, Sabbatis, and Simpliacis.[89] The mother of these sleepers is called Hylarian in Greek, Felicitas in Latin. St Paul's disciple, Timothy, is buried in Ephesus.[88]

At the city of Rephidim near Mount Sinai, Moses did battle with Amalek.[90] [91]From Jerusalem to Babylonia it is a sixteen day journey; from Jerusalem to Midian it is a * * day journey, with lodging-places built by Alexander the Great of Macedon. From there to Mount Sinai it is a fourteen day journey if you go the short way, but it takes twenty-five days if you go via Egypt.[91]

[92]There is a place three miles from Jerusalem at which the holy Mother of God, on her way to Bethlehem, dismounted onto a stone from the ass she had been riding; she sat on the stone, and blessed it. Urbicius, provost of the imperial palace, who used to place the emperors' crowns on their heads and to chastise them like a patrician, carved the stone into a round, flat block,[93] so that it could serve as an altar. It was his intention to send it to Constantinople, but when it reached St Stephen's Gate the stone, which had previously been being drawn by a single pair of oxen, became immovable. After due consultation, therefore, the stone was taken to the Lord's sepulchre, where it was set up as an altar behind the sepulchre; it is used for the administration of communion to the people. When Urbicius died, in

Appendix i. 27). The long sleep is a common theme of myth and folklore, which here appears in a christianized version; see *MI* D1960.1.

[90] Cf. Theodosius, c. 27 (ed. Geyer, p. 148). The text of Theodosius is corrupt here, but the reference would seem to be to the defeat of Amalek at Rephidim (Exod. 17: 8–16).

[91–91] A Ierusalem . . . sunt uiginti quinque] Cf. Theodosius, loc. cit.: 'De Hierusalem in Elusath mansiones III, de Elusath in Aila mansiones VII, quam ille Alexander Magnus Macedo fabricavit. De Aila usque in monte Syna mansiones VIII, si compendiaria uolueris ambulare per heremum, sin autem per Aegyptum, mansiones XXV' ('from Jerusalem to Elusath it is a three days' journey; from Elusath to Aila it is a seven days' journey: this city was built by Alexander the Great of Macedon. From Aila to Mount Sinai it is an eight days' journey, if you are willing to go the short way through the desert, but if you go via Egypt, it takes twenty-five days'); cf. also the reading of MS L recorded by Gildemeister (p. 28, sections 78–9, apparatus), where Babylonia is mentioned, and it is said to be a fourteen-day journey from Jerusalem to Mount Sinai.

[92–92] Est . . . contineri non potuit (p. 510)] Cf. ibid., c. 28 (ed. Geyer, p. 148).

[93] Lit. 'a square sphere'; cf. Theodosius: 'lapidem incidit et fecit eum quadrum in modum altaris' ('he cut the stone and formed it into a square block, the shape of an altar').

prebet ministerium. Vrbitius uero, sub Anastasio imperatore mortuus, terra Constantynopolitana etiam tercio sepultus contineri non potuit.[92]

Et quia sunt qui terminos sancte terre a Domino institutos nesciunt, audiant [94]Dominum Abrahe terminos terre promissionis definisse a riuo Corila[p] flumine Egypti usque ad Eufratem, et populos eius nominauit.[94]

Porro Iacob, cum egrediens a Mesopotamia, ubi seruierat Laban, transuadasset Iordanem in baculo suo, ubi nunc dicitur uadum Iacob f. 54r uel Iaboth, occurrens Esau,[95] | fixit tabernacula ubi hodie ciuitas est Sochot (quod sonat 'tabernacula'), trans Iordanem in partem[q] Sicopoleos et Gedeon.[96] Sed et in confinio Sochot est Sichem urbs, a qua Sichimi uel Sichimite.[97]

Enimuero a Ierusalem in Bethleem miliaria sex.[r][98] [99]Hec Effrata[100] dicta est, ab uxore Caleph[101] que ibi est sepulta. Sepulta quoque est Rachel in uia que ducit ad Bethleem,[s] ubi lapidem erexit super sepulcrum eius Iacob, qui adhuc apparet.[102] Sed et iuxta Bethleem ait Ieronimus[103] locum esse ubi uel angelorum grex in ortu Domini cecinit, uel Iacob greges suos pauit, quem in signum futurorum uocauit Iacob turrim Ader, id est turrim gregis, ubi dicunt Hebrei templum edificatum esse, quasi quodam uaticinio dicta sit turris congregationis future ad templum.[99] Ad hec est [104]sepulcrum in quo iurauit Ioseph sepelire Iacob, quod Abraamium dicunt, distans a Caluaria per triginta miliaria. Cura enim fuit[t] sanctis sepeliri in terra in qua sciebant Christum resurrecturum, ut cum eo resurgerent.[u][104]

A Ierusalem usque montem Syna mansiones * *.[v][105] [106]Est autem

[p] Corula *Comestor* [q] partem *supplied by author N* [r] sex *om. β (space left in Q)* [s] Bethlleem N [t] erat *XQ* [u] resurgerunt *N* [v] *space left for number NAQI*

[94–94] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 48 (*PL* cxcviii. 1096); Gen. 15: 18–21 etc.

[95] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 80 (*PL* cxcviii. 1120); two different river crossings are here conflated: see Gen. 32: 10 and 32: 22.

[96] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 82 (*PL* cxcviii. 1121); Gen. 33: 17. Gervase seems to have mistaken *Gedeon* for the name of a place; Comestor (drawing on Jerome, *Liber Iudicum*, c. 30, *PL* xxviii. 519) actually says: 'in parte Sicopoleos, ubi Gedeon transierat Jordanem, cum locutus est ad viros Sochor' ('in the region of Scythopolis, where Gideon had crossed the Jordan when he spoke to the men of Succoth') (cf. Judg. 8: 4–5).

[97] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 82 (*PL* cxcviii. 1122).

[98] Cf. Theodosius, ed. Gildemeister, p. 21, section 53; this sentence only appears in MS V of Theodosius.

[99–99] Hec . . . future ad templum] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 84 (*PL* cxcviii. 1123).

[100] Cf. Gen. 35: 16, 19; Mic. 5: 2.

the time of the emperor Anastasius, he could not be kept under by the earth of Constantinople, even after a third attempt to bury him.[92]

As there are some people who are unaware that the boundaries of the Holy Land were established by the Lord, let them hear that [94]the Lord defined the boundaries of the Promised Land to Abraham as extending from the river Corula in Egypt to the Euphrates, and he listed its peoples.[94]

Now when Jacob was on his way back from Mesopotamia, where he had served Laban, after passing over the Jordan with his staff, at the place now called the ford of Jacob or Jabbok, he met Esau;[95] he then pitched his tents where the city of Succoth (which means 'tents') stands today, on the far side of the Jordan in the region of Scythopolis and Gideon.[96] Also in the vicinity of Succoth is the city of Shechem, whose inhabitants are called the Sichimi or Shechemites.[97]

From Jerusalem to Bethlehem it is six miles.[98] [99]Bethlehem is called Ephratah,[100] after the wife of Caleb,[101] who was buried there. Rachel was also buried by the road which leads to Bethlehem, and Jacob set up a stone over her tomb; this stone is still to be seen.[102] Furthermore, Jerome[103] says that near Bethlehem is the place where either the band (*grex*) of angels sang at the Lord's birth, or Jacob pastured his flocks (*greges*). Jacob called this place the tower of Edar, that is, 'the tower of the flock (*grex*)', thereby pointing to the future; for the Hebrews say that this is where the temple was built, as if by some prophetic inspiration the place was called the tower where people would flock together (*congregatio*) to the temple.[99] Nearby is [104]the tomb in which Joseph promised on oath that he would bury Jacob; the place, which they call the Abrahamium, is thirty miles from Calvary. God's holy ones, you see, were anxious to be buried in the land in which they knew that Christ would rise from the dead, in order that they might rise with him.[104]

From Jerusalem to Mount Sinai it is a * * day journey.[105] [106]Now mons Sina in terra Madian, ubi Moyses pascebat oues Ietro siue Raguel; mons hic in quadam sui parte dicitur Oreb. Erat autem mons habundans in pascuis, tum quia propter sui celsitudinem[w] adibilis uix erat, tum quia opinio erat illic Deum habitare.[106] Vnde [107]cum emisisset Farao populum Israel, non eduxit eos per Palestinam[108] conterminam[x] Egypto, propter antiquam molestiam et odium patrum, ne insurgerent Philistei aduersus[y] eos; sed circumduxit eos per desertum quod est iuxta mare Rubrum,[109] tum pro mandato Domini iubentis ut populus[z] duceretur ad montem Sina ad immolandum ei, tum quia si Egyptii conuersi uellent eos[a] persequi, timerent propter asperitatem uie.[107]

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[101] Cf. 1 Chr. 2: 19.

[102] Cf. Gen. 35: 19–20.

[103] Cf. Jerome, *Hebraicae quaestiones in Genesim* (*CCSL* lxxii. 43 = *PL* xxiii. 992); Gen. 35: 21. According to the Comestor, who is Gervase's source here (see n. 99), the Hebrews say that the tower of Edar was on the site of the temple in Jerusalem, while Jerome says it was near Bethlehem; Gervase has confused the two views.

[104–104] sepulcrum . . . cum eo resurgerent] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 100 (*PL* cxcviii. 1135); Gen. 50: 13; *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 37.

[105] Cf. Theodosius, c. 27 (ed. Geyer, p. 148), and n. 91 above.

[106–106] Est . . . illic Deum habitare] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, cc. 7–8 (*PL* cxcviii. 1145); Exod. 2: 18; 3: 1; Num. 10: 29.

Filii igitur Israel profecti sunt a Ramesse in Socoth,[110] et [111]de Socoth uenerunt in Ethan,[112] que ciuitas erat deserta in capite solitudinis;[b] que a Iosepho[113] Lucus[c] dicitur, ubi et Babilonem post conditam dicunt dum Cambises Egyptum uastaret,[114] que nunc minor est Babilonia in Egypto.[111]

[115]Precepitque Dominus ut, reuersi aliquantulum uersus Egyptum, castra metarentur in regione Phiaroth,[d] que est inter Magdalum et mare, contra Beelsophon.[116] Est autem Magdalon ciuitas in confinio Egypti, ad quam Iudei, tempore Ieremie, interfecto Godolia, primo confugerunt.[117] Sic ergo posuerunt castra supra mare Rubrum.[115] [118]Dicitur autem Rubrum non quod aqua sit rubra, set omnis terra circumstans, ex qua gurges[e] inficitur; unde[f] minium[g] acutissimum excerpitur.[h] Quicquid etiam ad esum[i] in fluctibus est, hunc colorem participat. Illic gemme rubre inueniuntur que, humo inuolute et inter harenas concrete, terre colorem habent et maris. Hoc mare in duas partes[j] secernitur: que ab oriente sinus Persicus appellatur quia Perse eius horam inhabitant; altera sinus Arabicus quia respicit Arabiam.[118]

Sane ita coartati erant filii Israel, quod ex[k] una parte erant montes

[w] celsitudiem *N* [x] conterminam] que conterminatur *XQ* [y] aduersos *N* [z] populus *supplied by author N* [a] eos *supplied by author N* [b] sollicitudinis *N* [c] Lycus *Comestor* [d] Phihahiroth *Comestor* [e] garges *altered by author from* grages *N* [f] et *add. after* unde *XQ* [g] nimium *N* [h] excipitur *X and Comestor;* excernitur *Isidore* [i] ad esum *MSS and Comestor;* adesum *Isidore* [j] sinus *Comestor and Isidore* [k] ex *supplied by author* (?) *N*

[107–107] cum . . . propter asperitatem uie] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 29 (*PL* cxcviii. 1156).

[108] Cf. Exod. 13: 17. The names *Philistaea* and *Palaestina* were interchangeable; see *Otia*, ii. 4, nn. 48 and 50.

[109] Cf. Exod. 13: 18.

[110] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 27 (*PL* cxcviii. 1155); Exod. 12: 37.

[111–111] de Socoth . . . Babilonia in Egypto] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 29 and Additio 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1156–7).

[112] Cf. Exod. 13: 20.

[113] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 315.

[114] Cf. *Otia*, ii. 4, at n. 97.

Mount Sinai is in the land of Midian, where Moses pastured the sheep of Jethro, or Reuel; one part of this mountain is called Horeb. It was a mountain of rich pasturage, partly because its height made it hard of access, and partly because it was believed that God dwelt there.[106] And so [107]when Pharaoh had let the people of Israel go, Moses did not lead them through Philistia,[108] which borders on Egypt, on account of the ancient trouble and hatred between the Philistines and their ancestors, lest the Philistines should rise up against them. Instead, he led them by a circuitous route through the desert which lies beside the Red Sea,[109] both in obedience to the Lord's command—for he had ordered that the people should be led to Mount Sinai in order to sacrifice to him—and also because, if the Egyptians changed their minds and wanted to pursue them, they would be afraid to because of the difficulty of the way.[107]

The children of Israel therefore journeyed from Rameses to Succoth,[110] and [111]from Succoth they came to Etham,[112] which was an abandoned city on the edge of the wilderness. This city is called Letopolis by Josephus;[113] they say that Babylon was later founded on its site, at the time when Cambyses was laying waste to Egypt;[114] it is now called Lesser Babylon of Egypt.[111]

[115]Then the Lord ordered them to go back a little way in the direction of Egypt and encamp in the region of Pi-hahiroth, which is between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon.[116] Now Migdol is a city on the border of Egypt; it was the first place to which the Jews fled in the time of Jeremiah, after Gedaliah was killed.[117] So then, they encamped by the Red Sea.[115] [118]This sea is called Red not because its water is red in itself, but because that is the colour of all the earth round about, and the sea is dyed with its hue; very fine cinnabar is sifted out of the earth there. Everything edible in the waves of the sea also shares this colour. Red gems are found there: having been covered with the earth and then hardened in the sand, they take on the colour of the earth and the sea. This sea is divided into two parts: the eastern part is called the Persian Gulf, because the Persians dwell on its shore; the other part is called the Arabian Gulf, because it faces Arabia.[118]

Now the children of Israel were in a position so confined, that on

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[115–115] Precepitque . . . supra mare Rubrum] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 30 (*PL* cxcviii. 1157).

[116] Cf. Exod. 14: 2.

[117] Cf. 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 25: 22–6; Jer. 44: 1, 46: 14.

[118–118] Dicitur . . . quia respicit Arabiam] Cf. Comestor, loc. cit.; Isidore, *Etym.* xiii. 17. 2–4.

asperimi et inmeabiles, ex altera mare.[119] [120]Cum ergo extendisset Moyses manum, flauit uentus uehemens et conuertit aquam in siccum, diuisumque est mare in duodecim diuisiones ut queque tribus per turmas suas incederet.[l] Filii ergo Israel, secundum Iosephum,[121] ad contrapositam terram uenerunt. Ebrei uero tradunt quod, cum uenissent ad extremum montis in mare porrecti, per longam maris uiam obliquauerunt[m] et circueundo montem ad idem litus Egypti redierunt. Quod sic probant: natura maris est ut quod in f. 54^{v} eo perit ad proximum litus | proiciat. Cum ergo mane iacerent Egyptii in littore mortui, patet quod iddem erat littus, ex altera montis parte. Non enim in spatio noctis equinoctialis uel hii uel illi ad medium maris transcurrissent.[120]

[122]Post hec egressi sunt in desertum Sur.[123] Ebreus habet in desertum Ethan; quippe ante mare fuerunt in deserto Ethan, post mare in deserto Sur, postea in Helym,[124] et post in deserto Syn.[125] Et ambulauerunt tribus diebus per solitudinem[n] non inuenientes aquam, donec uenirent in Marath, ubi propter[o] amaritudinem aque Moyses inmisit lignum.[126] Tradunt autem Hebrei quod illud lignum naturaliter amarissimum erat et, ut mirabilius esset, uirtus diuina amaro alteri amaro addito dulcedinem operata est. Iosephus[127] dicit aquam impotabilem fuisse quia statiua et inhausta fuerat, secundum illud:

Et capiunt uicium, ni moueantur, aque.[128]

Vnde Moyses, iniecta dimidia uirga, fecit eam hauriri,[p] et sic frequenti concussione exertitata facta est potabilis.[122] Est autem desertum Syn inter Elyn et Sinay.[q] [129]

[130]Exinde per mansiones suas uenerunt in Raphidin,[131] et exinde in Oreb, que est pars montis Syna, ubi Moyses, percussa petra, produxit

[l] incederent *N* [m] obligauerunt *N* [n] solititudiem *N* [o] propter *om. N* [p] hauriri *with* ex- *expunged N;* exhauriri *ACβ* [q] *sic QI;* Siniay *N*

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[119] Cf. Comestor, loc. cit.

[120–120] Cum . . . medium maris transcurrissent] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 31 (*PL* cxcviii. 1157–8).

[121] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 341.

[122–122] Post . . . facta est potabilis] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 32 (*PL* cxcviii. 1158–9).

[123] Cf. Exod. 15: 22.

[124] Cf. Exod. 15: 27.

[125] Cf. Exod. 16: 1.

[126] Cf. Exod. 15: 25; the Israelites came to Marah after leaving the wilderness of Shur, and went from there to Elim.

[127] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 3–8.

[128] Cf. Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, i. 5. 6. The line in Ovid reads: 'Vt capiant uitium, ni moueantur, aquae'.

one side there were very steep and impassable mountains, and on the other the sea.[119] [120]So Moses stretched out his hand, and then a mighty wind blew and changed the water into dry land, and the sea was divided into twelve tracks so that each tribe might go forward in its own ranks. Thus, by Josephus' account,[121] the children of Israel crossed to the opposite shore. There is, however, a Hebrew tradition which maintains that when they reached the furthest point of a mountain jutting out into the sea, they changed direction to go lengthways through the sea until they got to the other side of the mountain; then they returned to the same shore of Egypt. They prove this as follows: the nature of the sea is such that it casts up whatever dies in it on the nearest shore. Since, therefore, the Egyptians were lying dead on the shore in the morning, it is clear that it was the same shore as they had left, but on the other side of the mountain. For neither the Israelites nor the Egyptians could have got as far across as the middle of the sea in the space of an equinoctial night.[120]

[122]After this they went out into the wilderness of Shur.[123] The Hebrew version calls it the wilderness of Etham; they were, to be sure, in the wilderness of Etham before they passed through the sea, but after leaving the sea they were in the wilderness of Shur, then in Elim,[124] and then in the wilderness of Sin.[125] And they walked for three days through the desert without finding water, until they came to Marah, where because of the bitterness of the water Moses cast a tree into it.[126] A Hebrew tradition has it that that tree was very bitter of its own nature and, to make the thing even more wonderful, the divine power produced sweetness from the adding of one bitter substance to another. Josephus[127] says that the water had become unfit for drinking because it had been standing without any of it being drawn off; this accords with the line:

And water acquires a taint unless it is in motion.[128]

Moses therefore threw in half a stick, and had some water drawn off; and when it had been set in motion by being stirred up repeatedly in this manner, it was rendered drinkable.[122] Now the wilderness of Sin is between Elim and Sinai.[129]

[130]From there they journeyed on stage by stage, coming to Rephidim,[131] and then to Horeb, which is part of Mount Sinai.

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[129] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 33 (*PL* cxcviii. 1159); Exod. 16: 1.

[130–130] Exinde . . . est in ea (p. 516)] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 35 (*PL* cxcviii. 1161).

[131] Cf. Exod. 17: 1.

aquam, que dicitur petra Oreb.[132] Est tamen alibi alia petra Oreb, dicta sic quia Oreb[133] occisus est in ea.[130]

Mense igitur tercio egressionis de Egypto, id est Iunio, hoc est Kalendis Iunii, uenerunt ad montem Synay,[134] in quo lex data est[135] et archa de lignis sechym facta; dicuntur autem ligna illa ab Ebreis *hornon*.[r] [136] [137]In archa posita est testificatio,[138] id est tabule in quibus scriptum erat testamentum. Quecumque enim sic reposita sunt testimonia dici possunt. Posita est in archa urna aurea plena manna in testificationem quod panem dedisset eis de celo, tabule in testificationem quod legem naturalem sopitam in cordibus suscitauerit[s] in scripto, uirga Aaron in testificationem quod omnis potestas a Deo est.[139] Deuteronomius[t] quoque est in archa, in testimonium pacti quod dixerant: 'Omnia quecumque dixerit nobis Dominus, faciemus.'[140] Dictumque est tabernaculum testimonii,[141] quia cause pro foribus eius agebantur.[137] Ex quo doctrinam simul et correctionem[u] sumant[v] laici, qui passim intra ecclesias causas impudenter tractant.

[142]Sequitur cathalogus[w] mansionum ab exitu de Egypto. Fuerunt enim ante transitum maris Rubri mansiones quatuor, ut premisimus: Ramesse, Socot, Ethan, Phiaroth.[x] A mari Rubro usque ad Sina mansiones octo: Mara, Elym, Iamsuf (quod sonat 'mare Rubrum', uel 'scirpus': erat enim forte locus[y] scirpeus);[143] post Iamfot[z] desertum Sym, Defeta,[a] [144] Raphidim, solitudo[b] Synai. Porro a monte Syna in Cades mansiones sunt uiginti una: Sepulcra Concupiscentie,[145] Asseroth, Retmon,[c] Phares,[d] Leuina,[e] Ressa, Sedara,[f] mons Sefer, Areda,[g] Maceloth, Choat,[h] Chare, Melcha,[i] Esmona, Moseroth,

[r] beron *Comestor* [s] suscitauerat *Comestor* [t] Deuteronomium *Comestor* [u] correctione *N* [v] sumant *β;* insinuant *NC* [w] cathologus *N* [x] Phihahiroth *Comestor* [y] lacus *Comestor* [z] Jasuph *Comestor* [a] Defeta] Daphea, Alus *Comestor* [b] sollicitudo *N* [c] Retinon *N*, Rethma *Comestor* [d] Remmomphares *Comestor* [e] Lemna *β;* Lebna *Comestor* [f] Ceelatha *Comestor* [g] Arcda *XQ*, Arada *Comestor* [h] Thahath *Comestor* [i] Methcha *Comestor*

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[132] Cf. Exod. 17: 6.
[133] Cf. Judg. 7: 25; Isa. 10: 26.
[134] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 38 (*PL* cxcviii. 1162–3); Exod. 19: 1.
[135] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 39 (*PL* cxcviii. 1163).
[136] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 46 (*PL* cxcviii. 1170); Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 134; Exod. 25: 10; 37: 1.
[137–137] In archa . . . foribus eius agebantur] Cf. Comestor, loc. cit.
[138] Cf. Exod. 25: 16 and 21, 34: 1, 4, and 29, 40: 20; Deut. 10: 5.
[139] Cf. Heb. 9: 4; Exod. 16: 32–4; Num. 17: 10.
[140] Cf. Exod. 24: 7; Deut. 31: 24–6; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 22: 8.
[141] Cf. Exod. 38: 31; Num. 1: 50 and 53, 10: 11.

There Moses produced water by striking the rock; this rock is called Rock Horeb.[132] There is, however, another Rock Oreb elsewhere, so called because Oreb[133] was killed on it.[130]

And so in the third month after they left Egypt, that is, in June, on the first day of the month, they arrived at Mount Sinai.[134] On this mountain the law was given,[135] and the ark was made, of shittim wood; that wood is called *eron* by the Hebrews.[136] [137]In the ark was placed the testimony,[138] that is, the tablets on which the testament was written. For anything that is so deposited can be called a testimony. A golden pot full of manna was placed in the ark as a testimony that he had given them bread from heaven, the tables as a testimony that he roused up the natural law dormant in their hearts by means of the written law, the rod of Aaron as a testimony that all power comes from God.[139] Deuteronomy was also in the ark, as a testimony to the covenant which they had made when they said: 'All that the Lord has said to us, we will do.'[140] And the tabernacle was called the tabernacle of testimony,[141] because cases were tried before its doors.[137] The laity, who everywhere conduct their lawsuits inside church-buildings with no sense of decorum, should derive instruction and correction from this.

[142]There follows a list of the places where the Israelites encamped on their journey, starting from their departure from Egypt. They camped at four places before the crossing of the Red Sea, as we have already said: at Rameses, Succoth, Etham, and Pi-hahiroth. They journeyed from the Red Sea to Sinai in eight stages, camping at Marah, Elim, and Yam Suph (which means 'the Red Sea', or 'a reed': perhaps the place was full of reeds);[143] after Yam Suph their camping-places were the wilderness of Sin, then Dophkah,[144] Rephidim, and the wilderness of Sinai. Next, they journeyed from Mount Sinai to Kadesh in twenty-one stages, camping at the Graves of Lust,[145] Hazeroth, Rithmah, Rimmon-parez, Libnah, Rissah, Kehelathah, Mount Shapher, Haradah, Makheloth, Tahath, Tarah, Mithcah, Hashmonah, Moseroth, Bene-jaakan, Hor-hagidgad, Jotbathah,

[142–142] Sequitur . . . Abarym, campestria Moab (p. 518)] Cf. Comestor, *Num.*, c. 51 (*PL* cxcviii. 1247–8); Num. 33. The forty-two stages listed here (as opposed to the forty given in the Book of Numbers) correspond to the forty-two generations of Christ, enumerated by St Matthew; the theme derives ultimately from Jerome, *Epistola ad Fabiolam de mansionibus filiorum Israhel per heremum* (*PL* xxiii. 718); see Fretellus (ed. Boeren), p. 16, n. 22, and p. 56.
[143] The Hebrew term *yam suph* means Sea of Reeds; Red Sea is the Greek name.
[144] Gervase has omitted Alush after Dophkah (Num. 33: 13).
[145] i.e. Kibroth-hattaavah (Num. 11: 34, 33: 16).

Lameithan,[j] mons Galaath,[k] Iethebatha,[l] Ebrona, Asiongaber, Cades. A Cades usque ad campestria Moab, mansiones nouem: montes Hor, Salmona,—[m]inde uenerunt ad torrentem Zarech quem transierunt sicco pede, ut mare Rubrum; inde ad montes Arnon, quorum quidam inclinati sunt coram illis—inde[m] [146] Phinon,[n] Oboth,[o] Ieabarim, Dobon-gad,[p] Helmon-deblataym, montes Abarym, campestria Moab.[q] [142]

[147]Precepitque Dominus filios Leui habere sparsim in omnibus tribubus quadraginta octo ciuitates ad inhabitandum, et a muris forinsecus per circuitum terram mille passuum ad pascua. Ex hiis autem ciuitatibus sex erant refugii, tres citra[r] [148] Iordanem et tres ultra Iordanem:[147] trans Iordanem Bosor in tribu Ruben, Ramot in tribu Gad, Golam in Basan in tribu Manasse;[149] ultra Iordanem est Ebron
f. 55r in tribu Iuda, ciuitas | sacerdotalis et fugitiuorum.[150]

xxiv. ⟨*De situ terre promissionis et eius adiacentiis diffusius*⟩[a] [1]

[2]Addidit[b] quoque Dominus terminos terre promissionis, dicens: 'Omnis locus quem calcauerit pes uester, erit uester, a deserto quod est in meridie, et Libano qui est in septentrione, et flumine magno Eufrate qui est in oriente, usque ad mare Mediterraneum,'[3] quod Tirrenum dicimus. In hoc medio habitabant qui ab Israel expulsi sunt: Cananeus, Amorreus, Pherezeus, Iebuseus, Eneus,[c] Etheus;[4] in Deuteronomio additur Gergeseus.[5] In promissione facta Abrahe, gentes decem delende dicuntur,[6] et tunc ibi reuera erant. Cum uero illuc uenerunt filii Israel, iam tres erant delete. Filii enim Loth[7]

[j] Lamciathan *XQ*, Benejaacan *Comestor* [k] Gadgad *Comestor* [l] Iethelatha *N* [m–m] inde (*supplied by author*) uenerunt . . . coram illis - inde] *written by scribe at foot of page N* [n] Phinun *N*, Phunon *Comestor* [o] Oboht (*sic*) *supplied by author N* [p] Dibongad *Comestor* [q] Helmon . . . Moab] *written by scribe in margin N* [r] citra *supplied by author* (?) *N*

[a] De situ terre . . . diffusius] *ed.; om. MSS* [b] (a)ddit *N* [c] *sic MSS for* Heueus

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[146] Cf. Deut. 2: 13; Num. 21: 12–15. The words between *Salmona* and *Phinun* are not found in the Comestor's text; they appear as a marginal addition in *N*, and are incorporated in the text of the other copies.

[147–147] Precepitque . . . tres ultra Iordanem] Cf. Comestor, *Num.*, c. 52 (*PL* cxcviii. 1248); Num. 35: 1–14.

[148] i.e. on the east side.

[149] Cf. Comestor, *Deut.*, c. 3 (*PL* cxcviii. 1249); Deut. 4: 41–3; Josh. 20: 8.

[150] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1039 (= ed. Boeren, c. 7, p. 9); Josh. 20: 7; 1 Chr. 6: 57.

Ebronah, Ezion-gaber, and Kadesh. From Kadesh they journeyed to the plains of Moab in nine stages: Mount Hor, Zalmonah,—then they came to the brook Zared, which they crossed dry-shod, as they had the Red Sea; then to the mountains of Arnon, some of which bowed down before them—then[146] Punon, Oboth, Ijeabarim, Dibon-gad, Almon-diblathaim, the mountains of Abarim, and the plains of Moab.[142]

[147]The Lord gave orders that the descendants of Levi should be given forty-eight cities to live in, scattered among all the tribes, and round each city outside the walls a strip of land a mile wide for pasturage. Moreover, six of these cities were to be places of refuge, three on the near[148] side of the Jordan and three on the far side:[147] on the near side were Bezer in the land of the Reubenites, Ramoth in the land of the Gadites, and Golan in Bashan in the land of the Manassites;[149] on the far side there was Hebron in the land of Judah: Hebron was a priestly city and a refuge for fugitives.[150]

24. *A Fuller Description of the Topography of the Promised Land and its Adjoining Territories*[1]

[2]The Lord also laid down the boundaries of the Promised Land, saying: 'Every place on which your foot will tread shall be yours, from the wilderness in the south, and Lebanon in the north, and the great river Euphrates in the east, to the Mediterranean Sea,'[3] which we call the Tyrrhenian. Within these boundaries lived the people who were driven out by Israel: the Canaanite, the Amorite, the Perizzite, the Jebusite, the Hivite, and the Hittite;[4] in Deuteronomy the Girgashite is also mentioned.[5] In the promise made to Abraham, ten peoples are named as having to be destroyed,[6] and at that time there were indeed ten there. But by the time the children of Israel got there, three had already been destroyed. For the children of Lot[7] had destroyed the

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[1] This title is found in the list of chapters at the beginning of the book, but does not occur *in situ*. However, the rubricator of *N* wrote 'Termini sancte terre et eius adiacentia' in the margin at this point, and the scribe left a space two lines deep for the initial letter of 'Addidit'. In other MSS too it is clear that a new section begins here.

[2–2] Addidit . . . deleuerant partem Eueorum (p. 520)] Cf. Comestor, *Deut.*, c. 4 (*PL* cxcviii. 1250–1).

[3] Cf. Deut. 11: 24; Josh. 1: 3–4.

[4] Cf. Exod. 3: 8 and 17, 23: 23.

[5] Cf. Deut. 7: 1.

[6] Cf. Gen. 15: 19–21. The three extra peoples named there are the Kenites, the Kenizzites, and the Kadmonites; moreover, the Rephaim take the place of the Hivites.

[7] i.e. the Moabites and the Ammonites (Gen. 19: 36–8).

deleuerant gygantes, filii Esau[8] Horreos, Capadoces[9] deleuerant partem Eueorum.[2]

Decursis mansionibus memoratis,[10] [11]sub Iosue Israel ad Iordanem peruenit, archaque undis immissa, steterunt aque descendentes,[d] ad instar montis intumescentes, et apparebant procul, usque ad locum qui dicitur Sarthan, inferioribus aquis in mare Mortuum descendentibus. Sacerdotes uero stabant in medio fluminis[e] donec populus[f] per arentem alueum transisset, exhinc ascendens ad Galgala, ubi Iosue altare construxit de duodecim lapidibus quos per duodecim tribus tulerat de Iordane.[g] [11,12]

xxv. *Prosecutio epilogi: mapa mundi*[a] [1]

Decurrimus regiones terre sancte. Nunc ad Egyptum recurrentes, Egypti prouincias percurramus. Sunt igitur [2]in Egipto sex prouincie: Egiptus ipsa (in qua est Alexandria), Augustamnis, Tebaida, Libia sicca, Libia Pentapolis, Arcadia.[2] Sane inter duo Nili capita Ethiopia est, montuosa, arenosa, atque deserta.[3]

Porro in Asia, ad partem septentrionalem, [4]in Ponto sunt hee prouincie: Pontus Polinnatus,[b] Pontus Amasia, Horidiada,[c] Bithinia, Pamplagonia,[d] Armenia maior, Armenia minor, Capadocia.[4] Ex illo medio Araris, fluuii Armenie in mare Caspium decurrentis, et montis Thauri, a septemtrione[e] Amazonum gens est, et exinde Massagete, Cholchi et Sarmathe, Seres et Bactrii; a mari Caspio sub aquilonari

[d] ascendentes *Comestor* [e] fluuii *XQ* [f] populus *supplied by author N* [g] *In the majority of the MSS, including Cβ, a further description of the Holy Land is inserted at this point; see Appendix ii. 2 and n. 12 here*

[a] Prosecutio . . . mundi] *C; om. NA;* mapa mundi *om. β* [b] Polumacus *AI;* Polemoniacus *Polemius Silvius* [c] Honoriada *Polemius Silvius* [d] *sic Q;* Pomplagenia *N;* Paphagonia *I;* Paflagonia *Polemius Silvius* [e] semptentrione *N*

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[8] i.e. the Edomites (Gen. 36: 1 and 43).

[9] Cf. Deut. 2: 20–3. The Caphtorim (Vulgate: *Cappadoces*) destroyed the Avim, not the Hivites, but both are rendered by *Hevaei* in the Vulgate: hence the confusion here.

[10] Cf. *Otia*, ii. 23, n. 142.

[11–11] sub . . . tulerat de Iordane] Cf. Comestor, *Jos.*, c. 3 (*PL* cxcviii. 1262); Josh. 3 and 4.

[12] It would seem that the author had intended to include here the long description of the Holy Land which is found in most of the MSS at this point (see Appendix ii. 2); as it stands, this chapter hardly fulfils the promise of its title. How the passage came to be omitted in *N* and the MSS of Group I must remain a matter for conjecture.

[1] In *N*, the title *Mappa mundi* is found in the list of chapters at the beginning of Book II, but there is no chapter heading *in situ* (cf. ii. 24); the scribe carried on without starting a new line, but a sign to indicate a new paragraph was subsequently drawn before

giants, and the children of Esau[8] the Horim, while the Caphtorim[9] had destroyed a section of the Hivites.[2]

Having encamped on the way at all the places we mentioned,[10] [11]the people of Israel arrived at the Jordan under Joshua's leadership. The ark was carried into the river, and the waters coming down from above stood still, piling up like a mountain: they could be seen a long way off, as far as the place which is called Zaretan; meanwhile the waters below the ark flowed on down to the Dead Sea. The priests stood in the middle of the river until the people had passed over through the dry channel. Then they went up to Gilgal, where Joshua built an altar from twelve stones which he had taken from the Jordan, one for each of the twelve tribes.[11,12]

25. *Continuation of the Epilogue: A Map of the World*[1]

That completes our treatment of the regions of the Holy Land. Returning now to Egypt, let us run through its provinces. There are, then, [2]six provinces in Egypt: Egypt itself (where Alexandria is), Augustamnica, Thebais, Libya Sicca, Libya Pentapolis, and Arcadia.[2] Between the two sources of the Nile is Ethiopia, a mountainous, sandy, and desert region.[3]

Next, in Asia, in the northern region, there is [4]Pontus which contains the following provinces: Pontus Polemoniacus, Pontus Amasia, Honorias, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Greater Armenia, Lesser Armenia, and Cappadocia.[4] Between the Araxes, a river of Armenia which flows down into the Caspian Sea, and Mount Taurus, the tribe of the Amazons is found in the north, and then the Massagetae, the Colchi and the Sarmatae, the Seres and the Bactrians; on the

'Decurrimus', probably by the author. The rubricator wrote 'prosceutio (*sic for* prosecutio) operis et cathalogus prouinciarum' down the left-hand margin, starting on a level with 'Decurrimus' and reaching to the bottom (nearly half a page); the author crossed out all but the first word, and rewrote the rest immediately below it.

The lists of provinces in this chapter bear a close resemblance to those in the *laterculus* (or register, listing the provinces of the Roman Empire) compiled in 449 by Polemius Silvius. For a survey of such lists from the Severi to the sixth century, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284–602* (Oxford, 1964), iii. 381–91. Several of the more important texts (including that of Polemius Silvius) may be found in *Notitia dignitatum . . . et laterculi provinciarum*, ed. O. Seeck (Berlin, 1876); Polemius Silvius' list is also included in *Geographi Latini minores*, ed. A. Riese (Heilbronn, 1878, repr. Hildesheim, 1964), pp. 130–2. [2–2] Cf. Polemius Silvius, 10 (ed. Riese, p. 132).

[3] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 5. 14; *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 111.

[4–4] Cf. Polemius Silvius, 9 (ed. Riese, p. 132).

plaga Albania est, et citra Rifeos montes ad aquilonem Yperborei habitant.[5]

[6]Asia minor has habet prouincias: Asiam ipsam (in qua est Bilsion),[f] Liciam, Galatiam, Lidiam, Ychariam,[g] Hellespontum, Pamphiliam,[h] Possidiam,[i] Frigiam primam, Frigiam salutarem, Licaoniam, Cicladem.[6]

Nunc Europe prouincias enumeremus in summa. A septemtrione igitur, a Thanay fluuio[j] prima Europe regio Scithia inferior appellatur, in qua Alania et Gothia et Scatanauia;[7] exhinc Ruthenia, Pollonia,[k] et Dacia, et hec uersus occeanum late porriguntur, insulis intercurrentibus.[l] Inter has et mare nostrum [8]Illiricus est, in quo Dalmatia supra Mare, Pannonia prima (in qua Sicimum),[m] Pannonia secunda, Valeria, Liuonia, Sclauonia,[n] Moesia superior, Epirus uetus, Epirus noua, Noricus ripensis supra Danubium, Noricus Mediterranea,[o] Dardania,[p] Orita[q] insula, Acaia, Macedonia, Tessalia.[8] Post hec [9]Tracia prima, Tracia secunda, Moesia inferior, Europa minor (in qua est Constantinopolis, primo Licius[r] dicta, post Bisantium); post quam Rodopa[9] et Boecia. Ad hec ad mare nostrum Pannonie iungitur, ut diximus, Dalmatia supra Mare (ubi est Aquileia). Et exinde mari Adriatico et Mediterraneo Alpibusque Cuciis [10]Italia terminatur, que has habet prouincias: Romuleam (in qua, immo cuius caput est Roma),[11] Tusciam, Imbriam, Flamminiam (in qua Rauenna), Campaniam (in qua est Capua), Picinum, Liguriam (in qua Mediolanum), Veneciam, Alpes Cottias, Samnium,[s] Marsiam, Spiliam,[t] Appuliam, Calabriam, Brutiam[u] cum Lucania, Reciam primam, Reciam secundam, Siciliam, Sardiniam, | et Corsicam.[10] f. 55^{v}

Nunc[v] Europe prouincias enumeremus que ab Alpibus et mari Mediterraneo et occeano occidentali terminantur. In hiis occurrit prima [12]Viennensis. Item Alpes Maritime (que Tarentasiensem, Ebredunensem prouincias continent).[13] Item prouincia Narbonensis

[f] *sic MSS for* Ilium [g] *sic MSS for* Cariam [h] Pannfiliam *N* [i] *sic MSS for* Pisidiam [j] fluuo *N* [k] Pollania *N* [l] inter carrentibus *N* [m] Sisimium *I;* Sirmium *Polemius Silvius* [n] Liuonia, Sclauonia] Praevalis *Polemius Silvius* [o] Meditaranea *N;* Savia *add. after* mediterranea *Polemius Silvius* [p] Haemimontus Dacia Scythia *add. after* Dardania *Polemius Silvius* [q] *sic MSS for* Creta [r] Lycus *Polemius Silvius* [s] Alpes Cottie, Samnium *ed.* (*cf. Polemius Silvius*)*;* Alpes et Occisianium (-sanium *XQ*, sianum *I*) *MSS* [t] *sic MSS for* Emiliam (*cf. Polemius Silvius*) [u] Brutiam *ed.* (*cf. Polemius Silvius*)*;* Reciam *MSS* [v] Nunnc *N*

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[5] See *Otia*, ii. 5.

[6–6] Cf. Polemius Silvius, 7 (ed. Riese, p. 132).

[7] Cf. *Otia*, ii. 7, n. 9.

[8–8] Illiricus . . . Macedonia, Tessalia] Cf. Polemius Silvius, 5 (ed. Riese, p. 131).

[9–9] Cf. ibid. 6 (ed. Riese, p. 131).

north-eastern shore of the Caspian Sea is Albania, and on the near side of the Rhiphaean mountains, to the north-east, dwell the Hyperboreans.[5]

[6]Asia Minor has the following provinces: Asia itself (where Ilium is), Lycia, Galatia, Lydia, Caria, the Hellespont, Pamphylia, Pisidia, First Phrygia, Phrygia Salutaris, Lycaonia, and the Cyclades.[6]

Let us now briefly enumerate the provinces of Europe. To the north, then, beginning from the river Don, the first region of Europe is called Lower Scythia, and includes Alania, Gothia, and Scandinavia.[7] Then come Ruthenia, Poland, and Dacia; these extend in a broad tract towards the ocean, but are separated from it by some islands. Between these provinces and our sea is [8]Illyricum, which includes Dalmatia-supra-Mare, First Pannonia (containing Sirmium), Second Pannonia, Valeria, Livonia, Slavonia, Upper Moesia, Old Epirus, New Epirus, Noricus on the banks of the Danube, Noricus on the Mediterranean, Dardania, the island of Crete, Achaea, Macedonia, and Thessaly.[8] Next there are the provinces of [9]First Thrace, Second Thrace, Lower Moesia, and Lesser Europe (containing Constantinople, originally called Lycus, later Byzantium); after this come Rhodope[9] and Boeotia. Next, on the shores of our sea, Dalmatia-supra-Mare (where Aquileia is) borders, as we have said, on Pannonia. Then comes Italy, bounded by the Adriatic and Mediterranean Seas and the Cottian Alps. [10]Italy includes the following provinces: Romulea (in which lies, or rather whose capital is, Rome),[11] Tuscany, Umbria, Flamminia (which contains Ravenna), Campania (which contains Capua), Picenus, Liguria (which contains Milan), Venetia, the Cottian Alps, Samnium, Nursia, Emilia, Apulia, Calabria, Brutia with Lucania, First Raetia, Second Raetia, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica.[10]

Let us now enumerate the provinces of Europe which are enclosed by the Alps, the Mediterranean Sea, and the western ocean. Of these [12]the province of Vienne comes first; next, the Maritime Alps (which contain the provinces of Tarantaise and Embrun);[13] then First

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[10–10] Italia . . . Sardiniam, [f. 55^{v}] et Corsicam] Cf. ibid. 1 (ed. Riese, p. 130). The order of the provinces, and a number of details, differ in Polemius Silvius.

[11] Romulea does not occur in Polemius Silvius' list; Rome, in the one version of his text in which it is mentioned, is placed in *Tuscia cum Umbria*.

[12–12] Viennensis . . . qua Colonia Agripinensium) (p. 524)] Cf. Polemius Silvius, 2 (ed. Riese, p. 131); again, the list differs in order and details from that of Polemius Silvius.

[13] The provinces of Tarantaise and Embrun were the equivalent in Gervase's time of the ancient provinces of Alpes Graiae and Alpes Maritimae.

prima (in qua ipsa Narbona). Item Narbonensis secunda (que nunc Auxensis[w] dicitur). Item prouincia Arelatensis (que caput est regni Burgundie).[14] Item Aquitannica[x] prima (in qua est Bituris). Item Aquitanica[y] secunda (in qua est Burdegalis). Item Nouempopulana (quam Guasconiam dicimus, in qua caput est Ausciorum). Item Lugdunensis prima (in qua Lugdunum Gallie). Item Lugdunensis secunda (cuius caput Rothomagus). Item Lugdunensis tercia (cuius capud est[z] Turonis). Item Senonia[a] (cuius caput Senonis). Item Maxima Sequanorum[15] (cuius caput Bisuntium). Belgica[b] prima (in qua Treueris). Item Belgica secunda (cuius caput Remis). Item Germania prima (in qua Maguntium). Item Germanica[c] secunda (in qua Colonia Agripinensium).[12]

Ad hec has habet [16]Yspania prouincias: Terraconensem, Cartaginensem, Beticam, Lusitaniam (in qua est Emerita), Galliciam, insulas Baleares, Tingitanam trans fretum quod, ab occeano fusum, terras intrat inter Calpis et Auenne[16] duo sibi contraria promontoria.[17]

Britannia, occeani insula, has intra se continet prouincias: Loegriam, Cambriam, Albaniam, et Cornubiam.[18]

Affrica, tercia pars orbis non dimensione terrarum, sed numero diuisionum,[19] has habet prouincias: [20]Proconsularem (in qua[d] olim fuit nobilis illa Cartago), Numidiam, Bellatium,[e] Tripolim, Mauritaniam Sitifensem, Mauritaniam Cesariensem.[20]

Hec de numero et nominibus prouinciarum annotauimus, alia fortassis nomina interdum interserentes quam in priore tractatus nostri serie preposuimus.[f][21] Cuius diuersitatis ea sit ratio, quod illic profusius rem prosequentes, Orosium et alios hystoriographos[g] secuti sumus, et Romane ecclesie registrum,[22] cuius contextum de uerbo ad uerbum habuimus. Hanc autem prouinciarum seriem de registro Romano, in quo non secundum archiepiscopatus, sed secundum

[w] Aquensis *β* [x] Aquitania *CX and Polemius Silvius* [y] *sic Q;* Auquitannica *N;* Aquitannia *AX,* (-ania) *C and Polemius Silvius* [z] est] et *N* [a] Senonia *Polemius Silvius;* maxima Sequanorum *MSS* [b] item *add. before* Belgica *I* [c] Germania *ACXQ and Polemius Silvius* [d] has habet . . . qua] *supplied by author N* [e] *sic MSS for* Byzacium [f] proposuimus *XQ* [g] hystoriagraphos *N*

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[14] Gervase adds the province of Arles to Polemius Silvius' list; in antiquity, Arles belonged to the province of Vienne.

[15] The Sequani were the people who lived on the Seine (*Sequana*). Gervase wrote *Maxima Sequanorum* twice, omitting *Senonia* (see apparatus).

[16–16] Yspania . . . Calpis et Auenne] Cf. Polemius Silvius, 4 (ed. Riese, p. 131).

[17] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos*, i. 2. 94; *Otia*, ii. 2, n. 15.

[18] Here Gervase departs from the provinces listed by Polemius Silvius, 11 (ed. Riese, p. 132), and follows instead the divisions given by Geoffrey of Monmouth: cf. *HRB*, cc. 21 and 23 (= ed. Griscom, i. 16 and ii. 1); *Otia*, ii. 10, at n. 62.

Narbonensis (in which is the actual city of Narbonne); then Second Narbonensis (which is now called the province of Aix); then the province of Arles (which is the capital of the kingdom of Burgundy);[14] then First Aquitanica (where Bourges is); then Second Aquitanica (where Bordeaux is); then the province of Novempopulana (which we call Gascony, the capital of which is Auch); then First Lugdunensis (in which is Lugdunum Gallie, the city of Lyons); then Second Lugdunensis (whose capital is Rouen); then Third Lugdunensis (whose capital is Tours); then Senonia (whose capital is Sens); then Maxima Sequanorum[15] (whose capital is Besançon); then First Belgica (where Trier is); then Second Belgica (whose capital is Rheims); then First Germanica (where Mainz is); then Second Germanica (where Cologne is).[12]

Next, [16]Spain has the following provinces: Tarragona, Cartagena, Baetica, Lusitania (where Merida is), Galicia, the Balearic Islands, and Tingitania; this last is across the channel which pours in from the ocean and, passing between the two promontories of Calpe and Abyle which face each other on opposite sides,[16] flows into the midst of the lands.[17]

Britain, an island in the ocean, contains the following provinces within its shores: Loegria, Cambria, Albany, and Cornwall.[18]

Africa, the third part of the world, going not by extent of territory but by a reckoning of divisions,[19] has the following provinces: [20]Proconsularis (in which the noble city of Carthage once stood), Numidia, Byzacium, Tripolis, Mauritania Sitifensis, and Mauritania Caesariensis.[20]

It is possible that, in noting these facts concerning the number and names of the provinces, we have included some different names here and there from the ones we used in the list we presented earlier in this treatise of ours.[21] The reason for this divergence would be that, on the previous occasion, when we were treating the subject at greater length, we followed Orosius and other historians, and also the register of the Roman Church,[22] whose scheme we adhered to word for word. However, for the list of provinces we have just supplied, we followed the order of the Roman register, in which the arrangement is not

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[19] Cf. Orosius i. 2. 83; *Otia*, ii. 11, at n. 1.

[20–20] Cf. Polemius Silvius, 3 (ed. Riese, p. 131).

[21] See *Otia*, ii. 2–12.

[22] i.e. the *Provinciale Romanum;* see above, p. xlvi; *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 118.

antiquitus distincta officia presidatuum uel proconsulatuum,[h] prefecturarum et moderationum Romani imperii, ordinauimus,[23] hic antiquitati seruientes, illic nouitati locum dantes. Nec indignentur aliqui quod aliis olim uidebantur esse subiecti, cum tolerandum sit antiquioribus quod cum tempore dignitate sua sunt diminuti. Vt autem oculata fide auidis mentibus et sitientibus[i] auribus satisfaciamus, in summa naturalem prouinciarum ordinem et situm per tres orbis partes distinctarum in emendatiore pictura subiunximus, considerantes quod ipsa pictorum uarietas mendaces effecit de locorum ueritate[j] picturas quas mappam[k] mundi uulgus nominat, plerumque enim pictor, ut alias testis, cum de suo adicit, partis mendacio totam testimonii seriem decolorat, ut in *Decretis*, C. tercia, q. .ix., 'Pura et simplex'.[24]

Nec ascribat lector ignorancie uel mendacio quod interdum nomina secus quam hoc tempore se habeant scribimus, cum nunc antiquitati seruierimus, nunc consuetudini loquentium satisfacere nos oportuerit. Ecce enim Babilonia Abathanis olim dicebatur; Ieropolis Halap dicitur, Edissa Rages Medorum, Ioppe Iafre, Nitria Damiata, Thebais Barbas, Memfis[l] Babilonia Minor (quam Epafus,[m] Ysidis ex Eleno genitus, condidit cum in secunda Egipto regnauit), Ebron Sanctus Abraham, Sichem Neapolis, Lidda Sanctus Georgius, Iamnas Assur, Paneas Belinas, Paralis Palmerium, Samaria Sebastem, Biblium Gibilet, Seleucomalla Seleucia, Yrimopolis Baldac, Antarados Tortosa, Ieropolis Malbech, Bosra[n] Busseleth. Sic et apud Grecos nomina mutata sunt, ut Bisantium Constantinopolis; apud
f. 56^{r} Latinos Trinouantum | Londonie, Agrippina Colonia, Arelas Constantina, Sadorum[o] nunc Sagium;[p] et apud Britones Venetum * *, Osismetum * *, Diabletum * *;[q][25] et in Lotaringia Metis Mediomatretorum,[26] et Tollo Leucorum[27] et Veredunensium. In Italia, Papia

[h] pro consulatium *N*   [i] sitiantibus *N*   [j] uarietate *AXI*   [k] mappa *CXQ*   [l] Menssis *N*   [m] *sic I;* Epassus *N*   [n] Bosta *NCXQ*   [o] Sadornia *CXQ*   [p] Sanguim *N*   [q] *space left after* Venetum *and after* Osismetum *NCQ; presumably there is also a name missing after* Diabletum

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[23] See above, n. 1. Note that the relative clause in this sentence lacks a verb.

[24] Cf. *Decretum*, C. 3 q. 9 c. 17.

[25] 'Ciuitas Uenetum. Ciuitas Ossismorum. Ciuitas Diablintum' are listed among the cities of Lugdunensis tertia in the *Notitia Galliarum* (*Notitia dignitatum. . . et laterculi provinciarum*, ed. O. Seeck (Berlin, 1876), p. 264). They appear likewise under Provincia Lugdunensium III in the tenth-century *Provinciale vetus* (*PL* xcviii. 462), where Venetum and Diablintum are both said to have alternative names. Gervase did not supply their

according to archbishoprics, but according to the offices of governor or proconsul, prefect or moderator, as they were distinguished in ancient times in the Roman empire.[23] Thus in the latter case we have paid homage to the old, while in the former we were giving a place to the new. Some will find that they were apparently once subject to others: let them not take offence. Similarly, the older powers must accept that they have suffered a diminution of dignity with the passage of time. It was, then, to satisfy hungry minds and thirsty ears with reliable information that we appended this summary of the natural order and situation of the provinces, as they are distributed through the three parts of the world, so adding to the accuracy of our picture; for we are aware that the very variety of painters has resulted in the production of pictures which depart from the truth of the localities themselves—those pictures which are commonly called *mappae mundi*—since very often the painter, like any kind of witness, mars by the falsity of a part the whole formulation of his evidence, when he adds material of his own, as it says in the *Decretum*, C. 3 q. 9, 'Pura et simplex'.[24]

Nor should the reader ascribe to ignorance or mendacity the fact that the names we give are sometimes different from those known in our time, since at times we have paid homage to the past, while at other times we have had to fall in with spoken usage. For instance, Babylon was once called Abathanis; Hierapolis is also called Aleppo; Edessa, Rages of the Medes; Joppa, Jaffa; Nitria, Damiata; Thebais, Barbas; Memphis, Lesser Babylon (which Epaphus, son of Isis by Helenus, founded when he reigned in Second Egypt); Hebron, St Abraham; Shechem, Neapolis; Lydda, St George; Jamnia, Assur; Paneas, Belinas; Paralius, Palmerium; Samaria, Sebaste; Byblus, Gebal; Seleucovalla, Seleucia; Irinopolis, Baghdad; Antaras, Tortosa; Hierapolis, Malbech; Bozrah, Busseleth. So too among the Greeks names have changed: Byzantium, for instance, is now Constantinople; among the Latins, Trinovantum has become London, Agrippina Colonia is called Cologne, Arelas Constantina is called Arles, and the town of the Sadi is now Sées; and among the Bretons Venetum has become * *, Ossismorum * *, and Diablintum * *;[25] while in Lotharingia the town of the Mediomatrici[26] is now called Metz, that of the Leuci[27] and the Veredunenses, Toul. Pavia in Italy used to be

contemporary names, but Venetum may be Vannes (Venetiae in Bretonia); Diablintum is Jublains, and Ossismorum is probably Oisseau.

[26] A people of Gaul, on the Moselle.

[27] A people of Gallia Belgica.

Ticinum[r] uocabatur; in Prouincia, Vapincum olim Argentina. In Siria Bergeberim, hoc[s] est Bersabee; Iericunctus, Iereb; Tiberiadis, Dyocesarea; Legionum, id est Ligini; Caraca, id est Petra; Porfireon, id est Caiphas, Archis Tolomaidis, id est Acon, nunc autem Nizybi; Acaron, id est Cessarea; Sarepta, Sarfent; Botrion, id est Butrin; Orchosia, id est Saeccas; Berutus, id est Baruth; Selenoualla, id est Seleutia; Ieropolis, id est Malbech. In Anglia Cantuariensis olim Dolobernensis,[28] Lincolniensis Lindisfernensis.[29] In Siria Reblata, id est Anthiochia; in Alemannia, Wezeburg Erbipolis; Ramelburg Ratisponensis.[t]

xxvi.[a] *De ortu prouinciarum et ciuitatum et filiis filiorum Noe et sex etatibus*[b]

His ita decursis, breuiter a quibus prouincie terrarum aut ciuitates inicium[c] habuerint explicemus, sicut breuiter ex *Cronicis* Claudii ad Adonem[1] collegimus.

Cum igitur[d] prima seculi etas ab Adam prothoplausto ceperit, [2]sicut prima die facta est lux, et diuisa luce a tenebris factum est uespere et mane,[3] sic constitutus est prius Adam in amenitate paradisi, et post eius eiectionem, separatis filiis Dei a semine nequam, ⟨non⟩[e] longe post natis gigantibus,[4] corrupta est omnis terra, donec diluuio fuerunt omnia peccata deleta.[2] [5]Cucurritque etas prima iuxta Ebraicam ueritatem annis mille sexcentis quinquaginta sex, secundum septuaginta interpretes duobus milibus .ccxlii., per generationes secundum utramque editionem decem, que omnes

[r] *sic I;* Ticinium *altered by author from* Ticinum *N* [s] hec *NA* [t] Explicit epilogus orbis *add. after* Ratisponensis *CXQ*

[a] *This chapter is misplaced after iii. 22 in A and H; in the other MSS of Group I (R, V, and b), and also in E, G, M, c, and I in Group IIa, it is omitted altogether. In the absence of I, the agreement of XQ in this chapter is designated β* [b] De . . . etatibus] Incipit a quibus terre habuerunt exordium et ciuitates et gentes et de sex etatibus seculi *Cβ* [c] initum *N* [d] igitur] ergo *ACβ* [e] non *Rabanus Maurus; om. MSS*

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[28] For the spelling, see *Otia*, ii. 21, n. 8.

[29] Gervase is right to the extent that there probably is a connection between the names 'Lindsey' and 'Lindisfarne'. The people of Lindsey are called the Lindisfari by Bede, and the Lindisfarona by the Tribal Hidage. The names of the Lindisfarnenses who gave their name to Lindisfarne, and of the Lindisfara of Lindsey, probably both mean 'the people who resort to a place named Lindesse/Lindesig'. M. Gelling, 'The name Lindsey', *Anglo-Saxon England*, xviii (1989), 31–2 (an appendix to S. Bassett's paper 'Lincoln and the Anglo-Saxon See of Lindsey', pp. 1–32) makes this point; see also the contributions by

called Ticinum; Gap in Provence was once called Argentina. In Syria, Bergeberin is an alternative name for Beer-sheba; Jericunthus for Jericho; Diocaesarea for Tiberias; Ligini for the city of Legions; Petra for Caraca; Caiphas for Porphyrion; Acre, and now Nisibis, for Archis Ptolemaidis; Caesarea for Acaron; Sarphent for Sarepta; Butrin for Botrion; Sarchais for Orthosia; Beirut for Berytus; Seleucovalla for Seleucia; Hierapolis for Malbech. In England, Canterbury was once called Dolobernia,[28] and Lincoln Lindisfarne.[29] In Syria, Reblata is another name for Antioch; in Alemannia, Herbipolis is called Würzburg, and Ratisbon Regensburg.

26. *The Origin of the Provinces and Cities, the Children of Noah's Children, and the Six Ages*

That concludes our treatment of these matters. Let us now briefly indicate the people from whom the provinces and cities of the world took their origin, retailing the information as we have gathered it in summary form from the Chronicles of Claudius to Ado.[1]

So then, the first age of the world began with Adam, the first-formed human being. [2]Now just as on the first day the light was made, and then the light was divided from the darkness, and there was evening and morning,[3] so Adam was first placed in the delightful surroundings of paradise; then, after his expulsion, the sons of God were divided from the worthless seed; not long afterwards the giants were born,[4] and the whole earth was corrupted, until all sins were blotted out by the flood.[2] [5]The first age lasted for 1,656 years according to the Hebrew Truth, or for 2,242 years according to the Septuagint; according to both versions it spanned ten generations. All

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S. Foot and B. Yorke to *Pre-Viking Lindsey*, ed. A. Vince (Lincoln, 1993), pp. 128–40 and 141–50.

[1] A puzzling phrase, perhaps meaning 'from various chronicles, including those of Claudius and Ado'. The *Brevis chronica* of Claudius of Turin (written in 814) served as one of Gervase's sources for this chapter. There is also a passage (see n. 45) which is found in the *Chronicon* of Ado, archbishop of Vienne (consecrated 860).

[2–2] sicut . . . omnia peccata deleta] Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, x. 9 (*PL* cxi. 299).

[3] Cf. Gen. 1: 3–5. [4] Cf. Gen. 6: 1–4; *Otia*, iii. 86, n. 26.

[5–5] Cucurritque . . . delere consueuit obliuio (p. 530)] The figure of 1,656 years is found in both Augustine, *Civ.* xv. 20 (*CSEL* xl (2). 102 = *PL* xli. 463), and Claudius of Turin, *Brevis chronica*, c. 1 (*PL* civ. 919). For the rest of this passage, cf. Rabanus Maurus, *De computo*, c. 96 (*PL* cvii. 726); id., *De universo*, x. 14 (*PL* cxi. 306–7); Jerome, *Chronica* (*PL* xxvii. 301).

delete sunt in diluuio, sicut primam infancie memoriam cuiusque hominis delere consueuit obliuio.[5]

Porro secunda seculi etate, que incipit a Noe et[f] diluuio, [6]archa fertur super aquas,[7] sicut secunda die firmamentum factum est in medio aquarum;[8] que habuit uesperam quando filii Adam, pedes ab oriente mouentes, in construendam superbie turrim conuenerunt,[9] linguarum diuisione[g] mulctati et ab inuicem dispersi.[6] [10]Hec etas iuxta Hebreos a Noe usque ad Abraham generationibus decem, annis .ccxcii., secundum septuaginta interpretes generationibus undecim, annis mille .lxxii. terminatur. Tunc, quasi puericia iam loquente quod infancia fari nesciuit, lingua Hebrea distincta est.[10]

[11]Sane Noe ex Iafeth succreuerunt filii septem: Gomer, Magog, Madin, Iauan, Tubal, Mosoch, Tiras. Hii septem possederunt terram in Asia ab Amano et Tauro montibus Syrie Coelis et Cilicie usque ad fluuium[h] Thanaym, in Europa uero usque ad Gadira. Ab hiis diuerse regionum gentes nomina sortite sunt, ex quibus quedam nomina, ut dixi, mutata sunt, quedam adhuc in sua uetustate perseuerant. Sunt enim Gomer Galate, Magog Cite, Medon Medi, Iauam Yones (qui et Greci), unde mare Yonicum appellatur, Tubal, qui et Hiberi (hoc est Hyspani), a quibus composito nomine Celtiberi dicuntur, Mosoc Capadoces, unde et urbs eorum usque modo Mozecha dicitur, Tyras Traces. Hee itaque septem gentes ex Iafeth nate aquilonem possident.[11]

Ad hec [12]filii Gomer hii sunt: Ascenez (quos Greci Reginos nominant), Rifath (Paflagones),[i] Togorma[j] (Frigas uel Frigios).[k] Filii Iauan: Elisa, Tharsis, Cethym (a quo Cithy, a quibus urbs Cipri Cethym nominatur), Diodonim (a quo Rodii). De Yonibus (id est Grecis) nascuntur Helysei, qui et Eolides, unde lingua Grecorum Eolis dicitur. Tharsos Iosephus Cilicos[l] arbitratur, unde et eorum

[f] et *supplied by author N* [g] diuisionem *N* [h] flumen *β and Glossa ordinaria* [i] Plaflagonos *N* [j] Torgoma *N* [k] Frigos *N* [l] *sic β;* Eiclicos *N*

[6–6] archa . . . ab inuicem dispersi] Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, x. 9 (*PL* cxi. 299).

[7] Cf. Gen. 7: 18. [8] Cf. Gen. 1: 6–8. [9] Cf. Gen. 11: 1–9.

[10–10] Hec . . . Hebrea distincta est] The figure of 292 years is found in Claudius of Turin, *Brevis chronica*, c. 2 (*PL* civ. 920). See also Rabanus Maurus, *De computo*, loc. cit.; id., *De universo*, x. 14 (*PL* cxi. 507); Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 41 (*PL* cxcviii. 1091) (where the figure according to the Hebrews is said to be not 292 but 1,292 years).

[11–11] Sane . . . nate aquilonem possident] Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *Comment. in Paral.* i. 1 (*PL* cix. 281); Josephus, *Ant.* i. 122–5; Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 26–31; *Glossa ordinaria*, 1 Paral. 1: 5–7 (*PL* cxiii. 631); Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 37 (*PL* cxcviii. 1088); Gen. 10: 2; *Otia*, ii. 1, pp. 166–7.

these generations were wiped out in the flood, just as forgetfulness is wont to wipe out any human being's earliest recollection of infancy.[5]

Next, in the second age of the world, which begins with Noah and the flood, [6]the ark was borne upon the waters,[7] just as on the second day the firmament was made in the midst of the waters;[8] evening fell on this age when the children of Adam, on the move from the east, came together to build a tower of pride;[9] they were punished by the confusion of languages and were scattered in different directions.[6] [10]This age extends from Noah to Abraham, encompassing ten generations and 292 years according to the Hebrews, or eleven generations and 1,072 years according to the Septuagint. In this age the Hebrew language came into being, with childhood, as it were, now giving voice to what infancy was unable to utter.[10]

[11]Now seven sons were born to Noah's son Japheth: Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras. These seven took as their territory the area of Asia which stretches from the Amanus and Taurus mountain ranges of Coele-Syria and Cilicia to the river Don, and Europe as far as Cadiz. The various peoples of these regions took their names from them; some of these names, as I have said, have changed, but some still persist in their old form. So, the Galatians are the descendants of Gomer, the Scythians of Magog, the Medes of Madai, the Ionians (also called the Greeks) of Javan: the Ionian Sea is named after them; the descendants of Tubal are also called the Iberians (that is, the Spaniards), and the Celtiberians derive part of their composite name from them; the Cappadocians are the descendants of Meshech, whence their city is to this day called Mazaca; and the Thracians are the descendants of Tiras. So these seven peoples, sprung from Japheth, occupy the north.[11]

Next, [12]the following are the sons of Gomer: Ashkenaz (whose people the Greeks call the Rheginians), Riphath (whose people they call the Paphlagonians), and Togarmah (whose people they call the Phrygians). The sons of Javan are Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim (whose people are the Citii, after whom the city of Citium in Cyprus is named), and Dodanim (whose people are the Rhodians). The people of Elishah, then, are sprung from the Ionians (that is, the Greeks), and since they are also called the Aeolians, Aeolian is a name for the language of the Greeks. Josephus is of the opinion that the Cilicians

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[12–12] filii . . . mare Britannicum peruenit (p. 532)] Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *Comment. in Paral.* i. 1 (*PL* cix. 281–2); Josephus, *Ant.* i. 126–8; Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 32–7; *Glossa ordinaria*, 1 Paral. 1: 7 (*PL* cxiii. 631); Gen. 10: 3–4.

metropolis Tharsus dicitur, Paulo apostolo gloriosa. Si ergo legimus Varronis[13] de antiquitatibus libros et aliorum ueterum, uidebimus
f. 56v omnes pene insulas | et tocius orbis littora terrasque maritimas Grecis accolis occupatas, quoniam ab Amano et Tauro montibus omnia maritima et eciam occeanum possedere Britannicum. Generatio ergo Iafeth aquilonem amplians usque ad mare Britannicum peruenit.[12]

[14]Filii Cham hii sunt: Chus, a quo Ethiopes (nam Ethiopia Chus ab Ebrehis dicitur); Mesraym, a quo Egyptii; Futh, a quo Libia (unde[m] fluuius Mauritanie adhuc Futh nuncupatur, et regio Futensis; modo uero antiquum Libie nomen in una climatis eius parte[n] residet: reliqua eius pars Affrica nominatur); enimuero Kanaan obtinuit terram quam Iudei deinceps, eiectis Cananeis, possederunt.[14]

[15]Filii Chus Saba,[16] a quo Sabei—interpretatur autem[o] Saba Arabia, unde[p] in septuagesimo primo salmo, ubi nos habemus: 'reges Arabum et Saba munera offerunt',[17] in Hebreo scriptum est bis: 'reges Saba et Saba', primum per Sym, secundum per Sameth; secundus Euila,[q] a quo Getuli, in parte remotioris Africe heremo coherentes;[18] tercius Sabatha, a quo nunc Asturos[r] nominamus;[19] quartus Resina,[s] quintus Sabatheca, quorum nomina et gentes ignorantur. Chus autem genuit Nembrot, qui turrim edificans regnauit in Babylone[20] et in Areth (que est Edissa), et in Acha (que est Nisibis),[t] et in Calamne (que a Seleuco rege Seleucia dicta est, uel que nunc Tesifon[21] dicitur).[u][15]

[m] unde *supplied by author N* [n] parte *supplied by author N* [o] autem] uero *β* [p] et *add. after* unde *β* [q] Eiula *N* [r] *sic MSS for* Astabaros (*cf. Isidore*) [s] Regina *β;* Rhegma *Isidore* [t] uisibilis *NA* [u] quorum nomina et gentes ignorantur *add. after* dicitur *β*

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[13] Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *Comment. in Paral.* i. 1 (*PL* cix. 282); *Glossa ordinaria*, loc. cit. Varro was the author of a work entitled *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et diuinarum* (now lost). According to Josephus (*Ant.* i. 130) and the Comestor (*Gen.*, c. 37 (*PL* cxcviii. 1088; cf. *Otia*, ii. 1, pp. 166–7), it was the descendants of Ham, not Japheth, who occupied all the coastal lands.

[14–14] Filii . . . eiectis Cananeis, possederunt] Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *Comment. in Paral.* i. 1 (*PL* cix. 282); Josephus, *Ant.* i. 131–4; Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 10–12, 22, 127; *Glossa ordinaria*, 1 Paral. 1: 8 (*PL* cxiii. 631); Gen. 10: 6.

[15–15] Filii . . . nunc Tesifon dicitur)] Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *Comment. in Paral.* i. 1 (*PL* cix. 282–3); Josephus, *Ant.* i. 134–5; Jerome, *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*, 10: 10 (*CCSL* lxii. 13 = *PL* xxiii. 953); Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 13–18, xv. 1. 13; *Glossa ordinaria*, 1 Paral. 1: 8–10 (*PL* cxiii. 631–2); Gen. 10: 7–10.

[16] Seba in the A.V.; cf. *Otia*, ii. 4, at n. 24.

[17] Cf. Ps. 71 (72): 10. The verse in the Vulgate reads: 'Reges Tharsis et insulae munera offerent; | Reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent.'

are the people of Tarshish, which explains why their chief city is called Tarsus—the city made famous by Paul the apostle. Indeed, if we read the books of Varro[13] on antiquities and the works of other ancient writers, we shall see that virtually all the islands and the shores and coastlands of the whole world were occupied by Greek settlers, for they took possession of all the coastal areas west of the Amanus and Taurus Mountains, even the British Ocean. The descendants of Japheth, therefore, spread throughout the north, and penetrated as far as the British Sea.[12]

[14]The following are the sons of Ham: Cush, whose descendants are the Ethiopians (for Ethiopia is called Cush by the Hebrews); Mizraim, whose descendants are the Egyptians; Phut, who was the founder of Libya (which explains the fact that there is a river in Mauritania which is still called Phut, and a region of Phut too; nowadays, however, the ancient name of Libya remains in use for only one part of that area of the world: the rest of it is called Africa); and Canaan, who acquired the land which the Jews subsequently took over, driving out the Canaanites.[14]

[15]The sons of Cush are Saba,[16] whose descendants are the Sabaeans—now Saba is another name for Arabia, which is why in the seventy-first psalm, where our text has: 'the kings of the Arabians and of Saba offer presents',[17] the name is written twice in the Hebrew: 'the kings of Sheba and Seba', the first time with a Shin, the second with a Samech; the second son of Cush is Havilah, whose descendants are the Gaetulians, who live in bands in the desert region of the further reaches of Africa;[18] third is Sabtah, whose descendants we now call the Astabarians;[19] fourth is Raamah, and fifth, Sabtecha: the names of the peoples descended from these two are not known. Cush was also the father of Nimrod, who built a tower and reigned in Babylon,[20] and in Erech (that is, Edessa), Accad (that is, Nisibis), and Calneh (which took the name of Seleucia from King Seleucus, but is now called Ctesiphon[21]).[15]

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[18] The Gaetulians lived in the desert south of the Mauri and the Numidae, in the modern Morocco.

[19] A people living on the Astaboras, a branch of the Nile in Ethiopia, called the Tacazzé in Smith, *Dic. Geog.*

[20] In Gen. 10: 10 the LXX and the Vulgate have Babylon for the A.V.'s Babel; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 117 and 135.

[21] Ctesiphon was a Hellenistic foundation on the east bank of the Tigris, opposite the city of Seleucia which was built by Seleucus in 312 BC.

[22]At uero Mesraim genuit Ludym et Ananim et Laabin et Neptoym et Fecusim et Chesluym; de quibus egressi sunt Philistiim et Captarym.[23] Verum a Labaym dicti sunt Libii, qui prius Fuchici a Fuch filio Cham uocabantur, aut Futhei. Filisteos autem, ex Caslimi[v] natos, corrupto ydiomate Palestinos nominamus.[24] Cetere uero sex gentes, in bello Ethiopico subuerse, in obliuionem date sunt, ideoque nobis ignote; possederunt autem terram a Gaza usque in extremos fines Egypti.[22]

[25]Porro de Canaam filio Cham primo natus est Sydon, a quo urbs in Fenice Sydon nominatur; et Aratheus,[26] qui Archas condidit opidum, in radicibus montis Libani situm; et Aradius:[w][27] hinc Aradii[x] dicuntur, qui Aradum[y] insulam possederunt, angusto freto a Fenicis littore separatum;[z] et Samar,[28] a quo Samaria, nobilis Syrie Coelis ciuitas; et Ematheus,[29] a quo Emath ciuitas. Hanc Macedones qui post Alexandrum regnauerunt Ephiphanem nominauerunt; alii hanc Antiochiam dicunt, alii Emaus, primam ab Anthiocia mansionem uersus Edissam. Et fuit terminus Chananeorum a Sydone usque Gerara et usque ad[a] Gazam, peruenientibus Sodomam et Gomorram, Adaman et Seboym usque Lezem.[25]

Fiunt[b] ergo omnes filii Cham (hoc est medii filii Noe) quatuor, et nepotes quinque, et ex uno eius filio pronepotes duo, quorum fit summa undecim.[30]

[31]Quibus enumeratis, hinc reditur ad alium filium Cham, scilicet Mesraym, et commemorantur quos genuit, non tamquam singuli homines, sed nationes septem; et de sexta, uelut de sexto filio, gens[c] commemoratur exisse Philistiim, unde fiunt octo. Inde iterum ad

[v] *sic N for* Casluim [w] *sic β and Isidore;* Aridius *N* [x] Aridii *N* [y] *sic β and Isidore;* Aridum *N* [z] separatam *Isidore* [a] a *N* [b] fuerit *N* [c] gens *om. NA*

[22-22] At uero . . . extremos fines Egypti] Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *Comment. in Paral.* i. 1 (*PL* cix. 283); Josephus, *Ant.* i. 136–7; Jerome, *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim,* 10: 13 (*CCSL* lxii. 13 = *PL* xxiii. 954); Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 19–21; *Glossa ordinaria,* 1 Paral. 1: 11 (*PL* cxiii. 632); Gen. 10: 13–14.

[23] So the Vulgate (Gen. 10: 14); cf. A.V.: 'And Pathrusim, and Casluhim, (out of whom came Philistim,) and Caphtorim'.

[24] Cf. *Otia,* ii. 4, nn. 48 and 50.

[25-25] Porro . . . Seboym usque Lezem] Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *Comment. in Paral.* i. 1 (*PL* cix. 283–4); Josephus, *Ant.* i. 138–9; Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 22–5; *Glossa ordinaria,* 1 Paral. 1: 14–16 (*PL* cxiii. 632); Gen. 10: 15–19.

[26] A.V.: 'the Arkite'. Arca, a seat of the worship of Astarte, was at the north-west foot of Lebanon.

[27] A.V.: 'the Arvadite'. Arvad (Ezek. 27: 8), or Aradus, was the name of an island off the north coast of Phoenicia.

[22]Now Mizraim was the father of the Ludim, Anamim, Lehabim, Naphtuhim, Pathrusim, and Casluhim; the Philistines and the Caphtorim were their issue.[23] The Libyans, who were originally called Phutici or Phutaeans after Phut, son of Ham, came to be called Libyans after the Lehabim. And by a corrupt usage we give the name of Palestinians to the Philistines,[24] the descendants of the Casluhim. But the other six peoples were consigned to oblivion when they were destroyed in the Ethiopian war, and so they are unknown to us; but they occupied the land from Gaza to the furthest bounds of Egypt.[22]

[25]Further, the first-born son of Canaan, son of Ham, is Sidon: the city of Sidon in Phoenicia is named after him. Other sons of Canaan are Arucaeus,[26] who founded the town of Arca, which lies at the foot of Mount Lebanon; and Arudaeus:[27] the Arvadites, who settled on the island of Aradus, separated from the coast of Phoenicia by a narrow strait, take their name from him; and Samar,[28] who gave his name to Samaria, the noble city of Coele-Syria; and Amathus,[29] who gave his name to the city of Hamath. The Macedonian rulers who succeeded Alexander called this city Epiphania; some call it Antioch, and others Emaus, which is actually the first stopping place on the road from Antioch to Edessa. Now the border of the Canaanites was from Sidon to Gerar and on to Gaza, while in the other direction it passed through Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboiim, and on to Lasha.[25]

In all, then, there are four sons of Ham (Noah's middle son), five grandsons, and two great-grandsons through one of his sons, making a total of eleven.[30]

[31]After enumerating these, the narrative then returns to another son of Ham, namely Mizraim. His descendants are recorded, not as individuals but as seven nations; and it is stated that from the sixth nation, or, as one might say, from the sixth son, the race of the Philistines issued, making eight nations altogether. Then the subject of Canaan is taken up again, the son in whose person Ham was

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[28] A.V.: 'the Zemarite'.

[29] A.V.: 'the Hamathite'. Hamath was a city on the Orontes (now Hama).

[30] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* xvi. 3 (*CSEL* xl (2). 128 = *PL* xli. 479). Augustine is here commenting on Gen. 10: 6–7, where only the sons of Cush (excluding Nimrod) are named as grandsons of Ham; the great-grandsons mentioned are Sheba and Dedan, the sons of Raamah.

[31-31] Quibus . . . et triginta referuntur (p. 536)] Cf. ibid. xvi. 3 (*CSEL* xl (2). 128 = *PL* xli. 480). Gervase here takes over from Augustine a different version of the material he has dealt with in the two preceding paragraphs.

Chanaan reditur, in quo filio est maledictus Cham,[32] et quos genuit undecim nominantur.[33] Deinde usque ad quos fines peruenerint, commemoratis quibusdam ciuitatibus, dicitur.[34] Hii filii Cham in tribubus suis secundum linguas suas in regionibus suis ac per hoc in filiis nepotibusque computatis de progenie Cham unus et triginta[35] referuntur.[31]

[36]Filii Sem Elam, Assur, Arfaxat, Lud, et Aram. Hii ab Eufrate fluuio usque ad Indicum occeanum tenent. Est autem Elam a quo Elamite, id est Perses, appellati sunt. Assur Tyrum condidit.[37] Filii autem Aram Hus, unde terra Hus, de qua Iob; et Vl, a quo Armenii; et Gotor, a quo Carii;[38] et Mosoc, a quo Meones,[d] ante Mes dicti.[39] Sane Hus Traconitidis et Damasci conditor fuit, inter Palestinam et Syriam Coelem. At uero Arfaxat genuit Sela, de quo ortus est Heber. f. 57^r Arfaxat a quo | Caldei, Lud a quo Lidii, Aram a quo Sirii, quorum metropolis Damascus. Genuit autem Heber, filius Sela, filii[e] Arfaxat, duos filios, quorum unus Faleg, qui interpretatur 'diuidens', eo quod in diebus eius facta fuit linguarum diuisio.[36]

Computatis ergo omnibus filiis ac nepotibus et pronepotibus, fiunt ex Sem uiginti septem.[40]

Et in summa omnes progeniti de tribus filiis Noe (id est quindecim de Iafet, triginta et unus de Cham, de Sem uiginti septem) fiunt in summa septuaginta tres, uel, sicut postea demonstrabitur, septuaginta due gentes fuerunt quando facta est linguarum diuisio.[41] Hoc quoque sciendum, quod multorum filii ideo non sunt connumerati, quia gentibus nascendo accesserunt, ipsi autem gentes facere nequiuerunt;[42] auctus tamen est numerus gentium multo amplius quam linguarum.[43] Sane Faleg, filius Eber, filii Sela, filii Arfaxat, filii Sem, filii Noe, ut diximus, interpretatur 'diuisio', cui pater suus

[d] dicuntur *add. after* Meones *Cβ* [e] filii *om. N*

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[32] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 140–2; Gen. 9: 20–7.

[33] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. 138–9; Gen. 10: 15–18.

[34] Cf. Gen. 10: 19.

[35] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 2.

[36–36] Filii . . . fuit linguarum diuisio] Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *Comment. in Paral.* i. 1 (*PL* cix. 284); Josephus, *Ant.* i. 143–6; Augustine, *Civ.* xvi. 3 (*CSEL* xl (2). 131 = *PL* xli. 481); Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 3–4, vii. 6. 24; *Glossa ordinaria*, 1 Paral. 1: 17–19 (*PL* cxiii. 632); Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 37 (*PL* cxcviii. 1088) and c. 41 (*PL* cxcviii. 1090–1); Gen. 10: 21–31; *Otia*, ii. 1, nn. 2 and 4. Gervase is primarily dependent on Rabanus here, but has jumbled the order.

[37] Asshur is normally associated with Assyria and Nineveh, not Tyre: see Rabanus Maurus, loc. cit.; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 143; Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 3.

cursed,[32] and the names of eleven of his progeny are given.[33] After that there is a description of how far their territory extended, making mention of some of their cities.[34] These descendants of Ham settled in their tribes in different regions according to their languages, and reckoning on this basis, the sons and grandsons of Ham's line are said to number thirty-one.[35,31]

[36]The sons of Shem are Elam, Asshur, Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram. They occupy the land from the river Euphrates to the Indian Ocean. Now it is Elam after whom the Elamites, that is, the Persians, are called. Asshur founded Tyre.[37] The sons of Aram are Uz, who gave his name to the land of Uz, where Job came from; Hul, whose people are the Armenians; Gether, whose people are the Carians;[38] and Mash, whose people are the Maeones, previously called Mes.[39] Now Uz was the founder of Trachonitis and Damascus, between Palestine and Coele-Syria. Arphaxad was the father of Salah, and Salah's son was Eber. The descendants of Arphaxad are the Chaldaeans, those of Lud the Lydians, those of Aram the Syrians, whose chief city is Damascus. Eber, son of Salah, son of Arphaxad, had two sons, one of whom was called Peleg, which means 'dividing', because in his days the division of languages came about.[36]

So then, reckoning up all the sons and grandsons and great-grandsons, Shem's descendants number twenty-seven.[40]

Taken altogether, the offspring born to the three sons of Noah total seventy-three (that is, fifteen from Japheth, thirty-one from Ham, and twenty-seven from Shem); in fact, as will be shown later, there were seventy-two nations when the division of languages occurred.[41] It also has to be borne in mind that many people's children are not included in the reckoning, because they were born into existing nations, and were not able to form new nations themselves;[42] though the number of nations did expand much more than the number of languages.[43] The name of Peleg, son of Eber, son of Salah, son of Arphaxad, son of Shem, son of Noah, means 'division', as we have said, and the reason why his father Eber gave him that name was that

[38] According to Rabanus (loc. cit.), Gether's people were the 'Acarnani sive Carii'; cf. Isidore (*Etym.* ix. 2. 4): 'Acarnanii sive Curiae' (MSS: 'cariae').

[39] Mosoch (LXX) is rendered *Mes* in the Vulgate (Gen. 10: 23; A.V.: Mash).

[40] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* xvi. 3 (*CSEL* xl (2). 131 = *PL* xli. 481); Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 2.

[41] Cf. Augustine, loc. cit.; Isidore, loc. cit.

[42] Cf. Augustine, loc. cit.

[43] Cf. ibid. xvi. 6 (*PL* xli. 485).

Eber ideo nomen istud imposuit, quia tempore natiuitatis eius terra per linguarum diuisionem[f] diuisa est.[44]

[45]Cuius diuisiones[g] Annonius rethor[h] [46] in expositione psalmi centesimi quarti ita meminit: Sem, primogenito Noe, pars facta est a Persida et Bactrianis usque in Indiam longe et usque in Rinocuram[i] flumen,[j] quem sacra scriptura torrentem Egipti uocare consueuit;[47] que spacia terrarum habent linguas sermone barbarico uiginti septem, in quibus linguis gentes sunt patriarum .cccc. et sex, non[k] diuersarum linguarum sed, ut dixi, diuersarum patriarum. Verbi gratia, cum una sit lingua Latina, attamen gentes infra continet multas, ut sunt feroces Franci, Galli, Itali (qui et Romani), Longobardi, Yspani,[l] Affri, Astures,[m] et Wascones.[48] Cham uero, secundus filius Noe, a Rinocura[n] usque ad Gadira,[o] habet linguas sermone Punico a parte Garamantum,[49] Latino a parte boree, barbarico[p] a parte meridiana, Ethiopum et Egiptiorum, ac barbaris interioribus uario sermone, uiginti duas in patriis .ccxciiii.[q] [50] Iafet nunc,[r] tercius filius Noe, a Media ad Gadira[s] ad boream; habet autem flumen Tigrim quod diuidit Mediam et Babiloniam, in patriis .ccc.[t] [51] sermone uario in linguis uiginti tribus. Fiunt omnes simul lingue septuaginta due, patrie autem gentium[u] mille, que in tripertito seculo hoc ordine site sunt: habet enim, ut diximus, Iafet flumen Tigrim quod diuidit[v] Babiloniam, Sem Eufratem, Cham Gyon, qui est Nilus.[w] [45]

Porro Falech genuit Reu, et ipse genuit Saruc, et ipse Naor, et ipse Thare, et ipse genuit Abram et Naor et Aram.[52] [53]Sane de Melcha

[f] diuisionem] confusionem *Cβ and Claudius* [g] divisionis *Bede* [h] Arnobius rhetor *Bede* [i] Rhinocoruras *Arnobius and Bede* [j] flumen *ACβ;* fluium *N;* flumen . . . uocare consueuit *om. Arnobius and Bede* [k] non *A, Arnobius and Bede; om. NCβ* [l] Hypani *N* [m] Austures *N* [n] Rhinocoruris *Arnobius and Bede* [o] Gadiram *CXQ* [p] barbarico (barba- *repeated and expunged*)|rico *N* [q] trecentis nonaginta et quatuor *Arnobius and Bede* [r] nunc] autem *Cβ, Arnobius and Bede* [s] *sic Bede* (*om. Arnobius*); Gadiram *MSS* [t] ducentis *Arnobius and Bede* [u] generationum *Arnobius and Bede* [v] Mediam et *add. after* diuidit *Arnobius and Bede* [w] Nilus] qillus *written by author in space left by scribe N*

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[44] Cf. Claudius of Turin, *Brevis chronica*, c. 2 (*PL* cvii. 920); Gen. 10: 22, 24–5.

[45–45] Cuius . . . qui est Nilus] Cf. Bede, *De temporum ratione*, c. 66 (*CCSL* cxxiii (B). 469 = *PL* xc. 525–6); Ado of Vienne, *Chronicon*, Aetas secunda (*PL* cxxiii. 27–8).

[46] i.e. Arnobius Junior, who wrote his *Commentarii in Psalmos c.*460 AD; for this passage, see Arnobius' commentary on Psalm 104 (*CCSL* xxv. 159 = *PL* liii. 481).

[47] In one passage of the LXX (Isa. 27: 12), the 'river of Egypt' is translated as 'Rhinocorura'; this was also the name of a town on the border of Syria and Egypt (cf. *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 109). According to the Comestor, the 'river of Egypt' was called the Corula (*Gen.*, c. 48, *PL* cxcviii. 1096; cf. *Otia*, ii. 23, at n. 94).

at the time of his birth the earth came to be divided through the division of languages.[44]

[45]Arnobius Rhetor[46] gives the following account of the earth's divisions in his exposition of the 104th psalm. To Shem, Noah's first-born, fell the part from Persia and the land of the Bactrians to far-off India and the river Rhinocorura, which sacred scripture commonly calls the river of Egypt;[47] these regions of the earth contain twenty-seven languages of barbaric speech. The people who speak these languages belong to 406 different nations: that is not the number of different languages but, as I said, of different nations. To give another example, although Latin is a single language, it includes many nations within its orbit, such as the fierce Franks, the Gauls, the Italians (also called the Romans), the Lombards, the Spaniards, the Africans, the Astures, and the Gascons.[48] Next Ham, Noah's second son, holds the land from the Rhinocorura to Cadiz, containing languages of Punic speech in the region of the Garamantes,[49] languages of Latin speech in the region of the north, languages of barbaric speech in the southern region, where the Ethiopians and Egyptians live, and languages of various speech in the barbaric interior, adding up to twenty-two languages among 294[50] nations. Japheth now, Noah's third son, occupies the lands to the north from Media to Cadiz; his possessions include the river Tigris, which divides Media and Babylonia. In this area there are twenty-three languages of various speech among 300[51] nations. Altogether there are seventy-two languages, but a thousand different nations. They are disposed in the tripartite world according to the following arrangement: Japheth, as we have said, has the river Tigris which divides Babylonia, Shem has the Euphrates, and Ham the Gihon, that is, the Nile.[45]

To continue, Peleg was the father of Reu, Reu the father of Serug, Serug the father of Nahor, Nahor the father of Terah, and Terah the father of Abram, Nahor, and Haran.[52] [53]Now to Milcah, Nahor's

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[48] This list of Latin-speaking nations has been modernized by Gervase; Bede and Ado, following Arnobius, give as their examples the Brutii, the Lucanians, the Apulians, the Calabrians, the Picenes, and the Tuscans.

[49] The Garamantes lived in the interior of Africa, beyond the Gaetulians.

[50] 394, according to Arnobius, Bede, and Ado.

[51] 200, according to Arnobius, Bede, and Ado.

[52] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 41 (*PL* cxcviii. 1091); Josephus, *Ant.* i. 148–51; Gen. 11: 18–26.

[53–53] Sane . . . est Caldei, noncupantur (p. 540)] Cf. Jerome, *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*, 22: 20 (*CCSL* lxii. 28 = *PL* xxiii. 971–2); Josephus, *Ant.* i. 153; Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 48; Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 58 (*PL* cxcviii. 1105); Gen. 11: 29 and 22: 20–2.

uxore Nahor, filia Aram, natus est Hus, de cuius stirpe Iob descendit, unde illud: 'Vir erat in terra Hus, nomine Iob';[54] unde merito reprehenduntur qui auctumant Iob de genere Esau fuisse, quia hoc in Hebreo non habetur.[55] Secundus filius Nahor de Melcha fuit Buz, de cuius genere tradunt Hebrei fuisse Balaam prophetam. Vnde in libro Iob dicitur: 'Et iratus Elym[x] filius Barachiel Buzites',[56] quia ille Balaam, qui et ibi Helyu[y] dicitur, de radice Buz descendit. Tercius filius Nahor ex Melcha Camuel, pater Damasci; quartus Casded, a quo Casdeym, hoc est Caldei, noncupantur.[53]

Successit etati secunde, in qua natus est Abraham, etas tercia. [57]Sicut enim tercia die in creatione mundi, aquis in unum collectis, apparuit arida, herbis siluisque decora,[58] ita tercia mundi etate, firmatis in cultu[z] demonum nationibus, Abraham patriarcha patriam cognationemque deserens sanctorum semine fecundatur. Aduenit autem huius etatis uespera quando gens Hebrea, malis coacta prementibus, contra Dei uoluntatem regem sibi peciit; qui mox ordinatos primo Dei sacerdotes prophetasque trucidauit,[59] post- f. 57v modum cum tota | gente sua gladio periit Allophilorum.[60,57] [61]Que etas tercia ab Abraham usque ad Dauid generationes iuxta utramque auctoritatem habet quatuordecim, annos uero .dcccxli. Fuit autem hec etas quasi quedam adolescencia populi Dei, a qua etate, quia incipit homo generare, propterea Matheus euuangelista generationum ordinem ex Habraam cepit,[62] qui mutatum nomen accepit,[63] pater multarum gentium constitutus.[a] [61]

[64]A prima igitur promissione Abrahe usque ad introitum Iacob in Egyptum, fuerunt anni .ccxv. Manserunt autem filii Israel in Egypto .ccxv. annis, post mortem uero Ioseph annis .cxliii.[b] Inter mortem Ioseph et natiuitatem Moysi fuerunt[c] anni sexaginta[d] quatuor. Octoginta[e] annorum erat[f] Moyses quando missus est ad Pharaonem.

[x] *sic MSS for* Eliu [y] Elyn *β* [z] clutu *N* [a] constitutus *supplied by author N* [b] 144 *Claudius* [c] fiunt *N* [d] sexaginta *ed.* (*cf. Claudius*); quadraginta *MSS* [e] octaginta *N* [f] erat *om. NA*

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[54] Job 1: 1.

[55] An appendix to the Book of Job 'from the Syriac book', preserved in the LXX (42: 18), states that Job was a descendant of Esau, i.e. a member of the hated Edomite race.

[56] Cf. Job 32: 2.

[57–57] Sicut . . . gladio periit Allophilorum] Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, x. 9 (*PL* cxi. 299).

[58] Cf. Gen. 1: 9–13.

[59] Cf. 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 22: 9–19.

[60] Cf. 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 31: 1–6. For the name *Allophyli* applied to the Philistines, see *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 48.

[61–61] Que . . . multarum gentium constitutus] The figure of 941 years (from the birth of

wife, Haran's daughter, was born Uz, from whose lineage Job was descended; and so it says: 'There was a man in the land of Uz, whose name was Job';[54] they are therefore justly censured who claim that Job was descended from Esau, since that is not in the Hebrew part of the book.[55] Nahor's second son by Milcah was Buz; Hebrew tradition has it that Balaam the prophet was descended from him. And so it says in the book of Job: 'And Elihu the son of Barachel the Buzite was angry';[56] for the said Balaam, who in this text is also called Elihu, was descended from the stock of Buz. Nahor's third son by Milcah was Kemuel, the father of Damascus; his fourth son was Chesed, who gave his name to the Chesedim, that is, the Chaldaeans.[53]

To the second age, which ended with the birth of Abraham, there succeeded the third age. [57]And just as on the third day in the creation of the world the waters were gathered together into one place, and the dry land appeared, adorned with herbs and trees,[58] so in the third age of the world, when the nations were held in the grip of demon-worship, the patriarch Abraham, leaving his country and his kindred, was made fruitful with the seed of God's holy ones. The evening of this age came when the Hebrew people, constrained by the troubles that were pressing upon them, requested to have a king, though it was against the will of God. After only a short time this king of theirs first of all butchered the appointed priests and prophets of God,[59] and subsequently perished with all his family at the sword of the Philistines.[60,57] [61]This third age, from Abraham to David, contains according to both authorities fourteen generations and 941 years. Now this age was as it were a period of adolescence for the people of God, and it was because man begins to procreate at this age that the evangelist Matthew began his genealogy with Abraham,[62] who received a new name[63] when he was designated the father of many nations.[61]

[64]From the first promise to Abraham, then, until Jacob went into Egypt, 215 years passed. The children of Israel remained in Egypt for 215 years, that is, for 143 years after the death of Joseph. Between the death of Joseph and the birth of Moses there were 64 years. Moses was eighty years old when he was sent to Pharaoh. From the time

Abraham to the first year of the reign of King David) is found in Claudius of Turin, *Brevis chronica*, c. 3 (*PL* civ. 923). For the rest of this passage, see Rabanus Maurus, *De computo*, c. 96 (*PL* cvii. 726); id., *De universo*, x. 14 (*PL* cxi. 507) (where the length of this age is given as 942 years).

[62] Cf. Matt. 1: 2.

[63] Cf. Gen. 17: 5.

[64–64] A prima . . . eundem anni .dccxcvii. (p. 542)] Cf. Claudius of Turin, *Brevis chronica*, c. 3 (*PL* civ. 921).

Ab introitu Iacob in Egyptum usque ad mortem Ioseph fuerunt[g] anni septuaginta et unus. His ergo septuaginta et uno annis, si addis sexaginta quatuor, fiunt .cxxxv.; quibus adde octoginta, et fiunt .ccxv.; quibus appone .ccxv. a promissione Abrahe usque ad introitum Iacob in Egyptum, et fiunt in summa .ccccxxx. Vnde Apostolus ad Galatas ait: 'Hoc autem dico testamentum a Deo, quod factum est post .ccccxxx. annos.'[65] Sic ergo fiunt a condicione mundi ad transitum maris Rubri anni duo milia .ccccliii.,[66] et a diluuio usque ad eundem anni .dccxcvii.[64]

Nunc ad quartam seculi etatem nos transferamus. [67]Sicut enim quarta die celum in inicio creaturarum luminaribus ornatur,[68] ita quarta etate mundi Israeliticus populus, celesti fide radians, regno Dauid et Salomonis splendet, et edificatione sanctissimi templi honoratur; accepitque uesperam quando, crebrescentibus peccatis, regnum illud a Caldeis est dissipatum, templo diruto et gente in Babiloniam translata.[67] [69]Habet ergo hec etas a Dauid usque ad transmigrationem Babilonis iuxta Hebreos annos .cccclxxxiiii.,[h] iuxta septuaginta interpretum translationem amplius; generationes[i] iuxta utrosque codices septendecim, quas tamen Matheus ponit certi misterii gratia quatuordecim.[70] Sicut ergo iuuenilis etas gubernationi apta tempora habet, ita hec etas regum habet inicium.[69] [71]Lucas uero circa sacerdotalem Domini stirpem atque personam magis occupatus apparet. Nam et[j] ad ipsum Dauid non regum[k] stemma secutus ascendit, sed per eos qui reges non fuerunt exiit ad Nathan filium Dauid, qui nec[l] ipse rex fuit,[72] cum Matheus per Salomonem

[g] fiunt *NA*
[h] 474 *Claudius;* cccclxxiii *Rabanus Maurus*
[i] interpretum translationem amplius; generationes *Claudius;* interpretes generationes undecim *MSS*
[j] et *supplied by author N*
[k] regium *Augustine and Bede*
[l] nec *supplied by author N*

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[65] Cf. Gal. 3: 17; Exod. 12: 40. Paul is actually saying that the law of Moses does not invalidate the covenant made by God with Abraham 430 years earlier. The Vulgate text reads: 'Hoc autem dico, testamentum confirmatum a Deo; quae post quadringentos et triginta annos facta est lex, non irritum facit ad euacuandam promissionem' (D.V.: 'Now this I say: that the testament which was confirmed by God, the law which was made after four hundred and thirty years doth not disannul, to make the promise of no effect').

[66] In abbreviating Claudius' arithmetic, Gervase has omitted to mention that the promise was made to Abraham when he was 75 years old; the crossing of the Red Sea therefore took place 505 years after the birth of Abraham. The figure of 2,453 years represents the sum of the number of years given by Claudius for the first two ages (1,656 and 292) plus 505; it is incorrectly given as 2,451 in the Migne edition of Claudius. The figure of 797 years is the sum of 292 (the second age) and 505 (the birth of Abraham to the Exodus).

when Jacob went into Egypt until the death of Joseph, 71 years passed. So then, if you add 64 to these 71 years, it makes 135; add 80 on to that, and it makes 215; to that add 215 from the promise to Abraham until Jacob went into Egypt, and it makes a total of 430. And so the Apostle says in his letter to the Galatians: 'And this I say, that the covenant which was made after 430 years was made by God.'[65] Thus, therefore, between the foundation of the world and the crossing of the Red Sea there were 2,453 years,[66] while between the flood and the same crossing there were 797 years.[64]

Let us now go on to the fourth age of the world. [67]Just as on the fourth day at the beginning of creation the heaven was adorned with lights,[68] so in the fourth age of the world the people of Israel, shining with heavenly faith, derived glory from the reigns of David and Solomon, and honour from the building of the most holy temple; and evening fell on this age when, as a result of the ever-multiplying sins of the people, the kingdom was overthrown by the Chaldaeans, while the temple was destroyed, and the people carried off into Babylonia.[67] [69]This age, from David to the transmigration into Babylon, contains 484 years according to the Hebrews, and more according to the version of the seventy translators; according to both books it spanned seventeen generations, though Matthew gives the number of generations as fourteen,[70] to express a particular mystery. So then, just as the age of young adulthood brings the proper time for taking responsibility, so this age brings the beginning of the reign of the kings.[69] [71]Luke, however, seems to be more concerned with the priestly ancestry and identity of the Lord. For he too traced his ancestry back to David, but instead of following the line of kings, he traced the line upwards through people who were not kings, to David's son Nathan, who was himself not a king;[72] Matthew, on the

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[67–67] Sicut . . . in Babiloniam translata] Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, x. 9 (*PL* cxi. 299).

[68] Cf. Gen. 1: 14–19.

[69–69] Habet . . . regum habet inicium] Cf. Claudius of Turin, *Brevis chronica*, c. 4 (*PL* civ. 923); Rabanus Maurus, *De computo*, c. 96 (*PL* cvii. 726–7); id., *De universo*, x. 14 (*PL* cxi. 307). Claudius gives the figure of 474 years for the length of the fourth age according to the Hebrews, while Rabanus Maurus gives 473. The text of the next phrase has been emended, following Claudius; the MSS read: 'iuxta septuaginta interpretes generationes undecim, iuxta utrosque codices septendecim' ('according to the Septuagint it spanned eleven generations, while according to both versions it spanned seventeen generations').

[70] Cf. Matt. 1: 17.

[71–71] Lucas . . . sub mistico numero (p. 544)] Cf. Augustine, *De consensu evangelistarum*, i. 2 (*CSEL* xliii. 3–4 = *PL* xxxiv. 1044); Bede, *Epistola responsoria ad Accam* (*CCSL* cxx. 8 = *PL* xcii. 305 = xciv. 690).

[72] Cf. Luke 3: 23–31; 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 5: 14.

descendens ceteros reges ex ordine sit prosecutus'[m] [73] sub mistico[n] numero.[71] [74]Salomon ergo quadraginta annis regnauit, et quarto regni sui anno, mense secundo, templum cepit, collectis ab egressu filiorum Israel[o] .cccclxxx. annis. Septem annis perficitur templum, et septimo mense anni octaui dedicatur.[74] Quarto autem anno regni Salomonis impleti sunt anni a creatione mundi duo milia .dcccxxxiii.[75] [76]Quia uero in generationibus Mathei figuratur nostre carnis peccatricis[p] susceptio facta a Christo, ideo ille descendit per Salomonem, in cuius matre Dauid peccauit. In generationibus autem Luce figuratur abolicio nostrorum peccatorum facta per Christum, ideoque ascendendo narrat ad Dauid per Nathan ascendendo, per cuius nominis prophetam Deus illius crimen expiauit. Quod enim dicit Apostolus, 'misit Deus Filium suum[q] in similitudinem[r] carnis peccati',[77] hoc est susceptio carnis peccatorum; quod addidit, 'ut de peccato dampnaret peccatum in carne',[78] hoc est remissio peccatorum.[76]

Quinta seculi etas est a transmigratione[s] usque ad natiuitatem Domini, quia [79]sicut quinta die distincti sunt pisces et aues aduecte[t] ab aquis, illis in aqua manentibus, istis in aera leuatis,[80] ita in quinta seculi etate multiplicatur in Caldea populus Israel, quibusdam ad uoluptates Caldeorum declinantibus, aliis Ierosolimam petentibus, istis desideria celestia sectantibus, illis destitutis uolatu uirtutum et inter fluenta Babilonie residentibus;[81] aduenitque huic etati uespera f. 58r quando, imminente iam Saluatoris aduentu, Romanis | Iudea facta est sub tributo,[79] [82]uelut senilis etatis mole, malis undique scadentibus, depressa. Ipsa pereque quatuordecim generationibus terminata, annis quingentis .lxxxviii.[u] coartatur.[82]

Sexta seculi etas, ab aduentu Domini incohata, termino non

[m] persecutus *Augustine and Bede* [n] mistico *supplied by author N* [o] Israel *om. NA* [p] peccatricis *om. β* [q] suum *om. N* [r] similitudiem *N* [s] transmugratione *N* [t] aduecte] educte *Cβ and Rabanus Maurus* [u] 589 *Claudius*, dlxxxix *Rabanus Maurus*

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[73] Cf. Matt. 1: 6–11.

[74–74] Salomon . . . anni octaui dedicatur] Cf. Claudius of Turin, *Brevis chronica*, c. 4 (*PL* civ. 923–4); 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 6: 1 and 38.

[75] The sum of the figures given by Gervase for the first three ages and the first 44 years (up to the fourth year of Solomon's reign) of the fourth is actually 2,933, not 2,833. The Comestor (*III Reg.*, c. 9 (*PL* cxcviii. 1354) following Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 62) gives the figure as 3,102 years.

[76–76] Quia . . . est remissio peccatorum] Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *Comment. in Matthaeum*, i. 1 (*PL* cvii. 746). [77] Cf. Rom. 8: 3.

[78] Cf. ibid.; the Vulgate reads: 'Deus Filium suum mittens in similitudinem carnis peccati et de peccato, damnauit peccatum in carne' (D.V.: 'God, sending his own son in the likeness of sinful flesh and of sin, hath condemned sin in the flesh').

other hand, traced his descent downwards, starting with Solomon and then proceeding through the other kings in order,[73] so as to make up a mystical number.[71] [74]Solomon, then, reigned for forty years, and in the fourth year of his reign, in the second month, he embarked on the temple, 480 years having elapsed since the children of Israel came out of Egypt. The temple was completed in seven years, and it was dedicated in the seventh month of the eighth year.[74] Now by the fourth year of Solomon's reign a total of 2,833 years had passed since the creation of the world.[75] [76]In Matthew's genealogy Christ's assumption of our sinful flesh is figuratively portrayed, and that is why he traces his line downwards through Solomon, since it was with Solomon's mother that David sinned. In Luke's genealogy, however, the cancellation of our sins accomplished through Christ is figuratively portrayed, and it is for this reason that in tracing the generations back to David he goes upwards through Nathan's line; for God effected the expiation of David's offence through the prophet of that name. For when the Apostle says: 'God sent his Son in the likeness of sinful flesh',[77] that refers to his assumption of our sinful flesh; and when he adds: 'that out of our sinful condition he might condemn sin in the flesh',[78] that refers to the remission of our sins.[76]

The fifth age of the world lasts from the transmigration up to the nativity of the Lord. [79]For just as on the fifth day the fish were called into being and the birds were brought forth from the waters, some remaining on the water, while others flew up into the air,[80] so in the fifth age of the world the people of Israel multiplied in Chaldaea, where some turned aside to the pleasures of the Chaldaeans, while others sought to return to Jerusalem: while the latter pursued their heavenly desires, the former put off the wings of virtue and sat down by the rivers of Babylon.[81] Evening fell on this age when, with the Saviour's coming already imminent, Judaea was made a tributary state of Rome,[79] [82]weighed down, as it were, by the burden of old age, with troubles swamping it on all sides. This age, like the fourth, spanned fourteen generations, and came to an end after 588 years.[82]

The sixth age of the world, which began with the coming of the

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[79–79] sicut . . . est sub tributo] Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, x. 9 (*PL* cxi. 299).

[80] Cf. Gen. 1: 20–3.

[81] Cf. Ps. 136 (137): 1.

[82–82] Cf. Claudius of Turin, *Brevis chronica*, c. 5 (*PL* civ. 924); Rabanus Maurus, *De computo*, c. 96 (*PL* cvii. 726); id., *De universo*, x. 14 (*PL* cxi. 507).

clauditur. [83]Sicut autem sexta die terra animantibus repleta legitur, et homo ad ymaginem Dei creatur, ex cuius dormientis costa Eua formatur,[84] ita, precinentibus[v] prophetis, Filius Dei in carne nostra apparuit, hominis ymaginem per peccatum deformatam reintegraturus, ex cuius latere dormientis in cruce sanguis et aqua[85] nouam[w] formauerunt matrem ecclesiam. Huius etatis uespera sub Antichristo tenebras faciet,[83] ut etas decrepita morte terminanda, octauam beate resurrectionis etatem expectans.[86]

In hac igitur etate, [87]'paruulus natus est nobis, et filius datus est nobis.'[88] Natus est qui sibi erat, natus est nobis. Datus[x] ex diuinitate, natus ex uirgine. Natus qui sentiret occasum, datus qui nesciret exordium. Natus qui matre esset posterior,[y] datus quo nec pater esset antiquior. Natus qui moreretur, datus per quem ad uitam renasceremur.[z] Illic dominatur, hic humiliatur. Sibi regnat, nobis[a] militat. 'Et factus est principatus eius super humerum eius.'[89] Manifestum quippe hominem designat humerus, latentem in homine Deum loquitur principatus. Agnosce duplicem sub persone unitate substantiam. De nostro habuit quod appendit,[b] de suo est quod donauit. De nostro habuit unde caderet, de suo[c] unde resurgeret. De nostro habuit unde pro nobis mortem solueret, de suo unde penitus in nullo debitor appareret. De nostro ut[d] crucifigeretur, de suo unde glorificaretur. De nostro dedit peccati hostiam, de suo indulgentie tribuit gratiam. De nostro itaque illi humiliatio, de suo esse probatur ascensio. De nostro optulit sacrificium, de suo contulit premium. Duarum ergo naturarum[e] capax, homo[f] in infirmitatibus agnoscitur, Deus ex uirtutibus approbatur.[87]

Fiunt ergo secundum Claudium in summa ab exordio mundi usque ad Christum anni[g] tria milia nongenti quinquaginta duo, ut et[h] Beda testatur.[i] [90]

[v] preconantibus *Rabanus Maurus* [w] noua *N* [x] est *add. after* datus *ACX*; ergo *add. after* datus *Faustus* [y] iunior *Faustus* [z] ad uitam nasceremur *Cβ*; uita renasceretur *Faustus* [a] mihi *Faustus* [b] apprehendit *Faustus* [c] habuit *add. after* suo *β* [d] unde *Faustus* [e] naturarum *supplied by author N* [f] cum *added by author after* homo, *written above expunged* enim *N* [g] Christum anni] Christi aduentum *β* [h] et *om. ACβ* [i] *At this point in X, Q, and Z of Group IIb a computation is inserted: see Appendix ii. 3*

[83–83] Sicut . . . Antichristo tenebras faciet] Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, x. 9 (*PL* cxi. 299). [84] Cf. Gen. 1: 24–31, 2: 18–25. [85] Cf. John 19: 34; 1 John 5: 6–8. [86] Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *De computo*, c. 96 (*PL* cvii. 728); id., *De universo*, x. 14 (*PL* cxi. 307).
[87–87] paruulus . . . ex uirtutibus approbatur] Cf. Faustus of Reggio, *Epistolae*, vi (*PL* lviii. 855–6). [88] Cf. Isa. 9: 6. [89] Cf. loc. cit.

Lord, has not yet come to an end. [83]Now one reads that on the sixth day the land was filled with living creatures, man was created in the image of God, and Eve was formed from his rib while he slept;[84] even so, as the prophets foretold, the Son of God appeared in our flesh to restore man's true image, disfigured as it had been by sin, and from his side while he slept on the cross blood and water[85] formed a new mother, the Church. The evening of this age will bring darkness on the world with the reign of Antichrist,[83] just as decrepit old age must come to an end with death, while awaiting the eighth age of the blessed resurrection.[86]

In this age, therefore, [87]'a child was born to us, a son was given to us.'[88] He was born, born to us, who already possessed life in himself. He was given from a state of divinity, born of a virgin. He was born that he might experience the ending that is death, he was given who could know no beginning. He was born that he might be younger than his mother, he was given, than whom even his father could not be older. He was born that he might die, he was given that through him we might be reborn to life. There he rules, here he humbles himself. In his own realm he reigns, in ours he serves. 'And the government is upon his shoulder.'[89] The shoulder denotes the man before our eyes, while the government signifies God lying hidden within the man. Acknowledge the twofold substance in the unity of the person. He took from us what he put on, but what he bestowed is his own. He took from us the nature that would die, but the nature that would rise again is his own. He took from us the nature that would pay the penalty of death on our behalf, but the nature in which he would be revealed as completely free of any debt is his own. He took from us the nature that would suffer crucifixion, but the nature that would be glorified is his own. In our nature he offered a sacrifice for sin, while in his own he bestowed the grace of pardon. It was our nature, therefore, that was the source of his humiliation, while his own nature is made manifest in his ascension. In our nature he offered the sacrifice, in his own nature he granted the reward. And so he holds two natures within himself: his humanity is discerned in his weaknesses, his divinity is proved by his strengths.[87]

There are then, according to Claudius, and as Bede also attests, a total of 3,952 years from the beginning of the world up to Christ.[90]

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[90] Cf. Claudius of Turin, *Brevis chronica*, c. 5 (*PL* civ. 924); Bede, *De temporibus*, c. 22 (*CCSL* cxxiii (C). 607 = *PL* xc. 290); id., *De temporum ratione*, Sexta aetas (*CCSL* cxxii (B). 495 = *PL* xc. 545).

TERTIA DECISIO

Hec[a] sunt capitula libri huius tercii:[b]

Prefacio in opus[c] sequens continens mirabilia pleraque[d]
i. De magnete lapide
ii. De sale Agrigentino et Cardonensi,[e] et confectione salis marini, et de salinis Wichii
iii. De lapide abeston, et lapide accenso in lucernam, et lucerna fani Veneris, et cereis Beate Virginis
iv. De ficu Egypti, et ligno quod conuertitur in lapidem
v. De pomis Pentapolis que crescunt et fauillantur
vi. De lapide cum luna crescente et decrescente[f]
vii. De tribus donis Terdone
viii. De cimiterio Fructuariensi
ix. De fenestra Camisse
x. De mirabilibus Podii Sancte Marie; de musca Neapolitana
xi. De nuce que simul frondet et fructificat
xii. De mirabilibus Neapolis
xiii. De orto Virgilii et tuba
xiv. De faba uersa et eius natura
xv. De balneis Puteolanis
xvi. De rupe incisa que non admittit insidias
xvii. De Iohanne episcopo et animarum penis
xviii. De uisione portarum inferni
xix. De Auerno et luto Thori
xx. De turre que non admittit uigiles
xxi. De pugna scarabeorum
xxii. De rupe que digito mouetur et non toto[g] corpore
xxiii. De figura Domini in Edissa[h]
xxiv. De alia figura Domini in linteo
xxv. De Veronica Romana[i]

BOOK III

The following are the chapters of this, the third book:

Preface to the work that follows, including a number of marvels
1. The Loadstone
2. The Salt of Agrigentum and Cardona, and the Making of Sea-salt, and the Salt-supply of Droitwich
3. The Asbestos Stone, a Stone which is Lit to provide a Lamp, the Lamp in a Shrine of Venus, and the Wax-lights of the Blessed Virgin
4. The Fig-tree of Egypt, and the Wood which Turns to Stone
5. The Apples of the Pentapolis which Grow and then Turn to Ashes
6. The Stone which Waxes and Wanes with the Moon
7. The Three Gifts of Tortona
8. The Cemetery of Fruttuaria
9. The Window of Connexe
10. The Marvels of Le Puy-Notre-Dame; the Fly of Naples
11. The Nut-tree which bears Leaves and Fruit Both at Once
12. The Marvels of Naples
13. Virgil's Garden and the Trumpet
14. The Upside-down Bean and its Nature
15. The Baths of Pozzuoli
16. The Rock-passage which Admits No Treachery
17. Bishop John and the Punishment of Souls
18. A Vision of the Gates of Hell
19. Avernus and the Mud of Le Thor
20. A Tower which Admits No Watchmen
21. The Beetles' Battle
22. A Rock which is Moved by One Finger and Not by the Whole Body
23. The Image of the Lord in Edessa
24. Another Image of the Lord on a Cloth
25. The Veronica in Rome

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[a] *The list of chapters appears only in the descendants of β. In X it is presented in situ. In I it is divided into two parts, the first (i–xciv) between items 7 and 8 of the addenda (f.* 223^{r}*–*224^{r}*), and the second (xcv–cxlviii) after the last item of the addenda (f.* 233^{v}*–*234^{r}*). The last three items of the addenda and the second part (xvc–cxlviii) of the chapters were missing in the copy from which Q was made, but the first part is presented in situ. Folio references are provided in X and I, by a late hand in both*

[b] Hec . . . tertii] Sequuntur capitula huius libri tercii *Q*

[c] in opus] operis *X*

[d] pleraque *om. I*

[e] Cardone *I*

[f] et decrescente *om. QI*

[g] toto *Q; om. XI*

[h] et de uultu Lucanensi *add. after* Edissa *I*

[i] De quarta figura Domini *add. after* Romana *I*

xxvi. De Veronica Edissena[j]
xxvii. De littore Palestine
xxviii. De uirtute et consecratione lapidum
xxix. De boas dracone
xxx. De ordeo et arenis Egypti
xxxi. De herbis Egypti[k]
xxxii. De cibariis que ad solem coquuntur
xxxiii. De Olimpo et Athlante et Sinai
xxxiv. ⟨De uento quem in cirotheca conclusit sanctus Cesarius
xxxv. De uirgula arida que per obedientiam floruit; in uita sanctorum Thebeorum⟩[l]
xxxvi. De uinea sine plantatore prodeunte
xxxvii. De uado de Rodestum[m]
xxxviii. De aqua que uires reparat equis lassatis
xxxix. De prato crustato
xl. De aquis que calore congelantur in sal
xli. De uexillis apparentibus in[n] die sancti Constantii
xlii. De rupe que uocatur[o] Equa Illi[p]
xliii. De dominabus apparentibus in fenestra[q]
xliv. De beuere et eius natura
xlv. De castro del Pech
xlvi. De ymagine Beate Virginis
xlvii. De cruce latronis in Cypro
xlviii. De aqua que nunquam bullit
xlix. De Saltu Domini
l. De statua aurea
li. De balsamo et eius probatione
lii. De fluuio succrescente
liii. De signis in morte Iulii apparentibus
liv. De ligno crucis et piscina probatica
lv. De arbore uermiculi
lvi. De bombicibus Sericis
lvii. De domina castri Esperuer
lviii. De militibus apparentibus
lix. De milicia Osberti filii Hugonis
lx. De cornu et pincerna siluestri

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[j] De . . . Edissena] De uirtute epistole Domini et beati Thome apostoli *I* [k] De . . . Egypti] *om. Q* [l] De uento . . . Thebeorum] *ed.;* De uento Pontico et ciroteca sancti Cesariis. De uirtute sancte obedientie et uirga storacina *X* (*add. in margin by late hand*);

26. The Veronica in Edessa
27. The Coast of Palestine
30. The Power and Consecration of Stones
31. The Boa Snake
30. The Barley and Sands of Egypt
31. The Herbs of Egypt
32. Food which is Cooked in the Sun
33. Olympus, Atlas, and Sinai
34. The Wind which St Caesarius Shut Up in a Glove
35. The Dry Rod which Blossomed as a result of Obedience; an Episode from the Life of the Theban Saints
36. A Vineyard which Grows Without a Planter
37. The Ford of Radstone
38. Water which Restores Strength to Wearied Horses
39. A Meadow on a Crust
40. Water which Hardens into Salt in the Heat
41. The Banners which Appear on the Feast of St Constantius
42. The Crag which is Called Equal to That
43. Ladies who Appear at a Window
44. The Beaver and its Nature
45. The Castle of the Peak
46. An Image of the Blessed Virgin
47. The Thief's Cross in Cyprus
48. Water which Never Boils
49. The Lord's Leap
50. A Golden Statue
51. Balsam and the Testing of It
52. A River which Springs Up
53. The Signs which Appeared on the Death of Julius
54. The Wood of the Cross and the Sheep-Pool
55. The Kermes-Tree
56. Silk-Worms
57. The Lady of the Castle of L'Éparvier
58. A Vision of Knights
59. The Prowess of Osbert Fitz Hugh
60. A Horn and a Woodland Cupbearer

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om. QI [m] *sic X*; Rodestim *QI* [n] in *om. Q* [o] nominatur *I* [p] De rupe . . . Illi] *X* (*add. in margin by late hand*); *om. Q; this and the following title misplaced after* xxxvii *in I* [q] De . . . fenestra] De fenestris in quibus apparent domine *I*

lxi. De neptunis siue portunis
lxii. De grant et incendiis
lxiii. De dalphyno, pisce marino
lxiv. De serenis bene cantantibus
lxv. De diuersis naturis[r] animalium
lxvi. De monte Catalonie
lxvii. De insula Lirinensi
lxviii. De astucia uulpis
lxix. De Lai ki brai
lxx. De cornu sancti Simeonis
lxxi. De silua fatata per horas[s]
lxxii. De onagris cornutis[t]
lxxiii. De equinocefalis
lxxiv. De bestiis Brisonis fluuii
lxxv. De hominibus natis sine capite
lxxvi. De mulieribus barbatis
lxxvii. De mulieribus habentibus dentes aprinos
lxxviii. De palacio solis et lune[u]
lxxix. De fenice
lxxx. De montibus flammantibus in ortu solis
lxxxi. De hominibus simiis, et gallinis que comestores urunt
lxxxii. De prato quod aquis superfertur et tremit, et[v] de montibus Galensibus
lxxxiii. De uirtute feniculi[w]
lxxxiv. De aucipite regis Scottorum
lxxxv. De lamiis, dracis, et fantasmatibus
lxxxvi. De fantasmatibus que strie[x] dicuntur
lxxxvii. De stagno piscoso cum omnibus patet[y]
lxxxviii. De mari Haueringo[z]
lxxxix. De fontis aspergine[a]
xc. De cimiterio Elisii Campi
xci. De nuce que habet decem nucleos in testa
xcii. De equo Girardi de Cabreria[b]
xciii. De uisionibus fantasticis, et orationibus[c]

61. Neptunes or Portunes
62. Grant and Fires
63. The Dolphin, a Fish of the Sea
64. The Beautiful Singing of Sirens
65. Various Animals' Natures
66. A Mountain in Catalonia
67. The Isle of Lérins
68. The Fox's Cunning
69. Laikibrais
70. The Horn of St Simeon
71. A Forest which is Haunted at Certain Hours
72. Horned Onagers
73. Equinocephali
74. The Beasts of the River Briso
75. People Born with No Head
76. Bearded Women
77. Women who have Boars' Teeth
78. The Palaces of the Sun and the Moon
79. The Phoenix
80. Mountains which Blaze at Sunrise
81. The Ape-people, and Hens which Burn Anyone who Eats Them
82. A Meadow which is Borne on Water and Quakes, and the Welsh Mountains
83. The Power of Fennel
84. The King of Scotland's Fowler
85. Lamias, Dracs, and Phantoms
86. Phantasms which are called *Stries*
87. A Lake which is Full of Fish when it is Open to All
88. Haveringemere
89. A Spring's Sprinkling
90. The Cemetery of Les Aliscamps
91. The Nut-tree which Produces Ten Kernels in a Shell
92. The Horse of Guiraut de Cabrera
93. On Supernatural Visions, and Prayers

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[r] diuersis naturis] sagacitate *I*
[s] De . . . horas] De feris silue Carleoli *I*
[t] et serpentibus *add. after* cornutis *I*
[u] De arboribus eorum et responsis earum et sacerdotibus earum *add. after* lune *β; this chapter is found only in I, where it constitutes item 8 of the addenda* (*see Appendix i. 8*)
[v] et *om. X*
[w] et uerbis fascinantium *add. after* feniculi *I*
[x] uel masce *add. after* strie *I*
[y] omnibus patet] nulli prohibetur *I*
[z] De . . . Haueringo] De alio stagno in Anglia *I*
[a] De . . . aspergine] De fonte qui pluere facit *I*
[b] Expliciunt capitula *after* Capreria (*sic*) *Q; remainder of titles omitted*
[c] De . . . orationibus] De fantasiis nocturnis opiniones *I*

xciv. De arbore que facit siliquas
xcv. De coruo et eius sagacitate[d]
xcvi. De iudicio cignorum
xcvii. De ouo coruino supposito ciconie
xcviii. De caseo putrefacto[e]
xcix. De ictu uiri mortui in uxorem[f]
c. De carnipriuio et equo militis[g]
ci. De potencia ueneni[h]
cii. De botris qui non fructificant[i]
ciii. De uisione mortui[j] et eius responsis[k]
civ. De pullo strutionis et ingenio Salomonis[l]
cv. De ligno paradisi et cruce Domini[m]
cvi. De concordia .lxx. interpretum[n]
cvii. De mirabilibus terre Pentapolis[o]
cviii. De coitu Loth[p]
cix. De arbore que dicitur Agnus castus[q]
cx. De contrarietate complexionis Egypti[r]
cxi. De Moyse et cyconiis[s]
cxii. De ossibus Ioseph et nomine Dei tetragrammaton[t]
cxiii. De duobus cherubim[u]
cxiv. De lapide rationalis et eius uirtute[v]
cxv. De facie Moysi[w]
cxvi. De serpentibus ignitis et situlis[x]
cxvii. De gleba effossa et renascente[y]
cxviii. De diuisione maris Pamfilici[z]
cxix. De tumulo Moysi[a]
cxx. De gerulfis et eorum lunationibus[b]
cxxi. De Chimera et decem Sibillis
cxxii. De ualle de Lentuscla[c]
cxxiii. De auibus que nascuntur[d] ex arboribus
cxxiv. De uinea Vcecie[e]

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[d] et . . . sagacitate] *om. I*
[e] De ouo . . . putrefacto] *om. X*
[f] De . . . uxorem] De mortuo qui occidit uxorem quondam suam *I*
[g] De . . . militis] De hospitalitate *I*
[h] De . . . ueneni] De baculo putrefacto *I*
[i] De . . . fructificant] De racemis de Rauchamaura *I*
[j] mortui *ed.;* mortuis *X*
[k] De . . . responsis] De mortuo apparente uirgini mira dicente et annuntiente *I*
[l] et . . . Salomonis] *om. I*
[m] De . . . Domini] De arbore ex qua lignum Domini *I*
[n] De . . . interpretum] Vrbanum principis responsum *I*
[o] terre Pentapolis] que sunt ubi quinque ciuitates sunt submerse *I*
[p] cum filiabus *add. after* Loth *I*
[q] que . . . castus] quem dicimus agnum castum *I*
[r] De . . . Egypti] De pascuis

94. A Tree which Produces Pods
95. A Raven and its Discernment
96. The Swans' Court of Justice
97. The Raven's Egg which was Put in a Stork's Nest
98. Rotten Cheese
99. The Blow a Dead Man Dealt his Wife
100. The Beginning of Lent and a Knight's Horse
101. The Power of Poison
102. Vines which Bear No Grapes
103. A Vision of a Dead Man, and his Replies
104. The Ostrich's Chick and Solomon's Genius
105. The Tree of Paradise and the Lord's Cross
106. The Agreement of the Seventy Translators
107. The Marvels of the Land of the Pentapolis
108. Lot's Intercourse
109. The Tree which is Called Agnus Castus
110. The Opposing Properties of the Soil of Egypt
111. Moses and the Storks
112. Joseph's Bones and the Tetragram of God's Name
113. The Two Cherubim
114. The Stone of the Breastplate and its Virtue
115. Moses' Face
116. The Burning Fiery Serpents
117. Soil which is Replenished when it is Dug Up
118. The Parting of the Sea of Pamphylia
119. The Tomb of Moses
120. Werewolves and their Lunar Cycles
121. The Chimera and the Ten Sibyls
122. The Valley of Lantosque
123. Birds which Grow out of Trees
124. The Vineyard of Uzès

Egipti *I*
[s] De . . . cyconiis] De pericia Moysi et sepultura *I*
[t] nomine . . . tetragrammaton] oue *I*
[u] De . . . cherubim] De cherubim et eius figura *I*
[v] De . . . uirtute] De lapidibus rationalis *I*
[w] Moysi] Moysie cornuta *I*
[x] situlis] urentibus *I*
[y] De . . . renascente] De agro Ebron et crucis parte *I*
[z] De . . . Pamfilici] De mari Panphilico *I*
[a] et beate Katherine *add. after* Moysi *I*
[b] De . . . lunationibus (*ed.;* lucrationibus *X*)] De hominibus qui fiunt lupi *I*
[c] De . . . Lentuscla (*ed.;* Letuscla *X*)] De niuibus obruentibus transseuntes *I*
[d] que nascuntur] nascentibus *I*
[e] De comite Sancti Egidii excommunicato *add. after* Uscessie (*sic*) *I*

cxxv. De fonte qui tempore metendorum pratorum scaturit
cxxvi. De fonte quo curantur gutturnosi
cxxvii. De fonte qui subito disparet
cxxviii. De fontibus Aluigani
cxxix. De fonte Cesareste
cxxx. De fonte qui omnes[f] sordes respuit[g]
[cxxxi. De calice aque et arundinibus
cxxxii. De ypotamis
cxxxiii. De scorpionibus et cancris et serpentibus et leonibus et apris et uespertilionibus Indie, et ydontotiranno[h] et muribus et nicticoracibus[i]
cxxxiv. De miranda belua maris Indici
cxxxv. De Iociophagis[j] et Cynophalis[k]
cxxxvi. De ualle Iordia et lapidibus eius
cxxxvii. De griffis et aliis bestiis
cxxxviii. De arundinibus et[l] spongiis et piscibus uariis Hodiue fluminis[m]
cxxxix. De signis in morte Alexandri[n]
cxl. De signis in morte Karoli[o]
cxli. De septem dormientibus in Germania[p]
cxlii. De Scriptobonis et umbra hominis[q]
cxliii. De Caribdi et uoragine maris Britannie[r]
cxliv. De statu Iudeorum[s] et balsamo
cxlv. De Parthis et eorum ortu et conuersatione[t]]
De exitu operis et est epistola.[u]

Incipit tercia decisio continens mirabilia uniuscuiusque prouincie, non omnia, sed ex omnibus aliqua.

Vt operi cepto debitam consummationis exibeamus perfectionem, consequens erit, postquam de creatione celi et terre et eorum dispositione ac ornatu primam decisionem ordinauimus, et in secunda decisione mundum in tres partes distinctum per singulas regiones ac prouincias diuisimus, cum succedentium regnorum per loca et tempora descriptione, illam nostri tractatus primordialem materiam

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[f] omnes *om. I* [g] *X and I continue with the titles of items 17–31 of the addenda (see Appendix i. 17–31), presenting them as additional chapters of Book III* [h] *sic X for* odontotyranno [i] et cancris . . . nicticoracibus] *om. I* [j] *sic I*, iacis ranis *X for* Ichthyophagis [k] *sic I*, cenofalis *X for* Cynocephalis [l] et *om. I* [m] uariis . . . fluminis] *om. I;* de Seribus et feris eorum *add. after* fluminis *X* [n] in . . .

125. A Spring which Bubbles Up at the Time for Hay-making
126. A Spring at which People who Suffer from Goitre are Cured
127. A Spring which Suddenly Disappears
128. The Springs of Le Vigan
129. The Spring of Ceyreste
130. A Spring which Shuns All Dirt
[131. The Cup of Water and the Reeds
132. The Hippopotami
133. The Scorpions, Crabs, Snakes, Lions, Boars, and Bats of India, and the Odontotyrannus, and Mice, and Nycticoraces
134. A Remarkable Beast which Inhabits the Indian Sea
135. Ichthyophagi and Cynocephali
136. The Jordia Valley and its Gemstones
137. Griffins and Other Creatures
138. The Reeds and Sponges, and the Various Fish, of the River Briso; the Chinese and their Animals
139. The Signs on the Death of Alexander
140. The Signs on the Death of Charlemagne
141. The Seven Sleepers in Germany
142. The Scriptoboni, and a Person's Shadow
143. Charybdis and the Whirlpool in the British Sea
144. The Jewish State, and Balsam
145. The Parthians, their Origin and Way of Life]
The End of the Work, and a Letter

Here begins the third book, containing marvels from every province, not all the marvels, but a selection from the total

We now mean to complete the work we have undertaken with its promised final part: we have set in order the first book on the creation of heaven and earth and their arrangement and adornment, and in the second book we have divided the world into three parts and specified all its different regions and provinces, providing a description of its successive kingdoms, and of where and when they held sway; it is now time to fulfil, as best we can, the original aim and intention of our

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Alexandri] que apparuerunt in morte Magni Alexandri *X* [o] De . . . Karoli] *I; add. in margin by late hand X* [p] in Germania] Germanie *X* [q] De . . . hominis] De diuersitate diei et noctis et umbre propter uarietatem climatis *I* [r] Britannie *om. X* [s] antiquo *add. after* Iudeorum *X* [t] eorum . . . conuersatione] ortu eorum *I* [u] De . . . epistola] *I; om. X* et causam ad aliquantam prout licuerit perfectionem ducere.[a] Vt enim ab exordio meminimus, propositi nostri principium est mirabilia singularium prouinciarum deliciosis auribus inferre, ut habeat imperialis celsitudo, cum dilucidum fuerit ei uacationis interuallum, quo suas recreet[b] meditationes, secundum illud:

Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis.[1]

Enimuero non ex loquaci ystrionum garrulitate ocium decet imperiale imbui, sed potius, abiectis importunis fabularum mendaciis, que uetustatis auctoritas comprobauit aut scripturarum firmauit auctoritas aut cotidiane conspectionis fides oculata testatur ad ocium sacri auditus sunt ducenda. Et quoniam humane mentis auiditas ad audiendas ac hauriendas nouitates semper accuitur, antiquissima commutari necesse erit in noua, naturalia in mirabilia, apud plerosque usitata in inaudita. Censemus enim noua quadruplici[c] ratione iudicari: aut creatione, aut euentu, aut raritate, aut inauditu. Que ergo noua creantur delectant ex nature motu. Que nuper eueniunt, si frequentia minus, si rara plus habent admirationis. Que inaudita percipiuntur amplectimur, tum ex mutatione cursus naturalis quam admiramur,[d] tum ex ignorancia cause cuius ratio nobis est imperscrutabilis, tum ex assuetudine[e] nostra quam in aliis uariari sine cognitione iudicii iusti cernimus. Ex hiis, duo proueniunt: miracula et mirabilia, cum[f] | f. 58^{v} utrorumque finis sit admiratio. Porro miracula dicimus usitatius que preter naturam diuine uirtuti ascribimus, ut cum uirgo parit, cum Lazarus resurgit, cum lapsa membra reintegrantur. Mirabilia uero dicimus que nostre cognicioni[g] non subiacent, etiam cum sunt naturalia; sed et mirabilia constituit ignorantia reddende rationis quare sic sit.[2]

Ecce enim uulgare notumque est salamandram[3] in igne uiuere, et cum ignis consumptiue[h] sit nature, hec igne nutritur, non consumitur. Vidi equidem, cum nuper Rome essem, allatam a cardinali

[a] ducere *supplied by author* *N* [b] recreet *supplied by author* *N*
[c] quadriplici *N* [d] admiramur *β*; admirantur *N* [e] assuetudine] affectudine *written by scribe, glossed by author* id est affectione *N* [f] cum [f. 58^{v}] cum *N*
[g] cognitionis *N* [h] confinitiue *N*

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[1] Cato, *Distichs*, iii. 6. 1.

[2] On this definition of a marvel, see above, pp. lvii–lviii, n. 193.

[3] Up until late antiquity the salamander was thought to extinguish fires, but not to live in them (e.g. Pliny, *Hist. nat.* x. 86. 188). Augustine is Gervase's source here, and for the other marvels in this preface (*Civ.* xxi. 4, *CSEL* xl (2). 517–21 = *PL* xli. 712–14). Isidore of Seville attempts to have it both ways, saying of the salamander: 'Vivit enim in mediis

treatise. For, as we recall from the preface, our primary purpose is to present the marvels of every province to our discerning listener, in order that His Imperial Highness may have a source of refreshment for his thoughts when a clear interval of leisure is his, according to the dictum:

Interrupt your cares with gladness now and then.[1]

To be sure, it is not proper that an emperor's leisure should be contaminated with the prating babbling of players; on the contrary, the crude falsehoods of idle tales should be spurned, and only those things which are sanctioned by the authority of age, or confirmed by the authority of scripture, or attested by daily eye-witness accounts, should be brought to his venerable hearing in his leisure hours. And since the appetite of the human mind is always keen to hear and lap up novelties, the oldest things will have to be presented as new, natural things as miraculous, and things familiar to us all, as strange. For we reckon that things are adjudged novelties on four criteria: for their originality, or their recentness, or their rarity, or their strangeness. So, anything that is newly created gives pleasure by reason of the working of nature. Anything that has only just happened causes excitement, less if it happens often, more if it is rare. When anything strange is observed we seize on it, partly because of the inversion of the natural order which surprises us, partly because of our ignorance of the cause, whose working is a mystery to us, and partly because of seeing our expectation cheated in unfamiliar circumstances of which we lack a proper understanding. From these causes arise two things, miracles and marvels, though they both result in wonderment. Now we generally call those things miracles which, being preternatural, we ascribe to divine power, as when a virgin gives birth, when Lazarus is raised from the dead, or when diseased limbs are made whole again; while we call those things marvels which are beyond our comprehension, even though they are natural: in fact the inability to explain why a thing is so constitutes a marvel.[2]

For instance, it is a matter of common knowledge that the salamander[3] lives in fire, and although fire is of a destructive nature, this creature is nourished by it, not destroyed. I myself saw, when I was lately in Rome, a strap of salamander skin about the size of a belt which had been brought there by the cardinal Master

flammis sine dolore et consummatione, et non solum quia non uritur, sed extinguit incendium' (*Etym.* xii. 4. 36).

magistro Petro Capuano[4] corrigiam de corio salamandre amplam uelut cincorium renum, et cum ex contrectatione aliquas sordes contraxisset, in ignem[i][5] ipsam uidimus ab omni inquinamento purgatam et in nullo consumptam.[6] Sed [7]et dampnatissimi[j][8] Sicilie montes, qui tanta temporis diuturnitate ac uetustate nunc ac deinceps flammis estuant et integri perseuerant, satis idonei testes sunt non omne quod ardet absumi, sicut indicant anime non omne quod dolere potest posse et[k] mori.[7]

Carnem quoque pauonis nulla temporis uetustate corrumpi testatur Augustinus in libro *De ciuitate Dei*,[9] asserens se id ita probasse: cum enim ex auditis faceret periculum, frustrum[l][10] ad octo dies coctum iussit conseruari intactum, quod cum exacto tempore incorruptum etiam per triginta dies seruasset integrum, etiam post annum nihil os eius offendit olfatu, nisi quod aliquantulum corpulentie siccioris fuit et contractioris.

[11]Vnde hec rebus insita condicio prodierit quis indicare[m] queat, cum et ignis admiranda sit permutatio qui, cum natura sit lucidus, ipse in sui colore pulcherimus omnia que lambit decolorat, dum ex ardente fulgenteque[n] pruna carbonem reddit teterrimum, et e contra lapides igne cocti candidi fiunt. Porro carbones ictu leuissimo franguntur pressuque facillimo conteruntur, et in eis tanta est firmitas quod nullo humore corrumpuntur, nulla etate uincuntur. Cumque carbonum materia, lignum, sub aqua aut terra putrescat, ad carbonum perpetuitatis indicium sub terminis agrariis carbones ponuntur, ut terminis cuiusuis malicia motis, uerior rei dubie firmitas probetur, dum carbones incorrupti sub stipite uel memoriali lapide reperiuntur.[11]

Accedit ad consimilem admirationem quod de calce cotidiana

[i] igne *X* [j] dampnatissimi *MSS;* quidam notissimi *Augustine* [k] et *om.* *XQ;* etiam *Augustine* [l] frustum *X* [m] iudicare *β* [n] fulgente quod *N*

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[4] Peter of Capua was cardinal deacon of Santa Maria in Via Lata from 1193, and cardinal priest of San Marcello from 1201 until his death in 1214; see W. Maleczek, *Petrus Capuanus: Kardinal, Legat am vierten Kreuzzug, Theologe* (Vienna, 1988). This episode may have taken place at the time of Otto's coronation in 1209.

[5] The accusative *ignem* may have been intended to convey elliptically the insertion of the skin into the fire before the occurrence of the marvel, or may simply have been a mistake for the ablative, as the scribe of *X* thought.

[6] The belief that the salamander skin was cleansed by fire was widespread in the Middle Ages (see Liebrecht, p. 97). What Gervase saw must have been asbestos, which was thought to be made from the animal's skin.

[7–7] et dampnatissimi . . . posse et mori] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* xxi. 4 (*CSEL* xl (2). 517 = *PL* xli. 712).

Peter of Capua.[4] When it had picked up some dirt from being handled, it was put into a fire,[5] and before our eyes the fire cleansed it of every stain, but did not burn it at all.[6] [7]The infernal[8] mountains of Sicily also offer quite sufficient proof that not all that burns is destroyed: throughout the ages, from time immemorial up to the present, they have been seething with flames, and seem likely to continue; and yet they remain undamaged. Likewise souls show that not everything that can suffer can also die.[7]

Augustine attests also, in his book *City of God*,[9] that a peacock's flesh does not decay no matter how old it is. He says that he proved it like this: conducting an experiment on the basis of what he had heard, he ordered a cooked piece[10] of meat to be preserved untouched for eight days, and since when the time had passed it was unspoilt, he preserved it for another thirty days, and it was still fresh; even after a year it did not offend his nostrils at all by its smell: the only change was that the flesh had become a little dry and shrunken.

[11]Who can tell the origin of these innate properties in things? The transformation produced by fire is also remarkable: although it is itself bright by nature and very beautiful in its own colour, it discolours everything on which it plays. It produces the blackest charcoal from a hot glowing coal, but on the other hand stones that are baked in fire turn white. Charcoal, moreover, can be broken by the lightest blow and crumbled by the gentlest pressure, and yet there is such great durability in it that no damp erodes it and no age destroys it. And although wood, the raw material of charcoal, rots in water or earth, the durability of charcoal is shown by the fact that it is laid beneath land-boundaries in order that, if someone moves the boundary-markers out of ill-will, a perfectly reliable settlement of the dispute may be reached, in that the charcoal is found undecayed beneath the right position of the post or marking-stone.[11]

We should be similarly impressed by what we see daily displayed to conspectione uidemus, que [12]si aqua frigida conspersa fuerit ignescit, cum omnia frigiditate aque tacta frigescant; olei uero perfusione non calet, cum oleum sit ignis incitamentum. Hec omnia si de aliquo Indico lapide narrentur, cuius experimentum ad nos peruenire non posset, profecto mendacium iudicaremus, aut certe admirationis stupore teneremur. Quia uero ante oculos nostros cotidiana de hiis documenta uersantur, non genere minus mirabili, sed ipsa uisus assiduitate uilescunt; ita ut ex ipsa India, quia[a] remota pars orbis est, desideremus[p] nonnulla mirari, que ad nos poterant[q] minus[r] miranda perduci.[12] Nullus ergo fabulosa iudicet que scribimus: non enim ut inanibus uerbis aures sacras detineamus hec compegimus, sed ut, omissis mimorum mendaciis que paucitati ueritatis immiscent, miranda que non nouerunt fallaces sub ueridica terrarum et auctorum[s] testificatione sumatis.

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[8] This alteration to the text of Augustine (see apparatus) reflects the belief that Mt Etna was an entrance to the other world; see *Otia*, ii. 12, n. 41, and iii. 17, n. 3.

[9] Augustine, loc. cit.; cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xii. 7. 48.

[10] The form *frustum* appears only in *X*, where it is presumably a scribal correction; see *Otia*, ii. 21, n. 30.

[11–11] Vnde . . . memoriali lapide reperiuntur] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* xxi. 4 (*CSEL* xl (2). 518 = *PL* xli. 712–13). Augustine's description of the practice of burying charcoal beneath boundaries is also echoed by Isidore (*Etym.* xix. 6. 7) and Alexander Neckam (*De naturis rerum*, ii. 50); but there is no evidence that it was widely employed.

i. *De magnete lapide*[a]

In India magnes lapis gignitur, qui ferrum rapit tanta uiolencia quod legimus in libro *De ciuitate Dei* Augustinum [1]anulum ferreum magneti iunxisse, cumque raptum ad se traxisset, iunctus est anulus anulo, sicque medianti anulo secundus iungitur; additur tercius et ille rapitur; additur quartus nec minore uirtutis extensione rapitur: iamque sibi per mutua circulorum reciacula non implicatorum intrinsecus sed extrinsecus adherentium quasi cathena[b] pependit anulorum. Probationi iungitur probatio si ferrum cifo superferas argenteo et magnetem subponas. Sicut enim inferius mouebitur magnes, ita ferrum mutabitur, cifo medio semper inmutato. Si uero

[a] quia *Cβ;* et *N;* quae *Augustine* [p] desideremus *MSS;* desierimus *Augustine* [q] poterant *MSS;* potuerunt *Augustine* [r] minus *om. Augustine* [s] actorum *N*

[a] *The scribe of N mistakenly made* quod (*end of line 1*) *the first word of this chapter. The author wrote* capitulum *in the margin to indicate where it actually begins, and the title is keyed to the right place* [b] cautena *N*

[12–12] si aqua . . . minus miranda perduci] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* xxi. 4 (*CSEL* xl (2). 519 = *PL* xli. 713); Pliny, *Hist. nat.* xxxvi. 53. 174, xxxiii. 30. 94, xxiv. 1. 3; Isidore, *Etym.* xvi. 3. 10, xix. 10. 19; Neckam, *De naturis rerum*, ii. 51. Gervase has changed the text of the last sentence (see apparatus); Augustine says: 'we have ceased to marvel at many of the marvels of India itself (a part of the world so remote from us) which it has proved possible to bring into our experience' (transl. H. Bettenson).

[1–1] anulum . . . et raptum remittit (p. 564)] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* xxi. 4 (*CSEL* xl

view in the case of lime, which [12]catches fire if it is sprinkled with cold water, though all other things are cooled by contact with cold water; while it is not warmed if oil is poured on, though oil fosters fire. If all these things were told of some Indian stone of which we could have no first-hand knowledge, we should surely judge them to be false, or at least we should be overcome with awed amazement. But because the evidence for these things is set before our eyes every day, they are held of no account, not because they are of a less marvellous character, but simply because we see them so often. And so it happens that we are quick to marvel at many things from India, just because it is a distant part of the world, but when it has been possible for these things to be brought over to us, they have appeared less wonderful.[12] Therefore no one should take the things we write to be idle tales, for our purpose in assembling them has not been to weary your venerable hearing with empty words, but the wish that, laying aside the lying fictions of players which are mingled with a small amount of truth, you may learn of marvels of which mere story-tellers have no knowledge, on reliable testimony deriving from the lands where they occur or from writers who vouch for them.

1. *The Loadstone*

The loadstone is found in India. It attracts iron with very great force, as we read in Augustine's book *City of God*: he describes how [1]he brought an iron ring into contact with a loadstone, and when it had taken hold of it and attached it to itself, another ring was added to the first: the second one adhered to the ring between it and the loadstone; a third was added, and that too was attracted; a fourth was added, and was attracted just as powerfully. And now a sort of chain of rings dangled down by the borrowed magnetism of the circles, which were not interlinked but merely clung together on the outside. Proof is added to proof if you put some iron in a silver bowl and apply a magnet underneath, for as the magnet moves underneath, the iron will move with it, while the bowl in between stays still. But if you

(2). 520 = *PL* xli. 714); Pliny, *Hist. nat.* xx. 1. 2, xxxvii. 15. 61; Solinus, *Collect.* lii. 57; Isid. *Etym.* xvi. 4. 1, 2; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 12 (13) (ed. Flint p. 55 = *PL* clxxii. 125); Neckam, *De naturis rerum*, ii. 94.

f. 59r magneti iunxeris adamantem, non solum | magnes ferrum non rapit, sed et raptum remittit.[1]

Hec circa naturas lapidum memorauimus ut miretur imperfectio nostra quod propter ignorantiam infirmitatis nostre exsoluere non sufficimus.[2]Infideles enim homines, cum[c] diuina, ut ait Augustinus, uel preterita uel futura miracula predicamus, que illis experienda non ualemus ostendere, rationem a nobis flagitant quam reddere non sufficimus. Excedunt quippe uires mentis humane; ideoque existimant falsa plerumque esse que dicimus, cum de hiis etiam que cotidiana uidemus ipsi reddere rationem non possint.[d][2]

ii. *De sale Agrigentino*

Agrigentinum Sicilie salem admiranda nouimus contrarietate dissolui, et in ipsa naturali dissolutione consistere: cum igni fuerit admotus, uelut in aqua fluescit; si uero iungatur aque, uelut in igne[a] crepitat.[1]

Sed et in Catalania, que prouincie subiacet Terraconensi,[b] castrum est Cardona, in cuius monte sal saxeam trahit duriciem, et cum in montis concauo sustullitur, superueniente pluuia, mons in eadem salis quantitate atque salsugine crescit et reintegratur.[2] Huius autem salis tanta firmitas est quod in modum lapidis effertur, cutellisque admodum acutis uix radi potest aut euelli.

Istud quoque in imperio tuo, uenerande princeps, admirandum censeo, quod apud Arelatem urbem, regni Arelatensis capud, insula est undique Rodano marique Mediterraneo clausa, quam 'Sticados[c] arua' Lucanus nominat.[3] In hac stagna sunt maritima que terre contiguitate modica aqua distenduntur. Sicut ergo frigida aqua in[d] hyemis asperitate congelatur ex constrictione frigiditatis,[e] sic aqua salsa, que calida est et sicca, ex constrictione caliditatis coagulatur sub

[c] cum] circa *NC*   [d] possunt *XQ*

[a] igne] aqua *NX*   [b] Terranconensi *N*   [c] Stoechados *Lucan*   [d] in *om. XQ*   [e] ex . . . frigiditatis] *om. XQ*

[2–2] Infideles . . . rationem non possint] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* xxi. 5 (*CSEL* xl (2). 521 = *PL* xli. 714).

[1] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* xxi. 5 (*CSEL* xl (2). 521 = *PL* xli. 715); Pliny, *Hist. nat.* xxxi. 41. 86; Solinus, *Collect.* v. 18; Isidore, *Etym.* xvi. 2. 4, xiv. 6. 34.

[2] Cf. *Otia*, iii. 117.

bring a diamond into contact with a magnet, the magnet not only does not attract iron, but releases any that it had attracted.[1]

We have recorded these things concerning the properties of stones in order that our limited understanding may marvel at what we are unable to explain, due to the ignorance of our weak nature. For, as Augustine says, [2]when we talk about divine miracles, past or future, which we do not have the power to demonstrate to them in practice, unbelievers demand an explanation from us which we are not able to give. Miracles, indeed, are beyond the capacity of the human intellect. But then they reckon that much of what we say is untrue, although they are themselves unable to give an explanation even of things which we see every day.[2]

2. *The Salt of Agrigento*

We know that the salt of Agrigento in Sicily has the remarkable property of dissolving when salt normally solidifies, while it solidifies when it is natural for salt to dissolve: when it is thrown on a fire it dissolves as if it were in water, but if it comes into contact with water it crackles as if it were in a fire.[1]

In Catalonia, which adjoins the province of Tarragona, is the castle of Cardona. This castle is built on a mountain containing salt which takes on the hardness of rock. When the salt is quarried, leaving a hollow in the mountain, the mountain grows with the next rainfall to produce the same amount and quality of salt, and is made whole again.[2] The hardness of this salt is such that it has to be extracted like stone, and can hardly be scratched or cut by even the sharpest knives.

There is something in your empire too, venerable Prince, which I consider remarkable. Near the city of Arles, capital of the kingdom of Arles, there is an island completely surrounded by the Rhône and the Mediterranean Sea; Lucan calls it 'the Fields of Lavender'.[3] On this island there are salt lakes which are divided up by strips of land, and hold only a little water. Now just as cold water turns to ice as a result of the binding action of the cold in the harshness of winter, so salt water, which is warm and dry, solidifies into salt as a result of the binding action of the heat in the high temperatures of August.

[3] Lucan, *Pharsalia*, iii. 516; cf. Pliny iii. 5. 79. Gervase is referring to the Camargue; see *Otia*, ii. 10, n. 27.

Augusti feruore[f] in salem. Quod igitur illic facit frigiditas constringens, in sale operatur caliditas siccitatem coagulans.[4]

Accedit ad hec in sale mirabile. Est enim in maiore Britannia, quam Angliam dicimus, aui tui regnum, in episcopatu Wigorniensi, uilla suburbana Wichium[g] nomine, in qua sub monticuli cuiusdam radice aqua profluit, haut grandis, dulcissima. In huius ripa putei numero pauci distenduntur, quorum profunditas modica et aqua salsissima: cum in cacabis aqua bullitur, denscescit in salem albissimum. Ferturque[h] ab uniuersa prouincia quod a natiuitate Domini usque ad natiuitatem sancti Iohannis Baptiste[5] salsissima scaturit aqua, per alteram anni partem subdulcis prorumpit et ad salem inutilis;[i] et, quod mirabilius arbitror, cum ad usum salis aqua prorumpit oportuna, si non hauritur supereffluit, cum dulcessit ad alteram anni partem, uix superexcrescit. Et cum tempus aduenit salsuginis nulla uicinitate frangitur aque fluuialis, nec in aliqua propinquitate maris inuenitur aut cuiusuis salsitatis contagium,[6] cum sit illa prouincia fluuiis[j] fontibusque irriguis[k] spatiosa.[7]

iii. *De lapide abeston*

Est in Arcadia abeston lapis qui semel accenssus extingui non potest.[1] Est et in Aquensi prouincia, castro Baldimento,[2] rupes rubea ad instar coralli rubei, cuius fragmenta, si fuerint accensa, ad instar candele lumen faciunt, et diutinam lucernam faciunt[a] ante materie consumptionem. Porro Augustinus in .xxi. libro *De ciuitate Dei*[3] narrat esse in

[f] feruore *supplied by author N* [g] Wichium *supplied by author N* [h] fertur quod *N* [i] inutilis *supplied by author in space left by scribe N* [j] fliuiis *N* [k] fontibusque irriguis *β;* fontibus irriguisque *NAC*

[a] facit *N*

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[4] Cf. *Otia*, iii. 40, n. 2.

[5] i.e. from 25 December to 24 June. The feast of St John the Baptist, being Midsummers Day, was surrounded with a host of superstitions: cf. *Otia*, iii. 11, 21, and 102. On the Droitwich salt industry, see D. Hooke, 'The Droitwich salt industry: an examination of the West Midlands charter evidence', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, ii (1981), 123–69.

[6] One would expect *contagio*, to balance *propinquitate;* instead *contagium* appears to have replaced the spring as the subject of *inuenitur*.

[7] Ralph de Diceto also describes this stream (*Abb. chron.* p. 13); in his account, however, it is useless for making salt from three o'clock on Saturday afternoon until Monday morning, and also on apostles' feast days, holidays called by the local priest, and vigils.

[1] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* xxi. 5 (*CSEL* xl (2). 521 = *PL* xli. 715); Pliny, *Hist. nat.* xxxvii.

Therefore what the stiffening force of cold does in other circumstances, heat achieves in the case of salt by turning it into a dry solid.[4]

There is another marvel to do with salt. It occurs in Great Britain, which we call England: your grandfather's kingdom. In the diocese of Worcester there is a country town called Droitwich, in which, at the bottom of a little hill, some water trickles forth; it is not abundant, but it is very sweet. On the bank of this stream a small number of wells have been dug; they are not very deep, but their water is extremely salty: when the water is boiled in pots, it is reduced to pure white salt. It is actually maintained by all the people of the province that from the Nativity of the Lord until the Nativity of St John the Baptist[5] the water of the spring is very salty, but for the rest of the year it flows quite sweet and is of no use for making salt; and, a thing that seems to me even more remarkable, when the water flows that is suitable to be used for salt, it overflows unless it is drawn, but for the rest of the year while it is sweet, the level barely rises. And when the season of its saltiness arrives it is not engulfed by the water of a nearby river, nor is it situated close to the sea, or in contact[6] with any salt water, although that province is amply irrigated by rivers and springs.[7]

3. *The Asbestos Stone*

In Arcadia the asbestos stone is found, which, once set on fire, cannot be extinguished.[1] Also, in the province of Aix, in the village of Beaudiment,[2] there is a red stone like red coral; if chips of it are set on fire, they provide light like a candle, and serve as a lamp for a long time before their substance is consumed. Further, in the twenty-first book of his work *City of God*,[3] Augustine tells how, in a certain shrine

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54. 146; Solinus, *Collect.* vii. 13; Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 15, xvi. 4. 4; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 25 (27) (ed. Flint p. 61 = *PL* clxxii. 129); *Otia*, ii. 7, at n. 74. The Greek word ἄσβεστος meant 'unquenchable', but by a shift of meaning came to signify 'incombustible', and hence was applied to fire-proof materials like our asbestos. Pliny simply describes the Arcadian asbestos as 'coloris ferrei', but Solinus, doubtless thinking of the first meaning, adds: 'accensus semel, exstingui nequitur.' Augustine derives most of the chapter from which Gervase takes this sentence from Solinus, who often 'improves' on Pliny.

[2] A small village near Sisteron in Provence.

[3] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* xxi. 6 (*CSEL* xl. (2). 524 = *PL* xli. 716); Isidore, *Etym.* xvi. 4. 4. Pliny mentions a shrine of Venus at Paphos on whose altar rain never fell (*Hist. nat.* ii. 97. 210). Athena had a lamp at Athens which when filled with oil burned day and night for a year without refilling or relighting (Pausanias, i. 26. 7). An inextinguishable lamp made of asbestos is said to have stood in the *Mutatorium Caesaris*, on the site of which the church of Santa Balbina was built (*Graphia aureae urbis Romae*, c. 33, ed. Valentini and Zucchetti,

quodam Veneris fano camdelabrum quod lucernam habet ardentem sub diuo, nullaque tempestate uel imbre potest extingui.

Sed et a multis habemus compertum quod[b] sunt cerei quos refert antiquitas cum Christo a Beata Virgine presentatos in templum, qui sine consumpcione lucendique intermissione perpetuo lucent. Verum istud miraculis diuine uirtutis attribuitur, sicut et illud de uirgula fumi. Habet enim uetus Ebrehorum traditio quod quedam Iudeorum progenies in templo curam habebat incensi, qui tanta ministerii singularitate pollebant quod ex aromatibus faciebant incensum
f. 59^{v} quod, primis in turibulis legalibus impositum,[c] | uirgulam faciebat fumi aromatici tam constante direcione celos penetrantem quod nulla ui uentorum declinabat ad aliam partem preterquam ad fastigium celi et templi.[4] De quo Salomon in canticis sponse: 'Que est ista que ascendit per desertum sicut uirgula fumi ex aromatibus mirre, et thuris, et uniuersi pulueris[d] pigmentarii?'[5]

iv. *De ficu Egipti*

Est in Egypto ficus cuius[a] lignum in aquam proiectum non supernatat, ut communis lignorum natura est aquis supernatare,[b] sed cum diu inmersum fuerit illius ficus lignum rursus[c] ad aque superficiem emergit.[1]

Scio in Anglia, episcopatu Lincolniensi, inter Londonias et Norhamtonam, uico quem Aspele[2] uulgus nominat, siluam esse cuius ligna, si secta fuerint et in aquam riui interfluentis proiecta uel in terra arida iuxta ripam aque sepulta, atque uel in aqua uel in arida per anni[d] spatium confossa dimittantur, redeunte anni circulo

[b] *After* quod *space left for several words in N* [c] *After* impositum *the scribe of N wrote, correctly,* uirgulam faciebat, *then repeated* incensum quod primis in turribulis legalibus [f. 59^{v}] impositum, *before continuing* uirgulam facebat (*sic*) fumi *etc. The author inserted* fumi *after* faciebat *before noticing the duplication; the words* uirgulam . . . impositum *are expunged* [d] pulueris *supplied by author N*

[a] cuius *omitted, restored by scribe in margin and keyed in, but after* lignum *N* [b] supernature *N* [c] rusus *N* [d] anni *corrected by author from* annum *N;* annum *AI;* annuum *CXQ*

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p. 91); the same legend, but involving two tapers and a torch, is connected with Virgil in the *Image du Monde* (see Comparetti, *Vergil*, p. 306).

[4] In the last age of the temple the family of Abtinos, or Avtinas, held the privilege of compounding the sacred incense, which was burned every morning and evening (Exod. 30: 7, 8). The proper fabrication of the incense, compounded from thirteen constituents (Josephus, *Bell.* v. 218), was a secret art: this family alone knew how to add the ingredient

of Venus, there is a lampstand holding a lamp which burns under the open sky, and no wind or rain can put it out.

We have established from many sources that there are some waxlights which, according to an ancient tradition, were presented with Christ in the temple by the Blessed Virgin, and they stay alight all the time without ever burning away or going out. But that is attributed to the miraculous working of divine power, as is too the phenomenon of the pillar of smoke. For an old Hebrew tradition has it that a particular family of the Jews was responsible for the incense in the temple. This family discharged their duties with such singular devotion that the incense they made from spices, when it was put in the principal censers according to the Law, produced a wand of aromatic smoke, going up to heaven with such an unswerving course that no gust of wind could divert it into any other path than that which led straight to the summit of heaven and of the temple.[4] Solomon refers to this in his song to his spouse: 'Who is she that goes up by the desert, as a pillar of smoke of aromatical spices, of myrrh and frankincense, and of all the powders of the perfumer?'[5]

4. *The Fig-Tree of Egypt*

There is a fig-tree in Egypt, the wood of which does not float when it is thrown into water, though it is a normal property of wood to float on water; but after it has remained submerged for a long time, the wood of that fig-tree bobs up again to the water's surface.[1]

I know of a wood in England, in the diocese of Lincoln, between London and Northampton, at a hamlet which the people call Aspley;[2] if any trees of this wood are felled and thrown into the water of a brook which flows through it, or buried in the dry ground by the water's edge, and are then left for the space of a year lodged either in the water or in the earth, when the year has turned full circle the

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m'aleh ashan ('that which makes the smoke ascend'), a herb, probably leptadenia pyrotechnica, which made the smoke rise in a straight line to the roof (*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1971–2), s.vv. *Incense* and *Avtinas*).

The odd phrase 'ad fastigium celi et templi' may reflect uncertainty as to whether the smoke maintained its straight course just as far as the roof (as was in fact the case), or all the way to the summit of heaven (as is suggested by 'celos penetrantem').

[5] S. of S. 3: 6.

[1] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* xxi. 5 (*CSEL* xl (2). 521–2 = *PL* xli. 715); Pliny, *Hist. nat.* xiii. 14. 56; Solinus, *Collect.* xxxii. 34; Neckam, *De naturis rerum*, ii. 80.

[2] i.e. Aspley Guise, in Bedfordshire: an example of Gervase's local knowledge of England.

ligna saxeam duritiem contrahunt; et in quamcumque effigiem per quamuis dolaturam uel celaturam fuerint transformata, lapidis grauitatem soliditatemque pretendunt. Si uero non secantur sed plantantur, ut in alio solo coalescunt. Cui simile asserunt euenire in regno uestro Arelantensi.

v. *De pomis Pentapolis*[1] *que crescunt et fauillantur*

In terra Sodomorum poma nascuntur aspectu pulcherima. Pro tempore crescunt, et cum ad debitam ex tempore maturitatem peruenerint, confracta fumum faciunt ac fauillam.[2]

vi. *De lapide qui cum luna crescit*[a]

In Perside lapis est selentis,[b] cuius candor cum luna crescit ac decrescit.[1]

vii. *De tribus donis Terdone*

In Ytalia ciuitas est Terdona, sic dicta a tribus donis quibus ab indigenis predita narratur. In uigilia Pasce, cum iam hora baptismi uenerit, ⟨in⟩[a] fonte[b] baptisterii ebullit[c] aqua perlucida ad baptismum scaturiens et limpidissima. Est et in urbe eadem ecclesia sancti Quintii, in qua[d] quisquis baptizatus fuerit, uita eius protenditur usque ad quadraginta annorum spatium. Accedit in eiusdem ciuitatis territorio mirabilius signum. Quociens enim quiuis loci illius paterfamilias infra annum terminum mortis habet, sulcus terre illius, cum aratro terra scinditur, sanguine sub cultro manat. Vnde ex antiquissima consuetudine dicunt institutum quod, quociens incole

[a] et decrescit *add. after* crescit *CXQ* [b] *sic NAXQ for* selenitis

[a] in *ed.; om. MSS* [b] fonte *C;* fontes *NAXQ;* fontis *I* [c] ebullt *N*
[d] qua] aqua *N*

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[1] On the Pentapolis, see *Otia*, i. 12, n. 10.

[2] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* xxi. 5 (*CSEL* xl (2). 522 = *PL* xli. 715); Josephus, *Bell.* iv. 484; Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 7; Solinus, *Collect.* xxxv. 8; Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 53 (*PL* cxcviii. 1101). These apples were thought to reproduce the ashes from the destruction of the land of Sodom by fire (Gen. 19: 24). For other disappointing fruits, see *Otia*, iii. 94 and 102.

timber proves to have taken on the hardness of rock; and into whatever shape it is transformed by any manner of hewing or carving, it appears as heavy and solid as stone. If, however, the timber is not hewn, but is planted, it takes root, as happens in other soil. They say that something like this occurs in your kingdom of Arles.

5. *The Apples of the Pentapolis*[1] *which Grow and then Turn to Ashes*

In the land of Sodom apples grow which are very beautiful to look at. They grow in the usual season, and come to full ripeness in due time; but then if they are broken open, they yield only smoke and ashes.[2]

6. *The Stone which Waxes with the Moon*

In Persia there is a stone, selenite, whose lustre waxes and wanes with the moon.[1]

7. *The Three Gifts of Tortona*

In Italy is the city of Tortona (*Terdona*), so called because of the three gifts (*dona*) with which it is said by the inhabitants to be endowed. During the Easter Vigil, as soon as the time has arrived for the baptismal ceremony, a sparkling stream of pure water gushes up for the purpose in the font of the baptistery. In the same city is a church of St Quentin; anyone who is baptized in this church will go on living for forty years. An even more remarkable sign also occurs in the territory of the same city. Whenever any head of a household from that place is destined to die within a year, the furrow made in his land when the earth is cloven by the plough trickles with blood beneath the ploughshare. Consequently it is prescribed, they say, by an ancient custom that, every time the inhabitants hire their ploughmen for the bubulcos sub mercede annua conducunt, ipsos tactis sacrosanctis euangeliis iurare faciunt tale indicium mortis patrifamilias indicatum iri.[1]

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[1] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* xxi. 5 (*CSEL* xl (2). 522 = *PL* xli. 715); Pliny, *Hist. nat.* xxxvii. 67. 181; Solinus, *Collect.* xxxvii. 21; Isidore, *Etym.* xvi. 4. 6, xvi. 10. 7; Honorius, *De imagine mundi*, i. 13 (14) (ed. Flint p. 55 = *PL* clxxii. 125). Selenite, or moonstone, derived its name from the suggestion of moonlight in the gem's lustre; hence the notion that it waxes and wanes with the moon.

viii. *De cimiterio Fructuariensi*[1]

In episcopatu Taurinensi Italie est monasterium Fructuariense, antiqua religione celebre, in quo, iuxta ecclesiam sanctorum Benigni ac Tiburcii,[a] est cimiterium in quo singulariter monachi sepeliuntur. Verum si post triduum aperta fuerit sepultura, in ea nec ossa nec cinis mortui comparebunt:[b] quod multociens[c] probatum ac compertum a monacho cumfine, uiro religioso ac litterato, accepi sub fide uerbi testificatum.

ix. *De fenestra Camisse*

Accedit ad argumentum lucerne inextinguibilis quam in fano Veneris extitisse dicit Augustinus[1] inaudita et miranda rei nouitas, que non audita nouitas est, et ab antiquo cotidiana conspectione probantibus antiquitas est. In prouincia Viennensi[a] regni Arelatensis, ad confinium ciuitatis Gracionopolis, est prioratus sancti Micahelis de Camissa,[2] monasterio sancti Theofredi suppositus. Locus hic ab antiquo ueneranda religione pollet, situ amenus, in montis pendulo arduus, uentis[b] expositus, ab omni hominum strepitu semotus, et ex qualitate positionis religioni debitus. Inter ceteras religioni solitas officinas eminet refectorium, late spatiosum et omni procelle uentorum obiectum. In huius propatulo fenestra patet grandis, ad quantitatem ianue, uniuersam domum illuminans. Cum ergo irrumpentibus spiritibus procellarum domus in tanta montis ardui summitate constituta | tota fere concutitur, queuis[c] lucerna et ex quauis f. 60^{r}

[a] Tribucii *N* [b] compararebunt *N* [c] nultociens *N*

[a] *sic QI;* Viennesi *supplied by author N* [b] uentis *supplied by author N* [c] queuis *supplied by author N*

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[1] This superstition is connected, as Liebrecht notes (p. 98), with the frequent medieval representation of death as a ploughman who ploughs a bloody furrow.

[1] A Benedictine abbey near Volpiano, founded in 1003/1015 by William, abbot of Saint-Bénigne in Dijon (see M-A. dell'Omo in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, iv. 1003–5).

year, they make them swear, with a hand on the holy gospels, that any such warning of death will be made known to the head of the household.[1]

8. *The Cemetery of Fruttuaria*[1]

The monastery of Fruttuaria is in the diocese of Turin in Italy. It is renowned for its venerable religious tradition. It contains, next to its church of Sts Benignus and Tiburtius, a cemetery in which the monks are buried in individual graves. But if a grave is opened after a space of three days, neither the bones nor the ashes of the dead will be found in it. This has been put to the test and confirmed many times; I learnt it on the reliable testimony of a monk from that region, who is a devout and educated man.

9. *The Window of Connexe*

A strange and remarkable phenomenon lends credence to the inextinguishable lamp which, according to Augustine, stood in the shrine of Venus.[1] It is a novelty in so far as it has not been heard of, but it is also an antiquity for those who for many years have had the proof of it daily before their eyes. In the province of Vienne in the kingdom of Arles, in the vicinity of the city of Grenoble, is the priory of Saint-Michel-de-Connexe,[2] under the jurisdiction of the monastery of Saint-Chaffre. This place has long flourished with a respected religious community. It is pleasantly situated high up on a mountainside, exposed to the winds, but secluded from all the tumult of humanity: it is ideally suited to the religious life by the nature of its location. Among the other buildings normally pertaining to a monastic community, the refectory stands out: of spacious dimensions, it is exposed to every gust of wind. A large window the size of a door forms an opening in the wall of this building, admitting light to the whole interior. When storm-blasts buffet it, situated as it is on such a high peak of a steep mountain, the whole building shakes quite

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[1] Augustine, *Civ.* xxi. 6 (*CSEL* xl (2). 524 = *PL* xli. 716); cf. *Otia*, iii. 3, n. 3.

[2] A Benedictine priory near Champ, founded at the end of the eleventh century under the auspices of the great abbey of Saint-Chaffre-du-Monastier (see Beaunier–Besse, *Abbayes et prieurés*, xxxvi. 99–100; Cottineau, *Répertoire*, ii. 2814).

materia, si in medio patentis illius ostii ponatur, nullo flatu concucietur: quin immo perseuerans immobilis accenditur ad lucendum. Res mira: parietes tanta uentorum rabie turbantur, et modica candele scintilla non mouetur; et interius illata moritur.

x. *De domibus Podiensibus*[a]

In Galliis, prouincia Bituricensi, ciuitate Aniciensi quam uulgus Podium Sancte Marie nominat,[1] est ecclesia frequentia miraculorum celebris, reliquiis sanctorum ditata, clero populoque honorata, et inter alias precipuas sancte Dei Genitricis Marie memorias[2] frequentata. In huius domo quam cenaculum refectionis nominant, nec aranea nec musca potest, etiam si inferatur, diu manere; quin imo uel ilico moritur, uel fuga misere[b] sue uite consulens auolat aut inter manus tenentis elabitur. Sed et in latrina canonice Podiensis, nullus umquam fetor eructuat, nullus corrupti aeris putor sentitur, cum sit locus in monte[c] prominens et ab omni aquarum profluuio alienus.[d]

Rem expertam loquar. Est in regno Arelatensi, prouincia Aquensi, uicus Bariolis nomine, in quo canonica[3] singularis fundata est, antiquitate ueneranda, possessionibus honorifice fundata, hospitalitate uicinis ecclesiis inuidiosa.[e] In hac est refectorium, ab antiquo edificatum, in quo nulla musca detineri potest. Huius rei nouitatem mihi per auditum cognitam ad probationem per experimentum ducturus, accessi sedulus explorator si quo mellis uel cuiusuis pinguedinis linimento scutellis musce, ut assolent, insiderent. Profecto rem rumore comperiens ueriorem, uolens fallaciam ingeniosam cogitationis humane frustratam quadam uiolentia adiuuare, muscarum uenator effectus, predam in refectorio melli, lacti, ac pinguedini supersterno. Tunc maior excreuit admiratio, cum uim animi et uiolentiam corporis a me temptatam perpendo cassari; sicque cum fide facta de auditis stupor est augmentatus.

[a] De Podio Beate Marie *C*; De Podio *XQ*   [b] miserie *N*   [c] in monte *om. XQ*   [d] alienis *N*   [e] inuidioiosa *N*

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[1] i.e. St Mary's Mount. The town of Le Puy-en-Velay was built around Mont-Anis, whence its Latin name, *Anicium*. See G. Fournier in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, v. 1904–5.

[2] The accusative *memorias* supplies the expected substantive after *inter*, but by its position it also suggests the ablative *memoriis* with *frequentata*.

[3] Notre-Dame de l'Espinar in Barjols, originally a Benedictine priory, became a collegiate church of canons regular in 1060, and enjoyed great power and prestige in the

violently. However, if any lamp, made from any substance at all, is set in the middle of that wide opening, no gust will make it flicker: rather, it stays quite still and burns with a bright light. What a marvel! Walls are rocked by such a raging wind, and the little flame of a candle is unmoved; but if it is brought inside, it goes out.

10. *The Buildings of Le Puy*

In France, in the province of Bourges, and the town of Anicium which is commonly called Le Puy-Notre-Dame,[1] there is a church renowned for the frequency of its miracles, rich in relics of the saints, honoured by clergy and people alike, and among its other outstanding monuments[2] abounding in memorials of Mary, the holy Mother of God. In a building here which they call the dining-hall, no spider or fly can stay any length of time, even if one is brought in: it either dies on the spot or, seeking to escape with its wretched life, flies away or slips through the hands of its captor. Also, in the latrine of the canons of Le Puy, no odour is ever given off and no stench of impure air can be smelt, although the place is high up on the hill and far from any running water.

I am going to tell of something of which I have personal experience. In the kingdom of Arles, in the province of Aix, there is a small town called Barjols, in which there is a notable collegiate foundation,[3] of venerable age; it is honourably endowed with estates, and excites the envy of neighbouring churches by its lavish hospitality. It has a refectory, built long ago, in which no fly can be made to stay. I had learned of this strange matter by hearsay, and wanted to test it by an experiment. So I came as an eager investigator to see if flies would settle, as they usually do, on platters with a smearing of honey or some other sticky substance on them. I discovered that the matter was in truth more than a rumour. Deciding to adopt violent measures in support of my ingenious ruse, a product of human thinking which had so far failed, I turned into a hunter of flies, and strewed my prey over honey, milk, and fat in the refectory. Then my amazement increased, when I observed that the mental energy and physical force which I had invested were in vain. And so while I came to believe what I had heard, my stupefaction was intensified.

twelfth and thirteenth centuries (see J. P. Papon, *Histoire générale de Provence* (Paris, 1777–86), i. 266; Achard, *Description*, i. 303–5; Beaunier–Besse, *Abbayes et prieurés*, vii. 37).

Porro in Campania, ciuitate Neopolitana, scimus Virgilium arte mathematica muscam erexisse eneam,[f] que tante uirtutis in se habuit experimentum quod, dum in loco constituto perseuerauit[g] integra, ciuitatem late spatiosam nulla musca ingrediebatur.[4]

xi. *De nuce que simul frondet et fructificat*

Adicitur mirabile mirabili dum in pretaxato uico Bariolis[a] aliquid nouum conspexi. Vidi quippe nucem grandem in orto iuxta antemuralia[b] que, depositis secundum morem aliarum arborum foliis, hyemali frigore tabescit, et cum omnes cetere arbores, redeunte ueris beneficio, suco succrescente uirescunt, foliis uestiuntur, floribusque fructificandi prenunciis suos delectant amatores, hec sola in yemalis constrictionis ariditate perseuerat; nullisque uiroris aut fructus premissis indiciis, exactis iam quatuor ferme mensibus, aduenient sancti Iohannis Baptiste sollempnitate, repentina exultatione nascentis precursoris gaudio congaudet, et ex improuiso producit folia et fructum, cuius quantitas in nullo inferior est aut depressior aliarum arborum nucibus.[1]

xii. *De carne imputrescibili macelli*[a]

Iam nunc ad ciuitatem Campanie Neapolim redeamus, in qua macellum est in cuius pariete insertum perhibetur a Virgilio frustum

[f] eneam *with second* e *expunged* *N* [g] perseueraret *CXQ*

[a] Banolis *N* [b] antenuralia *N*

[a] De multis mirabilibus Neapolitanis *CXQ*

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[4] This is the first of a group of legends which Gervase recounts concerning Virgil and his association with Naples; see also chapters 12, 13, 15, 16, and 112. Gervase was one of the earliest writers to record these legends, which attributed magical powers to Virgil and came to enjoy a wide popularity (see Comparetti, *Vergil;* Spargo, *Virgil;* N. Cilento, *Civiltà napoletana del medioevo nei sec. vi–xiii* (Naples, 1959).

This story of the fly-talisman was the first to appear in writing, and remained one of the most popular. It was first recorded by John of Salisbury in his *Policraticus,* completed *c.*1159 (i. 4, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *CCCM,* cxviii (Turnhout, 1993)). It is next alluded to in the *Apocalypsis Goliae,* an anticlerical satire of *c.*1180 (ed. K. Strecker (Rome, 1928), p. 18). Conrad of Querfurt, chancellor of the emperor Henry VI, mentions it in a letter he wrote in 1196 to his friend Arnold of Lübeck (printed in Arnold's *Chronica Slavorum, MGH SS* xxi. 194); Conrad was writing from Sicily after the imperial troops had taken Naples. In Neckam's *De naturis rerum* (ii. 174), dating from the late twelfth century,

Further, we know that in Campania, in the city of Naples, Virgil used his astrological art to set up a bronze fly: this fly proved to possess such great power in itself that, for as long as it remained undamaged in its appointed place, no fly could enter that city, wide and spacious as it was.[4]

11. *The Nut-Tree which bears Leaves and Fruit Both at Once*

To add marvel to marvel, I saw a strange thing in that same town of Barjols. What I saw was a huge nut-tree in a garden near the town wall: like other trees, this one sheds its leaves and dies back in the cold of winter; but then, when the kindly spring comes round again, while all other trees grow green as their sap rises, put on their leaves, and delight their lovers with flowers which herald their fruitfulness, this tree alone persists in the bareness of its hard, wintry aspect, and puts forth no sign of greenness or fruitfulness. Only when practically four months have passed, and the feast of St John the Baptist is drawing near, does it join in the rejoicing with a sudden rush of gladness at the birth of the Precursor, and unexpectedly produces leaves and fruit, whose quantity is in no wise inferior or lacking compared to the nuts of other trees.[1]

12. *A Market's Incorruptible Meat*

Let us now return to the Campanian city of Naples. There is a meat-market there, in one wall of which Virgil is said to have set a piece of

although there is no mention of a fly, Virgil is said to have freed Naples from a plague of leeches by a golden leech which he threw into a well. Helinandus' *Chronicon,* written between 1204 and 1229, included some Virgilian legends, and although the relevant section has been lost, Vincent of Beauvais drew on it in his *Speculum historiale* (vi. 61); he refers to a bronze fly-talisman. The *Cronica di Partenope,* an anonymous Neapolitan work written soon after 1326 which used the *Otia* as a source, adds that the fly was as big as a frog, and was first removed from its gate to a window in the Castel Capuano, and then to the Castel Cicala, where its power failed (c. 18, ed. Naples, 1680; cf. Comparetti, *Vergil,* p. 340, n. 1). Liebrecht (pp. 98–105) gives many instances of the use of bronze, iron, and steel to ward off evil. A belief in talismans seems to have flourished especially in the south of Italy as a result of the Byzantine influence.

[1] In *X* there are two notes at the foot of the page in later hands claiming knowledge of other similar trees. There is a species of walnut-tree of this habit, known as 'le noyer de la Saint-Jean': see E. Rolland, *Flore populaire* (Paris, 1903), iv. 65–6.

carnis tante efficacie quod, dum illic erit inclusum, in ipsius macelli continentia nulla caro, quanto quanto tempore uetustata, nares olfacientis aut intuentis aspectum aut comedentis saporem offendet.[1]

f. 60v Est et in eadem ciuitate porta | Dominica, Nolam Campanie ciuitatem olim inclitam[b] respiciens, in cuius ingressu est uia lapidibus artificiose constructa. Sub huius uie sigillo conclusit Virgilius omne genus reptilis nociui. Vnde prouenit quod, cum ciuitas illa in ambitu plurimum spaciosa tota columpnis subterraneis innitatur, nusquam in cauernis aut rimis[c] interioribus aut ortis[d] infra urbis[e] menia conclusis uermis nociuus reperitur.[2]

Tercium est quod illic expertus sum, tunc quidem ipsius ignarus, sed fortuito casu re ipsa mihi dante scientiam et probationem, coactus sum esse sciens eius quod,[3] si non preuentus essem periculo, uix aliena relatione fieri possem assertor. Nempe anno quo fuit Acon obsessa,[4] circa imminens sancti Iohannis Baptiste festum, cum essem Salerni,[f] de subito superuenit mihi hospes iocundus, cuius sincera dilectio tum cognatione,[g] tum diutina in scolis et curia domini mei regis uetustioris Anglie Henrici, aui[h] uestri, serenissime princeps, commansione[i] firmata, non iam alterum a me sed in ipso me alterum mihi obuenisse faciebat. Exultauit cor meum propter singularitatem affectionis et propter rumores quos recentiare mihi tam fidelis nuncius[j] poterat de nostrorum prosperitate propinquorum, quorum omnium hic non tam sanguine quam amore fuit propinquissimus. Properantem ad transitum et transfrectationem, diu reluctantem, uici precum instancia. Philipus hic erat, filius Patricii olim illustris comitis Saresberiensis, cuius neptis ex fratre comitatum Saresberiensem iure matrimonii transfudit in istum auunculum uestrum, domine imperator.[5] Inter uolentem et inuitum[k] meliori consilio trahitur

[b] inclitem *N* [c] rimis *C;* ruinis *altered from* runis *N*, ruinis *AXQ* [d] ortis *supplied by author N* [e] urbis *supplied by author N* [f] Salerni *ed.;* Salernti *N;* Salernii *AI;* Salerno *CXQ* [g] cognitione *N* [h] aui *supplied by author N* [i] cum mansione *N* [j] nuncius *supplied by author N* [k] inuitium *N*

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[1] The magical meat-market is interesting in that Virgil seems to be the only magician ever to have thought of such a thing. According to Conrad of Querfurt (*MGH SS* xxi. 196), Virgil built it in such a way that the flesh of an animal killed in it stayed fresh for six weeks, but if it was removed it rotted immediately. In Alexander Neckam's account (*De naturis rerum,* ii. 174), the meat was preserved for five hundred years by the power of herbs. Vincent of Beauvais (*Speculum historiale,* vi. 61) simply says that the market was built in such a way that no flesh rotted in it. No one apart from Gervase mentions the piece of meat let into the wall. This story seems to have been forgotten when the legends lost their local character, but it is found in the Neapolitan *Cronica di Partenope* (c. 22).

[2] The confinement of the serpents is only recorded by writers who drew their material from its source at Naples. Conrad of Querfurt (loc. cit.) says that it was the Ferrean Gate

meat; this has such a powerful effect that, as long as it remains immured there, no meat, however old, within the confines of this market will cause offence to the nostrils if smelt, to the eyes if seen, or to the palate if eaten.[1]

Also in this same city is the Dominican Gate, facing towards Nola, a city of Campania which enjoyed renown in the past. Through the passageway of this gate is a road skilfully constructed from stones, and under the seal of this road Virgil confined every type of harmful reptile. As a result, although that entire city with its widely-extended circumference rests on underground columns, no poisonous snake is found anywhere in the caverns or hidden clefts or gardens contained within the city-walls.[2]

There is a third marvel of which I had personal experience there, though at the time I knew nothing of it; but since, completely by chance, the thing gave me knowledge and proof of itself, I was forced to accept the truth of it, though if I had not previously had experience of it, but had only heard someone else's account of it, I could hardly have made out a case for it.[3] It was in the year when Acre was besieged,[4] just before the feast of St John the Baptist; I was at Salerno, when I received an unexpected but welcome visitor: my true affection for him, strengthened both by our kinship and by our long comradeship in the schools and at the court of my lord the elder King Henry of England—your grandfather, most serene Prince—meant that it was not someone other than myself, but another self in him, who now came to me. My heart was glad because of my special love for him, and because of the news which such a reliable reporter would be able to relay to me concerning the welfare of our relations, of all of whom he was closest to me, not so much in blood as in love. Although he was in a hurry to move on and cross the strait, and hesitated for a while, I won him over with my pressing invitation. This man was Philip, the son of the late Patrick, noble earl of Salisbury; Philip's niece transferred the earldom of Salisbury by right of marriage from his brother to your uncle, my lord Emperor.[5] My friend, though in

under which Virgil confined the serpents, and adds that the imperial soldiers were reluctant to destroy that gate in case they got out again. The *Cronica di Partenope* (c. 28) follows Gervase's account. Liebrecht (p. 106) suggests that the statement that Naples was built on subterranean columns may be linked with the popular idea that Virgil built the city on an egg, first recorded in the *Image du Monde.*

[3] The accusative *quod* is loosely used instead of an objective genitive with *assertor* ('advocate').

[4] Probably 1190; see above, p. xxviii.

[5] Patrick, created earl between 1142 and 1147, was killed in 1168; his elder son William

amicus ad ciuitatem Nolanam, ubi tunc ex mandato domini mei, illustris regis Siculi Guillelmi,[6] mansio mihi erat, ob declinandos Panormitanos[l] tumultus ac feruores estiuos.

Quid plura? Post aliquot dies deliberauimus ad Neapolitanum mare accedere, si quo fortassis euentu paratior ac minus sumptuosa nobis illic occurreret transfretatio. Ciuitatem aduenimus, in hospicio uenerabilis auditoris mei in iure canonico apud Bononiam, Iohannis Pinnatelli,[7] Neapolitani archidiaconi, scientia, moribus, et sanguine illustris, nos recipientes; a quo iocunde recepti, causam aduentus pandimus. Ipseque comperta[m] uoti nostri instancia, dum parantur epule, mare nobiscum accedit. Facto uix unius hore spacio, succincta breuitate uerborum nauis conducitur precio plus quam optato, et instanciam uiatorum dies data ad nauigandum accelerat. Ad hospicium redeuntibus, sermo est quo successu quibusue auspiciis omnia nobis desiderata tam celeri manu occurrerint, ignorantibus et stupentibus nobis de tanta felicitate successuum. 'Heus,' inquit archidiaconus, 'per quam ciuitatis portam intrastis?' Cumque que fuerit porta explicarem, ille perspicax intellector adiecit: 'Merito tam breui manu uobis fortuna subuenit! Oro mihi ueridica relatione dicatis: qua parte aditus ingressi estis, dextra uel sinistra?' Respondemus cum ad ipsam ueniremus portam et paracior[n] nobis ad sinistram pateret ingressus, occurrit ex improuiso asinus lignorum[o] strue honeratus, et ex concursu compulsi sumus ad dexteram declinare. Tunc archidiaconus: 'Vt sciatis quanta miranda Virgilius in hac urbe fuerit operatus, accedamus ad locum et ostendam quod in illa porta memoriale Virgilius reliquerit super terram.'

Accedentibus nobis ostendit in dextra parte caput parieti portalis
f. 61r insertum | de marmore Pario, cuius rictus[p] ad risum et eximie iocunditatis hylaritatem trahebantur. In sinistra uero parte parieti erat aliud caput de consimili marmore infixum, sed alteri ualde dissimile: oculis siquidem toruis, flentis uultum ac irati, casusque infelicis iacturam deplorantis, pretendebat.[q] Ex hiis tam aduersis uultuum imaginationibus duo sibi contraria fortune fata proponit archidiaconus omnibus ingredientibus imminere, dum modo nulla

[l] Parnomitanos *N* [m] comparata *N* [n] paricior *N* [o] lignorum *supplied by author N* [p] ritus *N* [q] precedebat *N*

Fitz Patrick died in 1196, leaving an only daughter Ela or Isabel, who married William Longespée, an illegitimate son of Henry II; cf. *HBC*, pp. 480–1.

[6] i.e. William II, called the Good, king of Sicily 1166–89: see above, p. xxviii.

[7] The Pignatelli were one of the most illustrious Neapolitan families; cf. Cappelletti, xix. 469 and 505.

two minds, by his better judgment allowed himself to be taken to the city of Nola, where I had a villa at that time by order of my lord the renowned King William of Sicily,[6] to allow me to escape from the bustle and heat of Palermo in the summer.

To cut a long story short, after several days we decided to go down to the sea at Naples, to see if by any chance we might find a reasonably-priced berth there, on a ship getting ready to sail. We reached the city, and called upon the hospitality of the venerable John Pignatelli,[7] archdeacon of Naples, formerly a pupil of mine in canon law at Bologna, and a man of outstanding knowledge, character, and birth. He gave us a warm welcome, and we made known to him our reason for coming. On learning of the urgency of our errand, he came with us to the sea while a meal was being prepared. Hardly had an hour passed when, after a few brief words, a ship was booked at a better price than we had hoped for, and the appointing of a day for sailing quickened the travellers' enthusiasm. On our way back to our host's, we remarked how successfully and auspiciously all that we wanted had been achieved in so short a time: we were amazed and baffled at such great good fortune. 'Aha,' said the archdeacon, 'by which city-gate did you enter?' When I described which gate it was, he, a man of shrewd intelligence, replied: 'There is a reason why fortune assisted you so readily! Please tell me exactly what happened: by which side of the gate did you enter, the right or the left?' We replied that when we were coming up to the gate, the left-hand side of the entrance was more readily accessible to us; but an ass laden with a pile of logs suddenly got in our way, and we were forced to turn aside to the right to avoid it. Then the archdeacon said: 'So that you may know what great wonders Virgil performed in this city, let us go to the place, and I shall show you what memorial he left on earth on that gate.'

When we got there he showed us a head of Parian marble inserted in the wall of the gateway on the right-hand side, with its mouth stretched into a merry laugh of immense delight. But on the left-hand side there was another head affixed to the wall, of the same marble, but otherwise very different from the first: for it presented the face of someone weeping, wild-eyed and angry, and bewailing the hardship of a wretched lot. The archdeacon explained that from these, so different, representations of faces, two opposite outcomes of fortune hang over all who enter there, provided that they do not deliberately

fiat declinatio ad dexteram siue ad sinistram ex industria procurata, sed, sicut fatalia sunt, fato euentuique[r] committantur. 'Quisquis', inquit, 'ad dexteram[s] ciuitatem istam ingreditur semper dextro cornu ad omnem propositi sui effectum prosperatur, semper cressit et augetur; quicumque ad sinistram flectitur semper decidit et ab omni desiderio suo fraudatur. Quia ergo ex asini obiectione ad dexteram deflexistis, considerate quam celeriter et quanta prosperitate iter uestrum perfecistis!'[8]

Non tamen hec scripsimus quasi Saduceorum sectam comprobemus, qui omnia dicebant in Deo et *marmone* consistere, hoc est in fato et casu fortune,[9] cum omnia in sola uoluntate Dei sint posita, secundum illud: 'In uoluntate tua omnia sunt posita, et non est qui possit resistere uoluntati tue,' etc.;[10] sed istud ad admirationem artis matematice Virgilii memorauimus.

xiii. *De orto Virgilii et tuba enea*[a]

Erat in confinio eiusdem ciuitatis Neapolitane, uelut ex oposito, mons Virginum,[1] in cuius decliuo inter prerupta saxorum aditu graui[b] Virgilius ortum[2] plantauerat, multis herbarum generibus consitum. In hoc inuenitur herba lucii,[3] quam oues cece quandoque tangentes, statim acutissimum[c] uisum recipiunt.

In eodem erat ymago enea bucinam ad os tenens, quam quotiens auster ex obiecto subintrabat, statim ipsius uenti flatus conuertebatur. Quid autem conuersio ista Nothi[4] commodi portabat? Audite. Est in confinio ciuitatis Neapolitane mons excelsus,[5] mari infixus, subiectam sibi Terram Laboris spatiose prospectans; hic mense Madio fumum

[r] euentui que *N* [s] a dextera *XQ*

[a] enea *om.* *CXQ* [b] aditu graui *XQ;* aditu (abditu *I*) graui aditu *NI* [c] accussimum *N*

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[8] Gervase is our only early source for the two marble faces; they are next mentioned in the *Cronica di Partenope* (c. 26), which adds the detail that the laughing face was a man's and the weeping one a woman's.

[9] The Sadducees were a conservative Jewish sect of the priestly class who flourished before and at the time of Christ. However, Gervase is mistaken in referring to them here: it was of the Pharisees that Josephus made this statement (*Bell.* ii. 162; cf. Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 31 (*PL* cxcviii. 1553); *Otia*, i. 5, n. 15). This last paragraph reflects the tension between Christianity and the fascination with marvels, which tended to be of a distinctly pagan stamp; see above, pp. lx–lxi.

[10] (Rest of) Esth. 13: 9.

[1] This mountain was also sometimes called *mons Vergilianus;* cf. Comparetti, *Vergil*, pp. 279–81.

turn aside to the right or to the left, but are exposed to chance and accident, as is necessary in events governed by fate. 'Whoever enters the city on the right-hand side', he said, 'always succeeds in accomplishing all that he attempts with fortune on his side, and invariably thrives and prospers; but whoever turns to the left always fails and is cheated of his every wish. Since, then, you turned to the right because your way was blocked by the ass, look how speedily and successfully you have accomplished your errand!'[8]

In writing this it has not been our intention to support the sect of the Sadducees, who claimed that all things were dependent on God and *εἱμαρμένη*, that is, on fate and the accidents of fortune;[9] for all things are ordered by God's will alone, as it is written: 'All things are in your power, and there is none that can resist your will' etc.[10] No, we have recorded it simply to win admiration for Virgil's astrological art.

13. *Virgil's Garden and the Bronze Trumpet*

In the neighbourhood of the same city of Naples, more or less opposite it, there was a mountain called Monte Vergine.[1] On the side of this mountain, in a barely accessible position amid sheer rock-faces, Virgil had cultivated a garden,[2] and sowed it with many species of plants. In it is found the luce plant:[3] whenever blind sheep touch this plant, they immediately receive very sharp sight.

Also in this garden there used to be a bronze statue of a man holding a trumpet to his mouth. Whenever the south wind met the statue head on and found its way into the trumpet, the blast of the wind was immediately reversed. Now what benefit did that reversal of Notus[4] bring? Listen. There is a high mountain[5] near the city of Naples, right by the sea, overlooking the Terra di Lavoro which extends far and wide below it; in the month of May this mountain

[2] Alexander Neckam (*De naturis rerum*, ii. 174) says that Virgil had a garden which he enclosed in immobile air instead of a wall, while Vincent of Beauvais (*Speculum historiale*, vi. 61) says that he contrived that no rain ever fell on it; see further Spargo, *Virgil*, pp. 61–8.

[3] The normal meaning of *lucius* in medieval Latin is 'pike' (-fish). Here there is presumably an association with *lux* ('light'). The identity of the herb is uncertain, but a possible clue is provided by the definition: 'xifion idest erba lucia vel rosa campania' (quoted from a tenth- or eleventh-century MS in the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, ed. G. Loewe and G. Goetz (Leipzig, 1892), iii. 630); the *ξιφίον* is the *Gladiolus segetum*, or corn-flag.

[4] i.e. the south wind, bringer of disease, hunger, and destruction.

[5] i.e. Vesuvius.

teterrimum eructuat et interdum cum cinere ardentissimo ligna proicit exusta in carbonis colorem, unde illic quoddam inferni terreni spiraculum asserunt ebulire. Flante igitur Notho, puluis calidus segetes omnesque fructus exurit, sicque terra in se feracissima ad sterilitatem ducitur. Ob hoc, tante regionis illius dampno consulens, Virgilius in opposito monte statuam, ut diximus, cum[d] tuba erexit, ut ad primum uentilati cornu sonitum et in[e] ipsa tuba flatus subintrantis impulsum, Nothus repulsus ui mathesis quassaretur. Vnde fit quod, statua illa uel etate consumpta uel inuidorum malicia demolita, sepe pristina dampna[f] reparantur.[6]

xiv. *De faba uersa et eius efficatia*

In huius sane montis estuantis ascensu crescit herba quam uulgus fabam inuersam nominat, ad altitudinem nouelle nucis alta,[a] foliis ut nucis amplis ac subacutis. Huius fructus sicut fabe siliquis includitur, ea tamen diuersitate, quod dependent terramque respiciunt cum e contra fabarum silique in altum protendantur. Est autem huius potentia satis ridiculosa. Si enim ipsam[b] cum oratione dominica ter repetita genu flexo collegeris, orans ut qualem uultum pretendis, talem gustans ex ea pretendat, sine dubio hunc ipsam habere effectum conspicies. Si colligendo risus exasperas, gustans usque ad solis occasum ridebit sine intermissione; si fletus simulas, flebit falsa quasi pietate turbatus; si nauseam aut egerendi gestum exprimis, id idem continget comedenti. Nec hiis fidem dedissem si non ipse probassem, cum summo labore ardua montis illius petens, herbamque repperi in cauerna montis, sub castro quod indigene Summam[1] |
f. 61v nominant, quod regis speciale est,[c] munitione firmissimum.

[d] cum *supplied by author N* [e] in *supplied by author N* [f] dampno *N*

[a] alta *C;* altam *NAβ* [b] ipsum *N* [c] est *supplied by author(?) N*

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[6] Virgil is credited with a rich variety of automata. Liebrecht (pp. 106–7) notes that the idea of a statue keeping a volcano in check is found as early as the fifth century in a Sicilian legend recorded by Olympiodorus of Thebes (Photius, *Bibliotheca,* lxxx, *PG* ciii. 261). According to Conrad of Querfurt (*MGH SS* xxi. 196), a bronze archer, not a trumpeter, kept Vesuvius in check. Other Virgilian legends described an archer threatening an ever-burning fire, and various other pneumatic marvels (see Spargo, *Virgil,* pp. 117–35).

belches out foul smoke, and at the same time hurls up timbers charred as black as coal, along with burning-hot ash. This has given rise to the assertion that a vent of the terrestrial hell blasts out there. When the south wind blows, therefore, a hot dust scorches all the fruit and the crops, and thus terrain which is naturally very fertile is reduced to sterility. It was for this reason, taking thought for such a large region's loss, that Virgil set up the statue with its trumpet on the opposite mountain, as we have said, in order that at the first sound of the blasted horn and the first impact of the wind making its way inside this trumpet, Notus should be thrown into confusion, driven back by the power of astrology. But that statue either perished from age or was destroyed in a spiteful act of jealousy, and the old losses often recur.[6]

14. *The Upside-down Bean and its Properties*

On the way up this fiery mountain there grows a plant which is commonly called the upside-down bean, as tall as a young nut-tree, with large, slightly pointed leaves like those of a nut-tree. The fruit of this plant is contained in pods like beans, but with this difference, that they hang downwards and face the ground while bean-pods turn upwards. Now this plant has quite a droll property. If you gather it while genuflecting and repeating the Lord's Prayer three times, praying that whatever countenance you assume, whoever tastes of it should assume the same, you will undoubtedly witness it have this effect. If you make yourself laugh while you gather it, whoever tastes it will laugh uninterruptedly until sunset; if you simulate tears, he will weep as if overwhelmed by sham sentiment; if you imitate sickness or the gesture of vomiting, the same will befall whoever eats it. I should not have attached credence to this if I had not tested it myself; but with great toil I made for the heights of that mountain, and found the plant in a mountain cave, below the castle which the locals call the Height,[1] which is the king's own castle, very strongly fortified.

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[1] The name of this castle doubtless derived from the high semicircular ridge called Monte Somma which girds the cone of Vesuvius on the north side near the top.

xv. *De balneis Puteolanis*

Est etiam in ciuitate Neapolitana[a] ciuitas Puteolana, in qua Virgilius ad utilitatem popularem et admirationem perpetuam balnea construxit, miro artificio edificata, ad cuiusuis interioris ac exterioris morbi curationem profutura; singulisque cocleis[1] singulos titulos superscripsit, in quibus notitia erat cui morbo quod balneum deberetur. Verum[b] nouissimis diebus, cum apud Salernum studium fisicorum uigere cepisset, Salernitani inuidia tacti titulos balneorum corruperunt, timentes ne diuulgata balneorum potentia lucrum practicantibus[c] auferret aut diminueret. Ipsa tamen balnea, pro maxima parte intacta, diuersis morborum generibus medelam tribuunt. Suspecta quoque sunt illa que certam incolarum non habent noticiam aut ad uirtutem memoriam, eo quod inter duo contrariorum effectuum infirmitas infici quandoque potius posset quam curari.[2]

xvi. *De rupe incisa que nullas admittit insidias*

In eodem confinio est mons mira uirtute, ad modum cripte concauus, cuius tanta est longitudo quod medium tenenti uix duo capita comparent. Arte mathematica hic operatus est Virgilius quod in illo montis opaco, inimicus inimico si ponit insidias, nullo dolo nulloue fraudis ingenio sue malicie in nocendo dare potest effectum.[1]

[a] Neupolitana *N* [b] uerum] unde *N* [c] practigantibus *N*

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[1] The word *coclea* ('snail') was applied to various things in spiral form, including a machine for drawing water (Vitruvius, v. 12. 5, x. 6. 1); it may have been by this route that it came to be used of baths or basins here.

[2] The mineral springs of Pozzuoli and Baia enjoyed a great reputation in the Middle Ages, and it was inevitable that their virtue should be attributed to Virgil. Conrad's version (*MGH SS* xxi. 194–5) differs slightly in that he maintains that the baths were identified by statues rather than inscriptions. The baths are included in several later accounts of Virgil's magical powers, including the *Cronica di Partenope* (c. 29), which adds the information that the Salernitan doctors who allegedly destroyed the baths were punished by God, for on their return they were all drowned in a storm at sea apart from one who lived to tell the tale.

The baths were described in the early thirteenth century by the Campanian poet, Peter of Eboli, in his work *Nomina et virtutes balneorum seu de balneis Puteolorum et Baiarum*,

15. *The Baths of Pozzuoli*

Also in the state of Naples is the town of Pozzuoli. Here Virgil built some baths, which served for the common good and won him undying acclaim. They were constructed with wonderful skill, so as to promote the cure of any internal or external disease; he set individual inscriptions over all the baths,[1] indicating which bath should be used for which disease. But only recently, when the study of medicine began to flourish at Salerno, the Salernitans, held in the grip of envy, destroyed the inscriptions over the baths; they were afraid that, if the power of the baths became known, the medical practitioners would find that they made less money, or none at all. However, the baths themselves are for the most part undamaged, and offer cures for all sorts of diseases. But the ones which are not well known by the locals, or whose particular healing-power has been forgotten, are regarded with suspicion, because between two baths of opposite effects a sickness could sometimes be contracted rather than cured.[2]

16. *The Rock-passage which Admits No Treachery*

In the same neighbourhood there is a mountain with extraordinary powers. It is hollowed out to form a tunnel, whose length is so great that someone standing in the middle can hardly see the two ends. Here Virgil contrived by his astrological art that if a person lays an ambush for his enemy on that dark path through the mountain, he cannot, by any guile or deceitful trick, put his evil design into practice and harm his victim.[1]

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ed. A. Daneu Lattanzi (Rome, 1962); see also Kauffmann, *Baths of Pozzuoli;* C. R. Mailler, 'L'acqua dall'antichità al Medioevo: le terme flegree', *Quaderni Medievali*, xxvi (1988), 79–98; M. Hanly, 'An edition of Richart Eudes's French translation of Pietro da Eboli's *De balneis Puteolanis*', *Traditio*, li (1996), 225–55.

[1] The remarkable *crypta Neapolitana* was dug through the mountain called Pausilypum (the modern Posilipo), between Naples and Pozzuoli, before the time of Virgil; but since Virgil's tomb was by the entrance it naturally came to be associated with him. Gervase is the only author to mention the tunnel among those who first recorded the legends. See M. Capasso, *Il Sepolcro di Virgilio* (Naples, 1983), pp. 23–6; Liebrecht, p. 108; Comparetti, *Vergil*, p. 343.

xvii. *De Iohanne episcopo et animabus mortuorum*[1]

Sunt in confinio Puteolino montes quorum harena in summitate pedes addurit et sui ardore prohibet ascendentibus progressum. Illic refert antiquitas episcopum Iohannem[2] quondam Puteolanum, uirum sanctum et in omni bono opere perfectum, dum agendam mortuorum sedulus orator passim deambulando cantaret, audisse animarum lamentationes, que in concauitate montis sulfurei[3] pati audiebantur. Sed et quandoque cuidam lamentanti episcopus ex parte Domini nostri Iesu Christi precipit[a] cuius sit anima cuiusue reatus criminationi[b] obnoxia pandat. Familiari itaque lacrimosoque colloquio, humana uoce, anima adiurata respondit se cuiusdam noti atque uicini spiritum esse, illic grauibus penalibusque Auerni[4] incendiis addictam. Inquirit uir sanctus si quam spem salutis haberet. At illa se missis et orationibus respondit posse saluari, si per annum cotidianum pro ea offerretur Domino sacrificium. Ad hec episcopus: 'O', inquit, 'anima christiana, quibus intersignis quibusue indiciis compertam habebo[c] tuam saluationem?' Respondit anima: 'Si reuoluto anno ad hunc redieris locum et me sub Dei nomine interpellaueris, respondebo tibi si in locis hiis penalibus adhuc fuero; sin autem, pro certo scias me per Dei misericordiam et tuas orationes esse liberatam.'

Quid ultra? Reuoluto anno in missis et orationibus ab episcopo continuato, animam adiuratam nusquam auditam referebat[d] episcopus, unde[e] ipsam prorsus liberam uir Dei ex condicto presumebat. Asserunt enim animas, quamdiu in locis penalibus quasi nobis uicinis et coniunctis sunt, per uisiones nunc sompniorum, nunc manifeste in corporum pristinorum similitudine,[f] ex diuina dispensatione cumfinibus[g] et amicis frequenter ut licenter apparere, statusque sui

[a] precepit *ACβ* [b] criminationis *N* [c] habeo *N* [d] referabat *N* [e] unde *supplied by author N* [f] similitudine *supplied by author N* [g] cumfinibus *supplied by author N*

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[1] Near the top of the column in which this chapter is written the author wrote in the margin: 'In Dialogo Gregorii libro .iii.'. This would seem to be a reference to the story of the hermit on Lipari who saw Pope John and Symmachus cast the Arian Theodoric into the volcano there (Gregory the Great, *Dial.* iv. 31 (ed. Moricca, p. 274 = iv. 30, *PL* lxxvii. 369)).

[2] i.e. John II, bishop of Pozzuoli *c.*1135 (Gams, *Series episcoporum*, p. 914). This episode is discussed briefly by Schmitt, *Les Revenants*, p. 107.

[3] The idea that volcanoes were entrances to hell is found as early as Tertullian (*De paenitentia*, xii, ed. J. G. P. Borleffs, *CCSL* i. 339–40). It was encouraged by Gregory the Great's confirmation that souls burned in corporeal fire (*Dial.* iv. 30, ed. Moricca, p. 272 =

17. *Bishop John and the Souls of the Dead*[1]

In the neighbourhood of Pozzuoli there are some mountains, on whose summit the sandy ground scorches the feet: people climbing up are prevented from going on by its burning heat. An old story is told there about John,[2] a past bishop of Pozzuoli, who was a holy man, beyond reproach in every good work. Once he was singing the office of the dead while walking along at random, unremitting as he was in prayer, when he heard the wailing of souls which, from the sound of it, were suffering in the hollow centre of the sulphurous mountain.[3] After a while the bishop conjured one unhappy soul in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to make known whose soul it was, and for what crime it had brought condemnation on itself. Then the soul he had addressed replied with a human voice, in familiar and sorrowful accents, saying that it was the spirit of someone known to him from the neighbourhood, and that it had been sentenced to the severe penal fires of Avernus[4] there. The holy man asked if it had any hope of salvation. It replied that it could be saved by masses and prayers, if the sacrifice of the mass were offered to the Lord on its behalf every day for a year. To this the bishop rejoined: 'O Christian soul, by what signs, by what tokens shall I be assured of your salvation?' The soul replied: 'If in a year's time you return to this place and invoke me in the name of God, I shall answer you if I am still in these regions of retribution; if I do not answer, you may know for certain that I have been released, through God's mercy and your prayers.'

Well, what happened? The bishop used to tell how, when a year had passed, during which he had offered masses and prayers without fail, he called on the soul, but nowhere heard its voice. So the man of God presumed, from what had been said, that it really was free. For they say that as long as souls are in the places of punishment, which, as it were, verge and border on our world, by divine dispensation they appear in visions to their relatives and friends as often as they wish, sometimes in dreams, sometimes openly in the semblance of their former bodies, and they make known the wretchedness and exigency

iv. 29, *PL* lxxvii. 365–6); cf. *Otia*, iii. 103, at n. 7), and became a widespread belief in the Middle Ages: see Liebrecht, pp. 108–9; MacCulloch, *Medieval Faith and Fable*, pp. 98–100; Le Goff, *Naissance*, pp. 126–31, transl. Goldhammer, pp. 91–5; *Otia*, ii. 12, n. 41, and iii. 13.

[4] Cf. *Otia*, iii. 19, n. 1.

miseriam et necessitatem pandere;[5] uerum cum ad altiora gaudia purgatorio exacto euecte fuerint, iam ad nostram non se offerunt uisionem.

xviii. *De uisione portarum inferni*

Aliud eiusdem episcopi mirabile dictum recensebo, dum modo non tedeat audire quod salubre esse debebit didicisse. Est in confinio loci iam dicti lacus quem Iohannis dicunt, cuius aqua teterrima,[a] sed infuso oleo efficitur limpidissima ac lucida. Ad hunc lacum memoratus episcopus accedens ut exploraret[b] quid in aqua posset esse uel sub aqua latens, in cuius confinio multas ac terribiles lamentancium f. 62^{r} uoces frequenter | audiebat, uno aliquo die cadum olei purissimi aque superfudit, statimque uelut[c] accensa lucerna uidit sub aqua portas eneas et uectes ferreos maxime quantitatis[d] prostratas;[e] [1] cepitque in uiri[f] sancti mentem subire has esse portas inferni, quas Dominus noster Iesus Christus confregit quando infernum spoliauit.[2]

xix. *De Auerno*[1]

Est et inter Neapolim et Puteolum locus quidam, quasi stagni sicca uestigia, terra quidem lutosa. In hunc locum si proiectum quodlibet animatum fuerit, statim moritur. Sed et aues superuolitantes alitu loci illius statim inficiuntur, et sic moriuntur. De loco isto scripsit Lucretius:

[a] teterrina *N* [b] ut exploraret] explorare *XQ* [c] uelut *supplied by author N*
[d] quantitatis *supplied by author N* [e] protrastas *N* [f] uirri *N*

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[5] For other stories of souls which availed themselves of this permission, see *Otia*, i. 20 (pp. 112–15) and iii. 103.

[1] The participle is feminine, in spite of the mention of *uectes* as well as *portas*.

[2] The motif of an underwater approach to the Other World is universal in folklore (see *MI* F93); here it is united with the Christian legend of the Harrowing of Hell. It was a common belief as early as the second century that at Christ's death he descended into hell, 'broke the gates of brass, and cut the bars of iron in sunder' (Ps. 106 (107): 16; cf. Isa. 45: 2), and so delivered the righteous from Satan. The story is appended to the Latin version of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, also known as the *Acta Pilati*, the most popular of the apocryphal gospels, composed originally in Greek *c.*600 AD (ed. Kim, 21: 2). Peter of Eboli

of their condition;[5] but when their time in purgatory is over and they have been conveyed to joys on high, they do not present themselves to our sight any more.

18. *A Vision of the Gates of Hell*

I shall relate another remarkable tale concerning the same bishop, as long as it does not bore you to hear it; it should certainly prove salutary if you take its teaching to heart. Near the place of which I have just been speaking, there is a lake which they call John's Lake; its water is very murky, but when oil is poured into it, it becomes completely clear and transparent. The bishop I have been talking about approached this lake one day with the purpose of investigating what there could be in the water or hidden under the water, for he used regularly to hear many spine-chilling cries of lamenting souls in its vicinity. He poured a jar of the purest oil over the water, and immediately, as if a lamp had been lit, he saw broken-down[1] bronze gates and iron bars of massive size under the water, and it gradually dawned on the holy man that these were the gates of hell which our Lord Jesus Christ overthrew when he harrowed hell.[2]

19. *Avernus*[1]

There is also a place between Naples and Pozzuoli, which seems to be the dried up remains of a lake, where the ground is very muddy. If any living creature is driven into this place it dies at once. Even birds flying overhead are immediately infected by the atmosphere of the place, and die from its effects. Lucretius wrote of this place:

narrates Christ's descent into hell in describing the bath of Tripergola, near Lake Avernus (see Kauffmann, *Baths of Pozzuoli*, pp. 51–2). There are also Virgilian associations here: Aeneas descended into the Underworld through a cave beside Lake Avernus (*Aen.* vi. 236 ff.). R. J. Clark, 'Giles of Viterbo on the Phlegraean Fields: a Vergilian view?', *Phoenix*, xlix (2) (1995), 150–62, points to the mixture of classical and medieval traditions in the present chapter and ch. 15 above, as well as in the writings of Giles of Viterbo.

[1] Lake Avernus, near Pozzuoli, was believed to be an entrance to hell, because its Greek name, *Ἄορνος*, was interpreted as 'without birds': the myth arose that no bird could fly across it and live because of its deadly sulphurous exhalations.

Principio, quod Auerna uocantur nomen, id a re
Impositum est, quia sunt auibus contraria cunctis.[2]

Huic simile in attractione uidimus in regno Arelatensi, in confinio ciuitatis Auinionensis, uilla que Thorum[3] dicitur. Erat enim, in loco quo nuper ecclesia in honore sancte Marie constructa est, lutum tantam uim habens attractiuam quod si quodlibet lignum aut quamcumque solidam materiam aut manum aut pedem cuiusuis animantis infixeris, nulla ui nulloue artificio de cetero sine[a] succisione potest extrahi.

xx. *De turre que non admittit uigiles*

In regno Arelatensi, episcopatu Valentino, castro Liueronis,[1] est turris episcopi Valentini plurimum excelsa, que nocturnum custodem non admittit. Si quis autem custos ad uigiliam noctis in illa fuerit constitutus, in mane se sentiet ad uallem subiacentem delatum, sine timore precipicii aut quolibet terrore deponentis. In ualle se casu positum inueniet, et nullius tactum sentiet aut collisionem.

xxi. *De pugna scarabeorum*

In Galliis, prouincia Narbonensi, episcopatu Vceciensi, est castrum de Remolins.[1] In hoc due sunt turres, ad quarum alteram quotannis circiter diem sancti Iohannis Baptiste conuenit infinita multitudo scarabeorum, quorum corpora dimensiones aliorum scarabeorum excedunt, et plurimi sunt cornuti. Hii per octo dies tanto impetu se mutuo flagellant quod de mortuis et depulsis uix platee possunt scobari.

[a] sine *supplied by author N*

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[2] Cf. Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, vi. 740–1. This was a very rare text in the Middle Ages, and Gervase may have drawn on some intermediate source; the lines are quoted, for instance, by the fourth-century grammarian Nonius Marcellus (*De compendiosa doctrina*, i. 14. 5).

[3] Le Thor is a small town about seven miles east of Avignon. The terrain is mostly fertile and well irrigated, but 'il y a un quartier du terroir nommé le Trentain et les Paluns, qui est fort vaste et . . . ci-devant marécageux et inutile' (Achard, *Description*, ii. 495). The parish church, Ste-Marie-du-Lac, which dates from the twelfth century, owes its name to a tradition that a statue of the Virgin was discovered in a pond there.

First, its name Birdless was given to it
From the fact that it is deadly to all birds.[2]

We have seen a similar case of mud drawing things into itself in the kingdom of Arles, near the town of Avignon in a village called Le Thor.[3] For, on the spot where a church was built recently in honour of St Mary, there was some mud whose powers of suction were so great that if you implanted in it a piece of wood or a solid object of any kind, or some living creature's hand or foot, it could never be withdrawn again by any exercise of strength or skill, but had to be cut off.

20. *A Tower which Admits No Watchmen*

In the castle of Livron,[1] which is in the diocese of Valence in the kingdom of Arles, there is a very high tower belonging to the bishop of Valence: this tower admits no night-watchman. If any guard is stationed on it for the night-watch, he will find in the morning that he has been carried down to the valley below, without experiencing alarm at the fall or any fear of whoever deposited him. He will discover himself unexpectedly lying in the valley, and will feel no one's touch and no impact.

21. *The Beetles' Battle*

In France, in the province of Narbonne and the diocese of Uzès, is the castle of Remoulins.[1] In it there are two towers, at one of which a numberless host of beetles gathers every year around the feast-day of St John the Baptist. They have larger bodies than other beetles, and a great many of them are horned. For eight days they engage in mutual flagellation with such violence that the ground can hardly be swept clear of their dead and defeated.

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[1] The ancient castle of Livron (now in ruins) is about twelve miles south of Valence. It had been ceded to Odo, bishop of Valence, in 1157 by the emperor Frederick I. The tower was still known as the Devil's Tower in the last century (Duchesne, *Livre*, p. 157, n. 48).

[1] Remoulins, whose castle possesses a distinctive square tower, is situated half-way between Nîmes and Avignon.

xxii. *De rupe que unico*[a] *digito mouetur et non toto corpore*

In regno Arelatensi, prouincia Ebredunensi, castro quod Noth[1] dicunt, est rupis magna, quam si minimo digito impuleris, totam ad facilem motum duxisti; si uero totum corpus aut infinita plaustra boum[b] admoueris, immobilis perseuerat.[2]

xxiii. *De figura*[a] *Domini in Edissa*[1]

Legimus in *Gestis Saluatoris*[2] quod Adgarus rex Edisse, que caput est Mesopotamie Sirie, moram faciens in Mesopotamia Sirie,[b] auditis Domini miraculis, ardenti desiderio cordis cupiebat Christum uidere. Mittens igitur ad eum epistolam per Ananiam cursorem in Ierosolimis, confessus est ex operibus eius ipsum esse Deum aut Dei

[a] uno *CXQ*   [b] boum *supplied by author N*

[a] frigastia *N*   [b] moram . . . Sirie] *om. XQ*

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[1] Identified as Annot, near Castellane (Alpes-de-Haute-Provence), by A. Duchesne (*Livre*, p. 157, n. 50).

[2] This may have been one of the 'rocking-stones' which have been found in most European countries and in parts of America. W. G. Wood-Martin (*Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland* (London, 1902), ii. 259f.) says of them: 'Rocking-stones—although by some antiquaries considered as evidences of Druidical worship, may be looked upon as natural phenomena, which can be explained by a course of denudation. The boulder after having been dropped into its present position by the action of ice, the subsequent agency of water would suffice to account for the gradual removal of the earth originally surrounding these stones, until the blocks are left balanced on a natural rock-bed. . . . Above Blacklion, not far from Enniskillen, may be seen a rocking-stone, weighing several tons, which can be set in motion by the hand. It is a great wonder to the country people, who regard it as having been placed in its present position, and used as a plaything, by the giants of long ago. . . In good examples, a slight push produces an oscillation.' The phenomenon was known in antiquity: see Pliny, *Hist. nat.* ii. 98. 211.

[1] During the first century BC and the first two centuries of our era the city of Edessa, now Urfa, was the capital of Osrhoene, a state ruled by Arab kings and subject alternately to Rome and Parthia. From the late third century on, the fame of the story recorded here brought many pilgrims to Edessa, and it became one of the foremost cities of Christendom, until it fell into the hands of the Turks in the twelfth century (see Runciman, 'Some remarks'). The legend that an image of Christ was brought to Edessa by Thaddaeus (Greek) or Addai (Syriac) as a consequence of an exchange of letters between King Abgar V Ukama (4 BC–7 AD; 13–50 AD) and Christ, appears to have originated as anti-Manichaean propaganda in the late third century. It is found in the Syriac *Doctrina Addai* (G. Phillips, *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle*, London, 1876), and in Greek papyrus fragments; it is also recorded by Eusebius of Caesarea, who claims to have translated the correspondence himself from the Syriac of the Edessan archives (*HE* i. 13, *PG* xx. 119–30; cf. below, iii. 26,

22. *A Rock which is Moved by One Finger and Not by the Whole Body*

In the kingdom of Arles and the province of Embrun, at the castle which they call Noth,[1] there is a huge rock. If you push this rock with your little finger, you can put the whole thing into easy motion; but if you bring to bear your whole body or countless teams of oxen, it remains immovable.[2]

23. *The Image of the Lord in Edessa*[1]

We read in *The Deeds of the Saviour*[2] that Abgar, king of Edessa, which is the capital of Syrian Mesopotamia, while residing in Syrian Mesopotamia, heard of the Lord's miracles, and with a burning desire of the heart he longed to see Christ. Therefore, sending a letter to him in Jerusalem by the courier Ananias, he acknowledged that his works showed him to be God or the son of God, and he put at his disposal

n. 2). A common Syriac source probably lies behind all these witnesses (see Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, i. 493).

The sermon from which Gervase drew his account (see n. 2) has some affinities with Rufinus' translation of Eusebius (see Eusebius–Rufinus, *HE*, ed. Mommsen, pp. 83–97); Eusebius, however, does not mention an image. This may have been because of his own aversion to images, or it may be that the image was lost for a time. The *Doctrina Addai* knows of an image, and Evagrius, writing in *c.*600, describes how a portrait of Christ of divine origin protected Edessa against the Persians in 544 (*HE* iv. 27, *PG* lxxxvi (2). 2748–9). From then on it came to dominate the Abgar-legend. Known as the Mandylion (a Greek version of its Arabic name of *mandil*, derived in turn from the Latin *mantile* or *mantilium*), it was translated to Constantinople in 944, but was lost when the crusaders sacked the city in 1204.

[2] Gervase's source is an interpolated Latin version of an ancient sermon, probably written originally in Greek; it is printed from MSS of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries in Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 130**–135**. The original must date from before 769, since the sermon was drawn on by Pope Stephen III in his speech against the iconoclasts at the Lateran Synod of that year (*Concilia Aevi Karolini*, i (1), ed. A. Werminghoff, *MGH Concilia* ii (1) (Hanover, 1906), no. 14, p. 90); Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 137**–138**). The text at this stage asserted only that Christ's face was miraculously imprinted on a cloth. At some date between 769 and *c.*1135, when the sermon seems to have been used by Orderic Vitalis (*HE* ix. 11), an interpolation was made to the effect that not just the face but the whole body of the Lord was imprinted on the cloth.

The fact that Gervase names the *Gesta Salvatoris* as his source suggests that he read the sermon as part of another work. Since in the two twelfth-century MSS used by Dobschütz (Dijon cod. 50 (32) and cod. 638–642 (383) II) the sermon follows immediately after the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, and this work is also included in the fourteenth-century MS (Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. 6041A), and since the *Evangelium Nicodemi* is frequently entitled *Gesta Salvatoris* in MSS, it seems evident that this is the work in question.

filium, exposuitque ei se ipsum et ciuitatem suam que, licet parua, duobus ipsis posset sufficere; et in fine, cum humiliter rogasset ut dignaretur fatigari ad eum et liberare eum ab infirmitate sua,[3] subiunxit: 'Valeas Iesu bone, Saluator orbis, semperque nostri digneris memor esse.'

Magister humilitatis et humane salutis auctor[c] in hec uerba rescripsit: 'Beatus es qui in me credidisti cum ipse me non uideris.[4] Scriptum enim est de me quia hi qui me uisuri sunt, in me credituri non sunt, et qui me minime sunt uisuri ipsi, in me sunt credituri ut salui fiant.[5] De hoc autem quod scripsisti, ut uenirem ad te, oportet ea primum explere propter que huc missus sum; postquam uero cuncta compleuero, iterum oportunum est recipi me ab eo a quo missus sum. Cum ergo assumptus fuero, mittam tibi aliquem ex discipulis meis, qui curet te ab infirmitate tua et populum tuum saluet. Sed quia me corporaliter uidere desideras, en tibi dirigo lintheum in quo faciei |
f. 62v mee figura et tocius mei corporis status continetur; quem tu dum uideris, ardorem tui animi refrigerare poteris. Beatus tu, sed et illi omnes beati qui scandalum in me non habuerint. In Dei Patris sapientia bene ualeas per cuncta secula.'

Traditur autem ex archiuis auctoritatis antique quod Dominus super lintheum candidissimum toto corpore se prostrauerit, et ita uirtute diuina non tantum faciei sed etiam tocius corporis dominici speciosissima effigies lintheo impressa sit. Hec Domini ymago in lintheo aput Edissam, que caput est Mesopotamidis Sirie, sine aliquo[d] corruptionis uestigio in maiori ecclesia reseruata,[6] in precipuis festiuitatibus Domini Saluatoris de aureo scrinio producitur et cum hymnis, psalmis, et orationibus[e] adoratur. De hac quoque naratur quod singulis annis, in die sancto Pasce, in omnium conspectu diuersas accipit uariationes: prima siquidem hora diei representat infanciam, tertia pueritiam, quinta adolescentiam, septima iuuentutem, nona uero hora plenitudinem representat etatis in qua Dominus passionem pro nostra suscepit redemptione.[7] Fuit autem secundum uerba Domini ciuitas Edissa conuersa ad fidem

[c] actor *N*   [d] aliqua *N*   [e] rationibus *N*

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[3] Abgar was a leper.

[4] Cf. John 20: 29.

[5] Cf. John 6: 36; Mark 16: 16.

[6] The image was kept in the cathedral of Hagia Sophia, built in the sixth century for the specific purpose of housing it.

[7] The description of this ceremony is drawn directly from the sermon. The changing

his own person and his city which, small though it was, could suffice for the two of them; in conclusion, having humbly begged him to deign to undertake the toilsome journey to come and free him from his sickness,[3] he added: 'Farewell good Jesus, Saviour of the world; may you be so kind as to remember us always.'

The master of humility and author of human salvation replied in these words: 'Blessed are you who have believed in me although you have not seen me.[4] For it is written of me that some who are to see me will not believe in me, and others who are not to see me themselves at all will believe in me, that they may be saved.[5] As for the matter of which you wrote, that I should come to you, I must first accomplish those things for which I was sent into this world; and after I have brought everything to fulfilment, it is fitting that I should be received again by the one who sent me. Therefore, after I have been taken up, I shall send you one of my disciples, to cure you from your sickness and to save your people. But because you desire to see me in the flesh, see, I am sending you a linen cloth on which is preserved the appearance of my face and the form of my whole body. When you look at it, you will be able to assuage the burning desire of your spirit. You are blessed, as are all those who have not found a stumbling-block in me. May you be strong in the wisdom of God the Father for all time.'

A tradition founded on ancient and reliable records has it that the Lord lay down full length on a pure white linen cloth, and thus, by divine power, a most beautiful image of not only the face but also the whole body of the Lord was imprinted on the cloth. This image of the Lord on a cloth is preserved without any trace of decay in the major church at Edessa,[6] capital of Syrian Mesopotamia, and it is brought out from its golden casket on the chief festivals of our Lord and Saviour, and adored with hymns, psalms, and prayers. It is also related of this image that every year, on the holy festival of Easter, it takes on different aspects in the sight of all: at the first hour of the day it shows his infancy, at the third, his boyhood, at the fifth, his adolescence, at the seventh, his youth, while at the ninth hour it shows our Lord in the prime of life, as he was when he bore his passion for our redemption.[7] The city of Edessa was indeed converted to faith in Christ, in accordance with the Lord's words, following his

vision of Christ is reminiscent of some versions of the legend of the Holy Grail: cf. e.g. *Perlesvaus*, branch vi, where Gawain sees Christ in the Grail first as a child, and then as a crucified king (ed. W. A. Nitze and T. A. Jenkins (Chicago, 1932), i. 119).

Christi, post ascensionem Domini, ab uno ex septuaginta[f][8] discipulis, Thadeo nomine, per quem et salus corporis et fides mentis ab Adgaro est recepta.

xxiv. *De alia figura Domini*

Est alia in lintheo Domini figura expressa que, ut in *Gestis de Vultu Lucano*[1] legitur, hoc suum habuit inicium. Cum Dominus ac Redemptor noster exutus uestimentis suis in cruce penderet, accedens Ioseph ab Arimachia ad Mariam matrem Domini et ad[a] alias mulieres que secute sunt Dominum ad passionem suam, ait: 'O', inquit, 'quanto amore huic iusto tenebamini ex ipso rerum effectu perpendi potest! Quem enim nudum in cruce pendere uidistis, non operuistis.' Quo castigationis alloquio mota, mater eius et alie que cum ea[b] erant, cito euntes, emerunt lintheum mundissimum, tam amplum et extensum quod totum crucifixi corpus operiebat; cumque deponeretur, pendens de cruce apparuit tocius corporis effigies in lintheo expressa. Ad cuius[c] similitudinem et exemplar, Nicodemus Vultum Lucanum effigiauit, in cuius medio lintheum inclusit, et ampullam sanguinis Domini, et unum ex tribus clauis, partemque corone spinee et spongie et uestimenti Domini et Beatissime Virginis Dei Genitricis et de cunabulo Domini et de umbelico Domini.

Dicunt tamen magistri nostri, et hoc tenet Romanorum traditio,[2]

[f] lxx *A;* lxii *NCI;* lxxii *XQ*

[a] ad *om. XQ* [b] eo *N* [c] cuuus *N*

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[8] Confusion reigned in the Abgar-legend as to the identity of Thaddaeus. A Thaddaeus is named as one of the twelve by Matthew (10: 3) and Mark (3: 18), but the legend of this Thaddaeus was associated with Hamidiya on the Syrian coast, Beirut, and Arwad, not with Edessa. Eusebius therefore made him one of the seventy-two (Luke 10: 1, Vulgate; seventy in A.V.), and the sermon followed suit (Dobschütz, *Christusbilder,* p. 135**); later tradition confused the two (Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha,* i. 494).

[1] The Volto Santo di Lucca is the most famous of several images supposedly made by Nicodemus. The legend as Gervase presents it clearly sprang from the association of Nicodemus with Joseph of Arimathaea at the burial of Jesus (John 19: 39); they are similarly associated in the *Evangelium Nicodemi* and other apocryphal writings, and in the Grail legends. Gervase probably picked up the legend in Lucca: his description of the image's eyes suggests an eye-witness account, and his claim to have handled the flask of blood at St Mary's of Sarzana is probably genuine. The *Gesta de Vultu Lucano* may have been, or at least included, Leboino's description of the miraculous translation of the image to Lucca (printed by D. Barsocchini in *Ragionamento sul Volto Santo* in *Memorie e documenti per servire all'istoria del ducato di Lucca,* v (1) (Lucca, 1844), 3–99, at pp. 53–7). This work has been dated to the twelfth century, though the author claims to have been a

ascension, by one of the seventy[8] disciples, Thaddaeus by name, through whom Abgar received both health for his body and faith for his mind.

24. *Another Image of the Lord*

There is another image of the Lord imprinted on a cloth which, as one reads in *The History of the Image of Lucca,*[1] originated as follows. When our Lord and Redeemer was hanging on the cross, stripped of his clothing, Joseph of Arimathaea went up to Mary, the Lord's mother, and the other women who followed the Lord to his passion, and said: 'Ah, the extent of the love by which you were bound to this righteous man can be judged by your actions! For you have seen him hanging naked on the cross, and have not covered him.' Upset by this reproving comment, his mother and the other women who were with her quickly went and bought a cloth of finest linen, so large and wide that it covered the whole body of the crucified; and when he was taken down, an image of his whole body hanging from the cross was seen to have been imprinted on the cloth. Making a copy in its likeness, Nicodemus fashioned the Image of Lucca. Inside it he enclosed the cloth, with a flask of the Lord's blood, one of the three nails, and fragments of the crown of thorns, the sponge, and the clothing of the Lord and of the Blessed Virgin, Mother of God; there were also pieces of the Lord's cradle and umbilical cord.

However, our masters say—and the Roman tradition supports this[2]—that the Lord's umbilical cord and the foreskin from his

deacon of Bishop Wilfred and a contemporary of the translation in 742. An addition to it gives an account of the image's origin which is closely related to Gervase's text; whether it dates from before or after Gervase wrote is not certain.

The image is still in Lucca, and has been dated to the eleventh century. It is a life-size wooden crucifix, hollowed out inside to contain relics; for an illustration of the face see Maurus Green, 'Enshrouded in silence', *Ampleforth Journal,* lxxiv (1969), Plate 12.

[2] Gervase's source here was probably the *Liber de ecclesia Lateranensi,* written in the twelfth century by John the Deacon, a canon of the Lateran (printed in Mabillon's *Museum Italicum,* ii. 560–76). Chapter 14, 'De ecclesia sancti Laurentii in Palatio', describes the oratory of St Lawrence, the ancient pontifical chapel of the Lateran (which was the residence of the popes from the fourth to the fourteenth century), now called the Sancta Sanctorum because of the hoard of relics it contains. The chapter begins (p. 572): 'In sacro namque palatio est quoddam Sancti Laurentii oratorium, in quo tria sanctissima computantur altaria. Primum in arca cypressina, quam Leo papa III [795–816] condidit, tres capsae sunt. In una est crux de auro purissimo adornata gemmis et lapidibus preciosis, id est hyacinthis et smaragdis, et prasinis. In media cruce est umbilicus Domini nostri Jesu Christi: et desuper est inuncta balsamo, et singulis annis eadem unctio renouatur, quando

quod umbilicus Domini et prepucium circumcisionis eius sunt in cruce de auro purissimo, adornata gemmis et lapidibus pretiosis, que sita est in quadam capsa cipressina quam Leo tertius posuit in horatorio sancti Laurentii, quod est in sacro palacio Lateranensi. Hec quoque crux uncta est balsamo, et quotannis eadem unctio renouatur, quando dominus papa cum cardinalibus suis facit processionem ab oratorio illo in ecclesiam sancti Iohannis Lateranensis in Exaltatione Sancte Crucis.[3] E contra tradunt Galli [4]quod prepucium Domini delatum est ab angelo Carolo Magno in templo Domini, et ab eo apud Aquis Granis primo reconditum, postea a Carolo Caluo fuit apud Carrosium translatum.[4]

Quia uero, sacratissime princeps, orationes sanctorum ex ipsorum institutione formate digniorem habent apud modernos memoriam, dignum duxi subiungere orationem cotidianam Nicodemi, qui Vultum Lucanum formauit, quem filium Ioseph Iusti, nobilis decurionis, tradicio Hebreorum dicit. Cotidie ergo, genua coram Vultu Lucano flectens, dicebat: 'Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi, Deus noster. Ecce Deus iustus, ecce Deus uiuorum et mortuorum. Ecce uita uiuentium, spes morientium, salus omnium credentium, quem adoramus, quem glorificamus, cui benedicimus; et Deum Patrem omnipotentem et Filium cum Sancto Spiritu laudemus et superexaltemus in secula. Adiutor et protector et defensor sis mihi, f. 63r Domine benignissime et sanctis|sime et misericordissime.' Hanc igitur orationem in corde teneas quociens sacerdos inter uerba consecratoria hostiam eleuat, et adiungas: 'Aue Rex noster, principem mortis in cruce debellans. Aue Corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quod pro nobis suspensum est in patibulo, et consecratur in hoc altari in memoriam passionis dominice.' Connectas quoque orationem Eusebii: 'Perficiant in nobis, Domine Deus, sacramenta tua quod continent, ut quod nunc specie gerimus, rerum ueritate capiamus.'[5]

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dominus Papa cum cardinalibus facit processionem in Exaltatione sanctae Crucis ab ipsa ecclesia Sancti Laurentii in basilicam Saluatoris . . .' The text is reprinted from here in *DACL*, s.v. Latran (viii (2). 1624–5), where the words 'et preputium Circumcisionis' are added after 'umbilicus', with the note: 'L'édition de Mabillon ne portait que *umbilicus Domini nostri Jesu Christi*. Le ms. des Archives de la basilique de Latran, A LXXII, fournit la leçon donnée ici, mais il a subi un grattage. Le ms. de Cambrai 710 (fol. 83 verso) donne la même leçon sans grattage.' An illustrated description of the cross may be found in *DACL*, iii. 1715–17.

[3] Holy Cross Day (14 September), adopted from the eastern Church by the west in the seventh century, commemorates in the west the recovery of the supposed True Cross from the Persians in 629.

[4–4] Cf. Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 6, Additio 2 (*PL* cxcviii. 1541), where the passage is a gloss copied into many late twelfth- and thirteenth-century MSS of the work: see A. G.

circumcision are in a cross of purest gold, ornamented with gems and precious stones, which is kept in a reliquary of cypress-wood which Leo III placed in the oratory of St Lawrence in the holy Lateran Palace. They say, also, that this cross is anointed with balsam, an anointing which is repeated every year when the lord pope, with his cardinals, goes in procession from that oratory into the church of St John Lateran on Holy Cross Day.[3] Then again, the Gauls maintain [4]that the Lord's foreskin was brought by an angel to Charlemagne in the Lord's temple, and was initially laid by him in Aachen, but was afterwards translated to Charroux by Charles the Bald.[4]

Now since, most worshipful Prince, the prayers of the saints, which owe their form to the saints' own practice, well deserve to be held in remembrance by the people of our time, I have deemed it fitting to add here the daily prayer of Nicodemus, who fashioned the Image of Lucca; according to a tradition of the Hebrews, this Nicodemus was the son of the noble decurion, Joseph the Just. Every day he used to go down on his knees before the Image of Lucca, and say: 'Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who takes away the sins of the world, our God. Behold the righteous God, behold the God of the living and the dead. Behold the life of the living, the hope of the dying, the salvation of all believers, the one whom we adore, whom we glorify, whom we bless; and let us praise God the Father almighty, and the Son, with the Holy Spirit, and exalt them above all else for evermore. Be my helper, my protector, and my defender, Lord most kind, most holy, and most merciful.' Keep this prayer in your heart, then, every time the priest elevates the host during the words of consecration, and add: 'Hail to our King, vanquishing the prince of death on the cross. Hail to the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which hung on the tree for our sake, and is being consecrated on this altar in memory of the Lord's passion.' You should also add the prayer of Eusebius: 'Lord God, may your sacraments fulfil in us what they embody, that what we now perform outwardly, we may receive in truth.'[5]

Remensnyder, 'Legendary Treasure at Conques: Reliquaries and Imaginative Memory', *Speculum*, lxxi (1996), 884–906, at pp. 894–5; cf. also Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1047–8 (= ed. Boeren, c. 54). The belief that Charlemagne had travelled to Jerusalem formed the basis of many churches' claims for their relics: see G. Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1905), p. 57.

[5] This prayer, attributed by Gervase to Eusebius, is to be found in the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* (p. 95, no. 166, 8). It was used by Ratramnus (*De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, c. 88, *PL* cxxi. 164) and Ascelin of Chartres (*Epistola Ascelini ad Berengarium*, in

Illud sane non erit omittendum quod Vultus Lucanus oculos tenet apertos et terribiles ostendit, quod ad figuram pertinet. Sicut enim leo, rex omnium ferarum, cum dormit oculos aperit, ut intuentibus in eum numquam dormire uel sue potestatis uigilantiam intermittere uideatur, ita Christus numquam sue potestatis uirtutem intermittit, sed se malis terribilem ostendit.

Si quis autem unde aut qualiter Vultus Lucanus ad nos usque peruenerit querit, audiat ipsum, tempore Caroli et Pipini, a Transalpino reuerendo Gulfredo[6] Gallie presule repertum Ierosolimis, in domo Seleucii in absconso positum. Hunc extrahens et in naui bituminata desuper clausa, tabulatu operta, reconditum, sine remige ac remigio a portu Iope dimittit; sicque diuina uirtute preduce per mare nauis aduecta, ad plagam pelagi Lunensis applicare parat. Sane Lunenses, ut eis piratica uita in usu erat, rapiendi[d] animo accedentes, spe sua frustrati miraculo diuino, tanti thesauri indigni iudicati, dum fugant et fugientem insequuntur nauim, magis fugiuntur: sicque fit quod dum insecutionem parant, nauis fugit; stat cum subsistentibus; redit cum redeuntibus.

Tanta nouitate tacta uicinia, ad Lucensem[e] hec inaudita sed diu temptata retulit. Nec mora sanctissimus Lucensis antistes Iohannes nauigia disponit, remos orationum aptat, psalmorumque usus remigio, nauim quam non persequitur consequitur, et cum debita ueneratione recipit.[7] Indignati Lunenses quod Lucensibus insecuta[8] dudum nauis occurrit, questionem mouent de acquisitis. Proponunt que ad sui commodum questus eis uidentur accommoda. Tandem pace reformata uultus sacratissimus cum inserto thesauro Lucensium parti cedit, unicaque ampulla de duabus[9] sanguinem ymaginis[10] Saluatoris continentibus Lunensibus addicitur

[d] rapiendo *NI* [e] episcopum *add. before* Lucensem *C, after* Lucensem *X*

L. d'Achery's *Vita Lanfranci, PL* cl. 67) to defend the theory of transubstantiation. Gervase quotes it again in his *Commentary on the Lord's Prayer*: see Appendix iii, n. 128.

[6] For a discussion of the identity of Bishop Wilfred, and of Bishop John of Lucca, see Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, p. 286**, n. 2; for John (died 803), see also Gams, *Series episcoporum*, p. 740.

[7] Self-propelling boats are frequently met with in folklore: see *MI* D1523.2. Liebrecht (pp. 109–10) compares this story with Pausanias, vii. 5. 5–8; cf. also Homer, *Odyssey*, vii. 558 f.; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 305 f.; Augustine, *Civ.* x. 16 (*CSEL* xl (1). 474 = *PL* xli. 294–5); Marie de France, *Lai de Guigemar* (*Lais*, pp. 3–25 and 165); C. Plummer, *Bethada Náem n-Érenn*, ii. 59; V. Elwin, *Folk Tales of Mahokoshal* (New York, 1944), p. 8; *Otia*, ii. 10, pp. 294–5. F. de Mély ('L'image du Christ') treats of the miraculous sea-voyages of a number of relics and images, including that of Lucca. We have here an example of a pagan motif being transformed into a Christian miracle.

The observation must certainly be included that the Image of Lucca keeps its eyes open and reveals their awfulness, as far as is possible for a portrait. For just as the lion, the king of all beasts, keeps his eyes open when he sleeps, so that to onlookers he seems never to sleep or to relax the vigilance of his power, so Christ never remits his mighty power, but shows his awfulness to evil-doers.

Now if anyone wants to know whence or how the Image of Lucca came over to us, let him hear. It was found in Jerusalem in the time of Charles and Pippin by the reverend Wilfred,[6] bishop of Transalpine Gaul; it had been hidden in a secret place in the house of Seleucius. Wilfred took it away and stowed it in a boat, which was caulked with pitch, sealed over on top and covered with planks; he then dispatched it without oarsman or oar from the port of Joppa. Having voyaged thus across the sea, with divine power as its guide, the boat was all set to come in to land in the bay of Luni. The people of Luni, however, accustomed as they were to a life of piracy, approached the boat with the intention of seizing it for plunder. But they were cheated of their hope by a divine miracle, being judged unworthy of so great a treasure: as long as they went on pursuing and chasing the boat, it kept eluding them, and they found themselves instead getting further away; and so it happened that while they were trying to catch it the boat went further off, but when they called a halt it stood still, and when they withdrew it came back.

The people of the neighbourhood, awestruck at such a strange phenomenon, reported these events which, though unheard of, were confirmed time and again, to the bishop of Lucca. Without delay the saintly Bishop John of Lucca equipped ships: he furnished them with oars of prayer, and using the rowing of psalms, he overtook the boat without pursuing it, and received it with due reverence.[7] The people of Luni were outraged that the boat which they had just been pursuing[8] came to meet the people of Lucca, and they raised the question of the spoils. They proposed what seemed to them a fitting arrangement, to secure some profit for themselves. Eventually peace was restored, and the sacred image with the treasure inside it fell to the portion of the people of Lucca, while just one flask of the two[9] in the Saviour's image[10] containing his blood was handed over to the

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[8] Note the use of *insecuta* with a passive sense.

[9] Earlier (pp. 598–9) we were told of only one flask.

[10] The word *ymaginis*, present in all the manuscripts collated, is difficult, and the text would make good sense without it ('one of the two flasks containing the Saviour's blood').

ad aliquod miserie sue remedium, que etiam iam nunc ad proximum castrum translata est, episcopali sede illuc translata. Est autem castrum Lunensis episcopi quod sancte Marie de Sarzenai[11] dicunt, ubi ampullam uidimus et tractauimus, ubi etiam[f] in maledictionem Lunensem episcopatum translatum audiuimus.

xxv. *De figura Domini que Veronica dicitur*

Porro sunt alii uultus Domini,[a] sicut est Veronica,[b] quam quidam Rome delatam a Veronica dicunt, quam ignotam tradunt esse mulierem. Verum ex antiquissimis scripturis comprobauimus hanc esse Martham sororem Lazari, Christi hospitam,[1] que fluxum sanguinis duodecim annis passa, tactu fimbrie dominice sanata fuit, propter diutinam passionem fluxus curua incedens; unde a uarice,[c] poplitis uena incuruata, Varonica[d] (quia incuruata) dicta est.[2] Hanc ex tradicione[e] ueterum nouimus lintheo[f] impressam habuisse dominici uultus effigiem, quam Volusianus, amicus Tyberii Cesaris, aput Ierosolimam[g] ab ipso transmissus ut de factis et miraculis Christi certum signum referret, quo de morbo suo Tiberius curaretur, ab ipsa Martha, licet inuita, quorundam suggestione abstraxerat. In cuius direptione[h] Martha contristata uultumque hospitis sui secuta traditur Romam uenisse, et Tyberium in primo Varonice[i] picture conspectu curasse, ut legitur in *Speculo ecclesie* et in[j] *Gestis Titi et Vespasiani*.[3]

[f] episcopatum *add. after* etiam *NAI*

[a] Domini *N* (*correcting* diuini), *I;* diuini *ACXQ* [b] Varonica *with a faint* e *written above first* a, *but* a *not expunged, N* [c] a uarice *Q,* auarice *ACXI;* auaricie *N* [d] Veronica *AX* [e] tradicone *N* [f] in *add. before* lintheo *XQ* [g] Ierorosolimam *N* [h] directione *N* [i] Veronice *ACβ* [j] in *om. XQ*

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[11] The bishopric of Luni was transferred to Sarzana in 1202 in order to escape from the increasing unhealthiness of the marshy plains of Luni. The clergy adopted the church of San Basilio in Sarzana, which then assumed the title of Santa Maria. The bishops, however, continued to call themselves bishops of Luni for some time (see Cappelletti, xiii. 446–7).

[1] Confusion reigned as to the identity of the Haemorrhissa. At first, in the gospels (Matt. 9: 20; Mark 5: 20; Luke 8: 43) and other early mentions of her (e.g. Eusebius, *HE* vii. 18, *PG* xx. 680), she was nameless. Then a western tradition deriving from Pseudo-Ambrose (Sermo 46 *De Salomone*, *PL* xvii. 698) identified her with Martha, the sister of Mary and Lazarus, and it is this tradition which Gervase follows here and in iii. 50. In the east, on the other hand, she was named Berenike or Bermike (Latin Veronica), the earliest occurrence of this being in the original Greek version of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* (*Evangelia apocrypha*, ed. Tischendorf, p. 239); and the western legend of the Veronica adopted this identification.

people of Luni, as some compensation for their disappointment. Just recently this was translated to the next town, when the episcopal see was transferred there. For the town which they call St Mary's of Sarzana[11] is now the residence of the bishop of Luni. It was there that we saw and handled the flask, and we heard that the bishopric, too, had been transferred there, leaving Luni under a curse.

25. *The Image of the Lord which is called the Veronica*

There are, furthermore, other portraits of the Lord: one such is the Veronica, which some say was brought to Rome by Veronica, who appears in the tradition as an unknown woman; but we have established from ancient sources that she was Martha, Lazarus' sister, who gave hospitality to Christ.[1] After suffering from an issue of blood for twelve years, she was healed by touching the hem of the Lord's garment. As a result of her prolonged suffering from the haemorrhage she walked doubled up, and so she was called Veronica ('the bent one'), from *varix*, the name of the bent vein in the knee.[2] We know from an old tradition that this woman had a likeness of the Lord's features imprinted on a linen cloth, which Volusianus, a friend of Tiberius Caesar, took from Martha's own hands, notwithstanding her protests, at certain people's instigation. He had been sent to Jerusalem by Tiberius to bring back a sure token of the deeds and miracles of Christ, in the hope that Tiberius might be cured of his sickness by it. It is reported that Martha, grieved at its theft, followed the image of her guest. She came to Rome, and cured Tiberius at his first glimpse of the Veronica portrait, as one reads in *The Mirror of the Church* and *The Deeds of Titus and Vespasian*.[3] So even then, a long

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[2] This attempt to derive the name Veronica from *uarix* (related to *uarus*, bent), seems to be peculiar to Gervase. The words 'est ergo Veronica pictura, Domini ueram . . . representans effigiem' at the end of the paragraph suggest that he also knew the usual etymology from one Greek and one Latin word: *uera εἰκών*, a true image.

[3] The Veronica-legend has a very complicated history. In the earliest versions, such as the Greek *Evangelium Nicodemi* (loc. cit.) and the *Apocritus* of Macarius of Magnesia (ed. C. Blondel (Paris, 1876), p. 1), Veronica, or Berenike, is identified with the Haemorrhissa, but there is no mention of an image. By *c.*600, in the *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii* (printed by Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 157^{**}–203^{**}), she possesses an image of the Lord, but there is as yet no idea that Christ imprinted it miraculously on a cloth: it is merely a painting ('ob amorem eius imaginem ipsius sibi depinxit, dum ipse maneret in corpore', p. 176^{**}). The *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii* tells how Tiberius sent Volusianus to Jerusalem because he had heard about Jesus' healing miracles and hoped to be cured of his own sickness. Volusianus found that Jesus had been crucified, but he was told by a certain

Vnde et tunc, longo ante apostolorum aduentum tempore, Christi fides usque adeo Romanis innotuit, quod Tyberius de mansuetissima oue seuissimus lupus[4] effectus perhibetur, deseuiens in senatum eo quod, ipso uolente, suscipere Christi agnitionem dedignaretur, sicut f. 63v in libro *De transitu Beate Virginis*[k] *et gestis discipulorum*[5] | profusius tractaui. Est ergo Veronica pictura, Domini ueram secundum carnem representans effigiem a pectore superius, in basilica sancti Petri iuxta ualuam a parte[l] introitus dextra recondita.

Est et alia dominici uultus effigies, in tabula eque impressa,[m] in oratorio sancti Laurentii in palatio Lateranensi, quam sancte memorie nostri temporis papa Alexander tertius multiplici panno Serico operuit, eo quod attentius intuentibus tremorem cum mortis periculo inferret.[6] Vnumque procul dubio compertum habeo, quod si diligenter uultum dominicum, quem Iudeus in palatio Lateranensi iuxta oratorium sancti Laurentii uulnerauit,[7] cuius uulnus[n] cruore tamquam recente faciem dextram operit, attendas, non absimilem Veronice basilice sancti Petri, eiue picture que in ipso sancti Laurentii est oratorio, Vultuique Lucano reperies.

[k] Virginis] Marie *XQ* [l] parte *supplied by author N* [m] impressa] depicta *XQ* [n] uulnus] uultus *XQ*

Marcius about Veronica's picture of Jesus, and forced her to give it up. She went with it to Rome, where it effected an immediate cure for Tiberius. Dobschütz asserts (p. 293*) that this text is Gervase's source here. It is presented as a continuation of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* in one class of MSS, and is probably the oldest version of this legend. The words 'licet inuita', common to both, and Gervase's mention of the coming of the apostles to Rome, which forms the subject of a continuation of the *Cura*, suggest that Gervase was familiar with the text. But his appears to be a composite version: as well as drawing also on Pseudo-Ambrose (cf. n. 1), he must have known a version in which the image was imprinted on a cloth. A version which probably dates from *c.*700, the *Vindicta Salvatoris* (*Evangelia apocrypha*, ed. Tischendorf, pp. 471–86), presents the story of the healing of Tiberius as part of the legend of the capture of Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian (Titus is here a king of Aquitaine), and it may well be this work which Gervase refers to as the *Gesta Titi et Vespasiani;* in it the image is said to be imprinted on a linen cloth. He also apparently knew the passage in the *Speculum ecclesiae* of Honorius of Autun which tells how Tiberius sent a friend to Judaea to bring Jesus to him, and the friend brought back the image instead, 'quam Veronica in panno ob Christi amorem depingere fecerat' (*PL* clxxii. 831).

The legend only reached its full development, according to which Veronica offered Christ her veil on which to wipe his face as he carried his cross to Calvary, in the late Middle Ages. It enjoyed great popularity, and came to be celebrated in the sixth station of the cross. The Veronica was venerated in the old St Peter's in Rome, where Pope John VII consecrated an altar to it in 705. However, the icon was stolen by the troops of Charles V in 1527; many churches now claim to possess it.

[4] Cf. Orosius, *Adversum paganos,* vii. 4. 7; *Otia,* ii. 16, at nn. 18–19.

[5] This work is now lost: see above, p. xcii.

time before the arrival of the apostles, the Christian faith was known to the Romans, and had such an effect that Tiberius is said to have turned from the mildest of sheep into the fiercest of wolves,[4] raging against the senate because they disdained to recognize Christ when he wanted them to. I have treated this matter more fully in my book *The Passing of the Blessed Virgin and the Deeds of her Disciples.*[5] The Veronica portrait then, presenting a true physical likeness of the Lord from the chest upwards, is preserved in St Peter's basilica near the door, on the right-hand side of the entrance.

There is also another image of the Lord's features, this one imprinted in a similarly miraculous way on a panel, which is in the oratory of St Lawrence in the Lateran Palace. A pope of our time, Alexander III of holy memory, had it covered with a large silk cloth, because it caused such violent trembling in people who gazed at it too intently that there was a risk of death.[6] And one thing I know beyond a shadow of doubt: if you examine carefully the image of the Lord in the Lateran Palace beside the oratory of St Lawrence, which a Jew wounded,[7] and whose wound covers its right side with apparently fresh blood, you will find that it is not unlike the Veronica in St Peter's basilica, or the portrait which is inside the oratory of St Lawrence, or the Image of Lucca.

[6] Various portraits of the Madonna and some of Christ himself are supposed to have been painted by St Luke (see Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 267**–280**). The so-called 'acheropita'—an image not made with hands—in the Sancta Sanctorum of the Lateran is one of them; according to legend, Luke began a portrait of the Lord after the ascension, but when he had drawn the outline an angel finished the work (see e.g. John the Deacon, in Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, ii. 572). G. Marangoni described the image in his *Istoria dell'antichissimo oratorio Sancta Sanctorum* (Rome, 1747, pp. 87–90) as an ancient portrait on wood with a twelfth-century painting on a silk cloth pasted over it. This is probably the cloth with which, according to Gervase, the panel was covered by Alexander III (1159–81). Cf. M. Ph. Lauer, 'Le trésor du Sancta Sanctorum', *Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et Mémoires*, xv (1906), 23; ill. plate V.

[7] This notion of an image wounded by a Jew probably derived from the legend of another alleged work of Nicodemus. This legend became well-known in the west through the Latin translation of the proceedings of the Second Nicene Synod in 787, made by Anastasius Bibliothecarius and dedicated to Pope John VIII (872–82), printed by J. D. Mansi in *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova, et amplissima collectio,* xiii (Florence, 1767), 580–5. Peter, bishop of Nicomedia, had a sermon, falsely attributed to Athanasius, read at the council, which gave an account of this image, providing proof of the divine power of images. According to the legend, a Christian of Beirut left an image of the Lord in his house when he moved. It was found by Jews, and they inflicted on it the various wounds of the passion. When they pierced the side, blood and water flowed out which performed healing miracles, whereupon the Jews were converted to Christianity. The story is told by Honorius in his *Speculum ecclesiae* (*PL* clxxii. 1003). In Gervase's account the word-order suggests that the wounding took place in the Lateran; however, there is no mention of it in John the Deacon's *Liber de ecclesia Lateranensi.*

xxvi. *De uirtute epistole Domini et beati Thome apostoli*[a]

Iam nunc ad materiam pridem ceptam redeamus.[1] In Edissa equidem ciuitate, ob presentiam sancte ymaginationis Christi, nullus hereticus uiuere potest, nullus paganus, nullus ydolorum cultor, nullus Iudeus; sed nec locum illum barbari possunt inuadere. Si quando exercitus obuenit hostilis, stans super portam ciuitatis innocens puerulus epistolam legit et sic, eadem die qua legitur epistola, aut pacantur barbari aut fugiunt effeminati.[2]

In hac equidem ciuitate[b] sepultum asserunt beatum Thomam apostolum, qui a rege Gundoforo exceptus est in Indie ciuitate Elioforo, ueniens a Cesarea ex mandato dominico in uicem architectoris. Cumque ipsum ad fidem Christi conuertisset, profectus est exinde Thomas ad Indiam superiorem, in qua regnabat rex Migdeus; ubi, regina conuersa ad fidem Christi cum multitudine populi sui, decollatus est ac sepultus. Denique Ciro[3] Alexandro Romano ueniente, uictore de Perside, Xerse rege deuicto, impetrauerunt Edisseni ut mitteret ad reges Indorum imperans Edissenis[c] reddi[d] corpus apostoli. Quo impetrato, translatum est corpus in ciuitatem Edissam; quod in locello argenteo repositum cathenis argenteis suspensum dicitur.

Sed et de apostolo narratur quod sacro die pascali corpus eius deponitur et iuxta altare maius in cathedra collocatur, sicque de manu eius populus communionem sacram recipit. Et est mirabile quod nullus in mortali persistens et impenitens ecclesiam ingreditur; aut si se communioni[e] improbus exactor ingerit, apostolus a danda

[a] De Veronica que est in ciuitate Edissa *CXQ* [b] cuitate *N* [c] Edissonis *N* [d] reddit *N* [e] communioni *supplied by author N*

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[1] iii. 23.

[2] Gervase's source for this paragraph and the next was the *Passio Sancti Thomae Apostoli*, an account of Thomas's evangelization of India and eventual martyrdom, written *c.*550. Christ is said to have appeared to Thomas in a vision at Caesarea, and told him to go to serve King Gundaphorus as an architect. (Gundaphorus, or Gondophernes, was an Indo-Parthian king who ruled from *c.*19 to *c.*45 AD.) Thomas gave the king's money to the poor, building a palace in heaven instead of on earth. He then went to Upper India, where he was put to death by King Migdeus, or Misdaeus, because on their conversion the royal women spurned their husbands' beds; there is Gnostic influence in the work's insistence on celibacy for Christians. On p. 159 f. the *Passio* describes the translation of St Thomas's body to Edessa, and the power of Christ's letter to Abgar to protect that city from enemies within or without. It was Thomas, according to Eusebius (*HE* i. 13, *PG* xx. 123), who had sent Thaddaeus to Edessa.

On the origin of the story of the letter, see *Otia*, iii. 23, n. 1. Its protective powers were

26. *The Power of the Lord's Letter and of the Blessed Apostle Thomas*

Let us now return to the subject we began above.[1] As a result of the presence of the holy image of Christ, no heretic can live in the city of Edessa, no pagan, no idolater, no Jew; and barbarians cannot invade the place. If a hostile army ever does come against it, an innocent little boy stands on top of the city-gate and reads the letter; in consequence of this, on the very day on which the letter is read, the barbarians either make peace or lose their nerve and run away.[2]

They say that St Thomas the apostle is buried in this city. He was received by King Gundaphorus in Elioforus, a city of India, when he went there from Caesarea at the Lord's command in the capacity of an architect. And when he had converted him to faith in Christ, Thomas set out from there to Upper India, where King Migdeus reigned. There, after the queen and many of their people had been converted to faith in Christ, he was beheaded and buried. Later, when Cyrus[3] Alexander the Roman arrived in Edessa after his conquest of Persia, having overthrown King Artaxerxes, the people of that city prevailed upon him to send to the kings of India demanding that the apostle's body should be handed over to them. They obtained their desire, and the body was translated to the city of Edessa, where it is said to be kept in a silver chest hanging from silver chains.

There is a story about the apostle which tells how, on the holy festival of Easter, his body is let down and set on the bishop's throne next to the high altar; and so the people receive holy communion from his hand. And the wonderful thing is that no one who is persisting in mortal sin without repenting comes into the church; or if a sinful candidate does present himself for communion, the apostle withdraws his hand from administering it, in order that the guilt of

vaunted as early as *c.*383, when the pilgrim Egeria was shown round Edessa by the bishop (*Itinerarium Egeriae*, xix. 5–19, ed. E. Francheschini and R. Weber, *CCSL* clxxv (1965), 60–2). Gervase introduces a mention of the image here, where the *Passio* speaks only of the letter, in keeping with his treatment of the legend in iii. 23.

[3] According to the *Passio* (p. 159), the relics of St Thomas were acquired by the Edessans in the time of Severus Alexander: 'Denique supplicantes Siri ab Alexandro imperatore romano ueniente uictore de Persidis proelio, Xerse rege deuicto, impetrarunt hoc ut mitteret ad regulos Indorum, ut redderent defunctum ciuibus;' i.e. *c.*233, when Severus Alexander returned from his confrontation with Ardashir (Artaxerxes) I, ruler of the new Persian empire of the Sassanids. The reading *Ciro* (*NCQI*) or *Cirio* (*X*) as a cognomen for Alexander in the MSS of the *Otia* is obviously a corruption of *Siri* in the *Passio*.

The relics were in fact translated in 394 (Runciman, 'Some remarks', p. 241). They were later removed to the island of Khios, and finally to Ortona in the Abruzzi.

communione manum retrahit, ut publicetur rei delinquentis[f] criminositas aut extorqueatur impenitentis ac presumptuosi confessio.[4]

xxvii. *De littore Sirie[a] Palestine*[1]

Vt[b] testatur beatus Ieronimus in *Vita sancti Hylarionis*, litus quod Palestine Sirie[c] Egyptoque protenditur,[d] per naturam molle, harenis in saxum durescentibus, asperatur; paulatimque coherens sibi glaree[e] perdit tactum, cum non perdit[f] aspectum.[2]

xxviii. *De uirtute quorundam[a] lapidum[b]*

Sunt qui uirtutem lapidibus[1] ac incantationes magicas pro fabulosis reputant, quorum incredulitatem cotidianis experimentis arguimus necnon autenticis sanctorum patrum scripturis. Ecce enim, ut in prima decisione notauimus, sub titulo *De inuentione musice et multorum artificiorum*,[2] Salomon docuit includi sub anulis demones, et cum sigillis et caracteribus[c] et exorcismis hinc acciri, inde arctari.

Sed et Merlinum scimus in Anglia, iuxta montem Ambrii, Coream Gygantum collocatam transtulisse a Childardo monte Hybernie, et cum incantationibus lapides ad perpetuam admirationem sub diuo suspendisse, ut in prima decisione, titulo *De gigantibus*,[3] memorauimus.

Porro beatum audiamus Ieronimum in *Vita beati Hylarionis*[4] narantem quod, propter felicem Sabinarum raptum, seruatur a Romulo exinde in Romanis urbibus ⟨ut⟩[d] Conso, quasi consiliorum deo, quadrige septeno currant[e] circuitu, et sic equos partis aduerse

[f] deliquentis *N*

[a] Sirie *om. CXQ* [b] ut *ACQI*; et *NX* [c] Sirie *om. Jerome*
[d] praetenditur *Jerome* [e] glarea *Jerome* [f] perdat *Jerome*

[a] quorundam] et consecratione *CXQ* [b] lapidum *supplied by author N*
[c] carecteribus *N* [d] ut *Jerome; om. MSS* [e] curant *N*

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[4] The *Passio* does not mention St Thomas's communion. It is, however, described, though set in India and without verbal correspondence with Gervase, in the anonymous twelfth-century document *De adventu patriarchae Indorum* (printed by F. Zarncke in *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, vii (1879), 841–2).

[1] Palestine was the name given to the southern part of Syria, from the Greek *Συρία Παλαιστίνη* (Syria of the Philistines; cf. *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 50).

the offending culprit may be made public, or the bold impenitent's confession may be wrung out of him.[4]

27. *The Coast of Palestine in Syria*[1]

As the blessed Jerome attests in his *Life of St Hilarion*, the coast which fringes Palestine and Egypt is naturally soft, but becomes rough because the sand hardens into rock. Little by little it solidifies and loses the texture of gravel, while retaining its appearance.[2]

28. *The Power of Certain Stones*

There are some who hold magic spells and the power latent in stones[1] to be merely fabulous. But on the evidence of daily experience and also the authoritative writings of the holy fathers, we charge them with lack of faith. For instance, as we observed in Book I, in the chapter *The Invention of Music and Many Arts*,[2] Solomon showed how demons could be confined in rings, and summoned out or shut in again by means of seals, signs, and spells.

We also know that Merlin transported the Giants' Ring from Mount Killaraus in Ireland and set it up in England near Amesbury. By means of spells he raised up the stones under the open sky, to be an everlasting source of wonder, as we recorded in Book I, in the chapter *The Giants*.[3]

And now let us hear the blessed Jerome relating in his *Life of St Hilarion*[4] how, in memory of the propitious rape of the Sabine women, ever since the time of Romulus it had been the custom in Roman cities for four-horse teams to do seven laps of a circuit in honour of Consus, as the god of good counsel. In this the victory was

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[2] This brief extract from Jerome's *Vita Hilarionis* (xi. 2, ed. Bastiaensen, p. 96 = *PL* xxiii. 38) illustrates the way in which Gervase frequently takes something marvellous which is an integral part of another author's narrative, in this case of a healing miracle, and presents it out of context for its own sake.

[1] *Lapidibus* would seem to be an ablative of place (in which case one would expect the preposition *in*), or possibly a dative of possession (normally only used with part of *esse*).
[2] *Otia*, i. 20, at nn. 43 and 62.
[3] *Otia*, i. 23, at n. 26 (the chapter is there called *De causa diluuii*).
[4] *Vita Hilarionis*, xi. 3–5 and 8–13 (ed. Bastiaensen, pp. 96–8 = *PL* xxiii. 38–9).

fregisse uictoria fuit. Cum ergo Italicus quidam perpendisset aduersarium suum anulo[5] suo habentem maleficium,[f] qui demoniachis quibusdam precantationibus et huius prepediret equos et illius | f. 64v concitaret ad cursum, uenit ad beatum Ylarionem, et non tam aduersarium ledi quam se defendi obsecrans obtinuit. Aqua enim cifo[g] fictili quo bibere uir Dei consueuerat imposita, Italicus stabulum[6] (quod yppodromum dicunt, ab *yppos* quod est equus, et *dromos* quod est uelox:[7] unde Herodes, audiens Iudeos mortem suam expectantes cum gaudio, nobiliores ex eis conclusit in yppodromo),[8] equos et aurigas suos carcerumque repagula conspersit, sicque uictor effectus est.

Plerosque uidimus affirmantes quod[h] lapides preciosi qui muscarum habent celaturam hanc habent uirtutem quod, si sacrati fuerint, a loco[i] in quo sunt omnem muscarum frequenciam expellunt; qui uero celaturam habent equorum habentium alas, uelocitatem equis cursoriis augent aut conferunt.[9]

Quia de lapidum consecratione tetigimus et celatura, quiddam mirandum et digne memorandum tibi, princeps sacratissime, offero. In quadam Ebrehorum doctorum traditione[10] scriptum legi quod Deus, cum populo suo peculiari dedisset ut ab omni opere seruili sabbatum intactum seruaret, affectione speciali illos prosequens, precepit ut colligerent limpidissimos lapides fluminum, inter quos, torrentum impetu pollitos et fluxu aquarum complanatos, multi reperiebantur preciosi, qui decursu fluminum paradisi ad fines Asie deueniunt et a uicinitate fluuiorum Indie Egyptum et Arabiam tangunt. Hos uoluit filios Israel in manibus tenere uel pre oculis habere ex[j] consilio diuine prouidentie,[k] ut acciperet cogitatio mentis

[f] maleficum *AXQ and Jerome* [g] cifo *supplied by author*(?) (*for* scypho) *N*
[h] quod] quos *N* [i] loquo *N* [j] ex] eo *β* [k] prouuidentie *N*

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[5] The text of the *Vita Hilarionis* at this point (xi. 5) reads: 'Hic itaque, aemulo suo habente maleficum . . .', not *anulo suo*, the reading which accounts for the inclusion of this incident here. Jerome told the story as a demonstration of the superiority of Christian thaumaturgy over pagan magic.

[6] In Jerome's text *stabulum* refers to the stall or stable housing Italicus' horses; Gervase apparently took it to be the race-course itself, and added the section in parentheses.

[7] The word δρόμος actually means 'course' or 'race'.

[8] According to Josephus (*Bell.* i. 659; *Ant.* xvii. 173–9), when Herod was near to death, realizing that his passing would not be mourned by the Jews, he shut their principal men in the hippodrome and ordered that they should be killed when he died; they were, however, released. Gervase's immediate source here is the Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 17 (*PL* cxcviii. 1546).

gained by breaking the strength of one's rival's horses. When therefore a certain Italicus had inferred that his opponent had some enchantment in his ring,[5] so that by certain devilish spells he could hinder one man's horses and spur another's on in the race, he approached St Hilarion and obtained by his entreaties, not so much that his opponent should be harmed, as that he himself should be protected. Pouring some water into the earthenware cup from which the man of God habitually drank, Italicus sprinkled the enclosure[6] (which they call the hippodrome, from ἵππος meaning 'horse', and δρόμος meaning 'fast'[7]—Herod, hearing that the Jews were joyfully looking forward to his death, confined their principal men in the hippodrome);[8] he also sprinkled his horses and drivers, and the bars of the starting-stalls, and by these means he became the winner.

We have seen many people claiming that precious stones which have a fly engraved on them have this property, that if they have been consecrated they drive out all presence of flies from the place where they are; while those which have winged horses engraved on them endow race-horses with speed, or greater speed than before.[9]

Since we have touched on the consecration and engraving of stones, I am going to put before you a remarkable thing, most worshipful Prince, which well deserves a mention. I have seen it written in a tradition of the Hebrew doctors[10] that when God had ordained for his chosen people that they should keep the sabbath free from any manual labour, he bestowed a special favour on them: he told them to gather the brightest stones from the rivers, among which, polished as they were by the force of the current and smoothed by the flow of the waters, many precious ones were found. These are carried by the stream of the rivers of paradise down to the boundaries of Asia, and from there, joining the rivers of India, they reach Egypt and Arabia. He wanted the children of Israel to hold these in their hands or to keep them before their eyes, following the ordinance of divine providence, in order that their

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[9] 'The use of engraved gems as talismans was inherited by Europe from the East. . . . The belief in the magical properties of engraved gems is ridiculed by Pliny, and is not to be found either in Anglo-Saxon England or Carolingian France, or indeed in western Europe before the Crusades. Its earliest manifestation in western Europe does not appear to be earlier than the latter half of the twelfth century; it must have been brought in on the tide of ancient learning that then flowed from Arabic Spain towards the southern coasts of France' (J. Evans, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1922), pp. 95–6).

[10] Gervase's source for this Jewish tradition has not been identified, but as Liebrecht remarks (p. 110), there is a rich rabbinical lore regarding the sabbath.

otium uel laborem, ut sic minus ureret animum affectata interdicti operis corporalis estuatio.[11] Sicut ergo cuiusuis ad cogitandum uana uel seria, celestia seu terrena, mouebatur intentio, sic post modicum tempus celatura diuina uirtute firmata nunc in animis cogitantium uaria preordinata, leuibus et ociosis bestias, aues, et herbas aut arbores presentabat; grauibus et preterita Dei miracula patribus exhibita cogitantibus,[l] apparebat Moysi cum uirga draconis[12] representatio, aut immolacio Ysaac,[13] aut huiuscemodi diuine uirtutis signa. (Vnde lapides illi *capmahu*[m] uulgo dicuntur, quasi caput facientes in Deo admirabili. *Manhu* siquidem Ebrahice interiectio est admirantis, unde 'manna' a *manhu*, quasi admiratione, nomen accepit.[14] Sic 'euge' nunc subsanantis, ut ibi: 'Auertantur statim et[n] erubescentes qui dicunt mihi: Euge, euge!';[15] nunc congratulantis, ut ibi: 'Euge serue bone, et fidelis.'[16] Sic 'osanna' laudis, unde pueri clamabant: 'Benedictus qui uenit in nomine Domini: osanna in excelsis.'[17]) Hinc est quod sacram ymaginationem habentes lapides altioris et sacratioris uirtutis sunt; qui uero uanitati mentium respondebant, cotidianis utentium commodis deseruiebant.

De consecratione lapidum[o]

Nunc de consecratione lapidum pauca loquamur. Nullus enim lapis est pretiosus qui ad consequendam suam uirtutem extrinsecam cum herba sui nominis aut cum sanguine[p] auis aut bestie non consecretur, adiunctis exorcismis quorum noticia ad nos per Salomonem descendit. Extrinsecam diximus; intrinsecam quippe uirtutem plerique lapides habent a sui natura sibi insitam, preter id quod extrinsecus adiurati ac consecrati efficiunt. Nempe smaragdus quod ex naturali sui coloris intensione[18] uisui[q] prodest, ex natura contrahit; quod

[l] cogitatioribus *XQ* [m] chapmahu *N* [n] et *om. Q and Psalterium Gallicanum* [o] De . . . lapidum *N; om. ACβ* [p] cum sanguine] consanguine *N* [q] uisui *XQ;* uisu *NACI*

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[11] i.e. only *physical* work was forbidden on the sabbath: the mind was free either to rest or to work.

[12] Num. 21: 9.

[13] Gen. 22: 1–19.

[14] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 34 (*PL* cxcviii. 1160).

[15] Ps. 69 (70): 4 (3)

[16] Matt. 25: 21, 23. A similar distinction between the different meanings of *euge* is found in Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalterium*, lxix. 3 (*CCSL* xcvii. 625 = *PL* lxx. 493).

[17] Matt. 21: 9.

[18] The word *intensio* subsequently became a technical term, owing to 'a peculiarly medieval concern with the manner in which qualities varied in intensity. How, for example, did colors change their hues and intensities, and water become hot and

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faculty of thought might derive from them either rest or work, with the result that in this way the restless desire for the forbidden physical work should torment the mind less.[11] Accordingly, as each person's attention was drawn to reflect upon things vain or serious, heavenly or earthly, so after a short time an engraving, cut by divine power, began to represent the various preordained things which were in their minds while they were engaged in this meditation: it presented animals, birds, and plants or trees to light and idle minds, while to serious minds and those considering the miracles of God shown to their fathers in the past, there appeared an image of Moses with the rod of the serpent,[12] or the sacrifice of Isaac,[13] or other signs of divine power of this kind. (And so those stones are commonly called *capmahu*, having their origin (*caput*), so to speak, in the wonder of God. For *manhu* is an exclamation of wonder in Hebrew, and so manna took its name from *manhu*, or wonder.[14] Likewise *euge* is an exclamation, sometimes derisory, as in the verse: 'Let them be presently turned away blushing for shame, that say to me: Aha, aha';[15] and sometimes complimentary, as in the verse: 'Well done, good and faithful servant.'[16] Similarly *hosanna* is an exclamation of praise, whence the children shouted: 'Blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord: Hosanna in the highest.'[17]) This explains the fact that stones with a sacred image possess a higher and holier power, while those which answered to vain imagining simply served for the everyday benefit of their users.

The Consecration of Stones

Now let us say a few things about the consecration of stones. For there is no precious stone which may not be consecrated for the exercise of its extrinsic power with the herb of the same name or with the blood of a bird or animal, combined with spells, knowledge of which has come down to us through Solomon. We said extrinsic; and to be sure very many stones have an intrinsic power inherent in them from their own nature, quite apart from what they can do when they have been conjured and consecrated from without. The emerald, indeed, derives from nature its power to benefit the sight by the natural intensity[18] of its colour, while it derives from consecration its

cold? The study and analysis of such problems came to be designated as "the intension and remission of forms and qualities"' (E. Grant, *Physical Science in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 55). On the emerald as pleasing to the eye, cf. Pliny, *Hist. nat.* xxxvii. 16. 63.

gratiam confert, ex consecratione. Saphirus potestatem potentis, affluentiam diuitis, auget ex adiuratione ac conseruat. Sed et nonnulli inflaturas, pustulas nociuas, et antracem curant. Eliotropia cum herba sui nominis consecratur et sic hominem profecto reddit inuisibilem.[19] Acates cum acate herba facit uictorem.[20] Quid plura? Tot hominibus uerba, herbe, lapidesque preciosi conferre solent remedia, quot humanitati nostre sunt oportuna, graciosa, uel necessaria, non hec f. 64^v operantibus | lapidibus aut lapidum impresuris, non herbis aut herbarum alligamentis, sed hec omnia operante summo rerum auctore[r] Deo in uerbis, herbis,[s] et lapidibus. Celatura signum est efficacie et non ad effectum. Indicta lapidi natura cum uerbis consecratoriis innatam uirtutem ampliat et confirmat.

Oportet tamen ut honestatem corporis et sinceritatem mentis is conferat, qui gestando lapidem eius uirtutem[t] probare contendit. Fugit ab indigno contrectatore dignitas lapidis et ab obsceno consecratore efficatia consecrationis, non quod conferatur a bono maius, a malo minus, sed ubi dignus non est dator, datorum minoratur auctoritas et peccatum conferentis exauditionem tardat summi largitoris; et quamuis gratiam conferat muneris, gratiam tamen non confert celestis auctoris, quam propter suam amisit uilitatem, indignum se exibens ad administrationem[u] sacramentalem. Hinc est quod, sicut lapides episcoporum benedictionibus cum herbis adiunctis per sollempnes exorcismos consecrantur, ita, cum ex turpitudine gestantis inficiuntur, ad manum episcopi cum sanguine columbe liniuntur, et orationibus iteratis amissam uirtutem uel interscisam recipiunt. Facit ergo columbe sanguis in lapide quod cinis uitule rufe[v] faciebat in populi expiatione,[21] aut ysopus cum salibus in ecclesie reconciliatione.[22]

Si consecrationis modum queris in lapidibus, libellum consule *De*

[r] actore *N*   [s] herbis *supplied by author N*   [t] uirtutem *supplied by author N*
[u] ministrationem *AXQ*   [v] rufe *om. XQ*

power to bestow grace. The sapphire augments and preserves a powerful person's power and a wealthy person's riches, if it has been enchanted. A number of stones cure tumours, malignant pustules, and carbuncles. The heliotrope is consecrated with the plant of the same name and then of a truth renders a person invisible.[19] The agate with its herb makes one victorious.[20] In short, words, herbs, and precious stones customarily bring as many remedies to human beings as are fitting, pleasing, or necessary to our human nature; but it is not the stones or their engravings that accomplish these things, it is not the herbs or their couplings: it is God, the supreme author of all that is, who accomplishes all these remedies through the words, the herbs, and the stones. An engraving is a sign of his power and is not powerful in itself. The quality imposed on a stone by the words of consecration extends and endorses its innate potency.

It is, however, essential that anyone who seeks to prove a stone's potency by his handling of it should bring to it purity of body and sincerity of mind. A stone's worth shuns an unworthy handler and the efficacy of the consecration shuns an impure consecrator, not because more is conferred by a good person and less by a bad one, but because when the giver is not worthy, the authority of the gifts is diminished, and the sin of the one who bestows the gifts impedes the co-operation of the supreme disposer; and even though he may confer the grace of the gift, he nonetheless does not confer the grace of the heavenly author, which he has lost on account of his baseness, showing himself unworthy to administer the sacraments. Hence it happens that, just as stones, coupled with their herbs, are consecrated with bishops' blessings by means of solemn adjurations, so, when they become tainted by the baseness of the one who handles them, they are anointed at a bishop's hand with the blood of a dove, and at the repetition of prayers they recover their lost, or rather interrupted, power. The blood of a dove therefore effects in the case of a stone what the ashes of a red calf used to effect in the expiation of the people,[21] or hyssop with salt in the reconciliation of a church.[22]

If you want to know how stones are consecrated, consult the little

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[19] This idea is mocked by Pliny (*Hist. nat.* xxxvii. 60. 165).

[20] Cf. Pliny, *Hist. nat.* xxxvii. 54. 142.

[21] Cf. Num. 19: 1–10; Comestor, *Lev.*, c. 22 (*PL* cxcviii. 1209–10).

[22] Hyssop and salt were used by the Jews in many purification rituals, and were gradually taken over by the Christian Church. Salt water was being used to purify Catholic churches by the Donatists in the fourth century, when Optatus of Milevis mocks this practice (*De schismate donatistarum*, vi. 6, *PL* xi. 1078–9). In the sixth century Pope Vigilius (537–55) denied the necessity of aspersions with holy water at the reconciliation of a church (E. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* (Bassano, 1788), ii. 284–5); but the *ordines* in Martène's collection show that by the ninth century at least, aspersions of water mixed with salt, ashes, and wine, and in some cases with sprinklings of hyssop, were a regular feature of the rite not only of the reconciliation of a church but also of the consecration of a church (pp. 240–87; cf. M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du Haut Moyen Age*, iv (*Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense* xxviii, 1956), 341–2).

consecratione lapidum,[23] ubi reperies quosdam lapides unica gaudere benedictione, alios per duodecim lunationes repetitas benedictiones desiderare; nec uacat a figura quod, cum sint septuaginta duo Dei nomina, ut tradunt Hebrei, totidemque linguarum genera,[24] et ex totidem litteris unum Domini nomen cumpactum, unicuique lapidi unum nomen circumscribendum erit, et hoc maxime in septuaginta duobus lapidibus precipuis obseruatur.

xxix. *De dracone quem boam dicunt*[a]

Aput Epidaurum,[1] Dalmatie opidum, inuentus est a beato Ylarione draco mire magnitudinis ac incognite, quales gentili sermone boas uocant, ab eo quod tam grandes sunt quod boues glutire solent.[2]

xxx. *De arenis calidis*[a]

Legimus in *Dialogo* Severi[1] quod Postumianus referebat se, cum Alexandriam nauigaret, reluctante austro pene in Sirtes[2] illatum fuisse; quod prouide[b] naute cauentes iactis nauim ancoris sustinuerunt. 'Tribus', inquit Postumianus, 'fere a littore milibus, paruum tugurium inter harenas conspicio, cuius tectum, sicut ait Salustius,[3] quasi carina nauis erat, contiguum terre, satis firmis tabulatis stratum, non quod illic uis ulla imbrium timeatur (fuisse enim illic pluuiam nequando quidem auditum est), sed quod uentorum ibi ea uis est ut, si quando uel clementiore celo aliquantulum[c] flatus spirare ceperit, maius in illis terris quam in ullo mari naufragium sit. Nulla ibi

[a] De . . . dicunt] De boas dracone *CXQ*

[a] De . . . calidis] De ordeo et arenis *CXQ* [b] prouide *NAQ*; proinde *CXI*; prouidi *Severus* [c] aliquantulus *Severus*

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[23] A large number of medieval lapidaries survive, mostly still unedited. For a survey of the material, see J. Evans, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1922); P. Studer and J. Evans, *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries* (Paris, 1924); J. Evans and M. Serjeantson, *English Mediaeval Lapidaries*, EETS (OS), cxc (Oxford, 1933).

[24] Cf. e.g. Isidore, *Etym.* ix. 2. 2; Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 37 (*PL* cxcviii. 1087); *Otia*, ii. 26, at n. 45.

[1] i.e. the modern Dubrovnik.

[2] Cf. Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*, xxviii. 2–3 (ed. Bastiaensen, p. 130 = *PL* xxiii. 49). Here again Gervase lifts the marvellous feature from the narrative of Hilarion's miraculous removal of this pest (cf. *Otia*, iii. 27).

book *The Consecration of Stones*.[23] You will find there that some stones are content with only one blessing, while others need repeated blessings throughout twelve lunar cycles. Nor is it absent from the scheme that, since there are seventy-two names of God, according to Hebrew tradition, and that number also of families of languages,[24] and since there is one name of the Lord made up from that same number of letters, one name will have to be reserved for each stone; this applies especially in the case of the seventy-two principal stones.

29. *The Snake which they call the Boa*

At Epidaurus,[1] a town of Dalmatia, a snake was found by St Hilarion of an extraordinary size such as had never been seen before. In the native speech they call creatures of this kind boas, from the fact that they are so huge that they habitually gulp down oxen (*boues*).[2]

30. *Hot Sands*

We read in the *Dialogue* of Severus[1] that Postumianus recounted how, when he was sailing to Alexandria, because the wind was against him he was almost driven onto the Syrtes.[2] To guard against this, the sailors prudently dropped anchor and secured the ship. 'About three miles from the shore,' said Postumianus, 'I caught sight of a little hut on the sand, whose roof, just as Sallust[3] says, was like the keel of a ship: it came down to the ground, and was covered with quite solid planking, not because any heavy downpour is to be feared there (for in fact it has never been heard of for rain to fall there), but because the force of the winds in that region is such that, if a wind ever begins to blow a little, even in quite fine weather, greater wreckage is caused on those lands than on any sea. No fruits, no crops grow there; for it is an

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[1] Cf. Severus, *Dial.* i. 3. 2–6, 4. 4 (ed. Halm, pp. 154–6 = *PL* xx. 186–7). Sulpicius Severus (*c.*363–*c.*420) was the author of two dialogues (often divided as three), in which the talk is of miracles, particularly those performed by Martin of Tours which had not been included in Severus' biography of the saint. Severus' friend Postumianus had spent three years in the east, and he begins his narration of his experiences with the passage reproduced by Gervase here.

[2] See *Otia*, ii. 11, n. 6.

[3] Sallust, *Iug.* xviii. 8.

germina, sata nulla proueniunt, quippe instabili loco arentibus arenis ad omnem uentorum motum cedentibus. Verum ubi aduersa[d] quedam a mari promontoria uentis resistunt, terra aliquantulum solidior herbam raram atque hyspidam gignit, que ouibus est pabulum satis utile. Incole lacte uiuunt; qui sollertiores sunt uel, ut ita dixerim, diciores, ordeacio pane uescuntur. Ea ibi sola messis est, que celeritate prouentus per naturam solis seu aeris[4] uentorum casus solet euadere: quippe fertur a die iacti seminis tricesimo die maturescere. Consistere autem illic non alia ratio facit nisi quod omnes tributo[e] liberi sunt. Extrema siquidem Cirenorum hora est deserto illi contigua, quod inter Egyptum et Affricam interiacet, per quod olim Cato Cesarem fugiens duxit exercitum.

f. 65r Illic senex quem repperi[f] | apponit prandium[g] sane locupletissimum: dimidium panem ordeaceum! Fasciculum etiam herbe intulit, cuius nomen excidit, que, mente similis, foliis exuberans, saporem mellis prestabat; huius predulci admodum suauitate delectati atque exsaciati fuimus.[h] Eramus nos quatuor et ipse quintus.'

xxxi. *De herbis Egypti*

De harum terrarum desertarum herbis aliqua succingamus.[a] Erat in prouincia Aquensi et regno tuo, princeps, Arelatensi, miles strenuus et dominus castri Dalfini, iuncti castro Folcarcariensi. Hic, Isnardus[1] nomine, proposito melioris uite, nec filiis paruulis nec uxore iuuencula salutatis, transfretauit,[b] id habens propositum ut, qualis in solitudine antiquorum patrum esset conuictus,[c] ipsa[d] sue conuersationis[e] experientia probaret.

Iam per solitudinem septennis incesserat, cum in mentem uenit cuidam ex originariis suis ut quo deuenerit dominus eius circueundo terram perquirat. Nauigauit et, post multas hospitatim[f] perquisitiones, tandem solitudinem intrans, repperit hominem quem optauerat, non minus agnitus quam agnoscebat. Salutationis uerbis

[d] auersa *QI and Severus* [e] a *add. before* tributo *Severus* [f] repperi *supplied by author N* [g] prandum *N* [h] sumus *XQ and Severus*

[a] succinguamus *N* [b] tranfretauit *N* [c] conuinctus *N* [d] ipsa] pro ipsa *X;* per ipsa *Q* [e] conuersionis *ACβ* [f] hospitatum *NI*

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[4] Here Halm (p. 155, l. 17) conjectured 'soli saeuientium' (i.e. 'because of the speed of its growth, due to the nature of the soil, it generally escapes the onslaught of the raging winds').

unsettled place, with the parched sand shifting at every breath of wind. But where some headlands jutting out into the sea bear the brunt of the winds, the earth is somewhat firmer, and bears sparse, rough grass, which serves as reasonable pasture for sheep. The inhabitants live on milk; any who are more resourceful, or, I should say, richer, eat barley-bread. That is the only crop there: because of the speed of its growth, due to the nature of the sunlight or the air,[4] it generally escapes the onslaught of the winds. It is actually said to ripen on the thirtieth day after the seed is sown. To be sure, the only reason why people live there is that they are all exempt from tax. The farthest boundary of the Cyrenians borders on that desert place, which lies between Egypt and Africa. Cato once led his army through it when he was fleeing from Caesar.

An old man whom I met there served up a really lavish meal: half a loaf of barley-bread! He also set before us a small bunch of a herb whose name escapes me, but it was like mint, with luxuriant leaves, and it tasted of honey. We were delighted with the quite delicious sweetness of this herb, and ate our fill of it. There were four of us, and he made five.'

31. *The Herbs of Egypt*

Let us add some further information about the herbs of these desert lands. In the province of Aix, in your kingdom, Prince, of Arles, there was a stout-hearted knight, the lord of the castle of Dauphin, which is dependent on the castle of Forcalquier. This man, whose name was Isnard,[1] resolved to lead a better life, and sailed across the sea without even saying goodbye to his small children and young wife. His idea was that he would find out how the fathers of old lived in the desert by actually experiencing the way of life himself.

Seven years had already elapsed since he had set off into the desert, when it occurred to one of his tenants to travel round the world and search out the place where his lord had settled down. He crossed the sea and, after making many enquiries from house to house, he eventually arrived in the desert and found the man he was looking for: he knew him at once, and was recognized in turn. Once they had exchanged their initial greetings, he quickly gave him all the news of

[1] An Isnard of the castle of Dauphin is mentioned in a document of 1182: see H. Rolland, *Dauphin: Contribution à son histoire* (Digne, 1933), p. 8.

premissis et transcurso propinquorum affinium et filiorum statu, post horam debitam mensa parata succedit, herba sui ministerium prebente; uice panis cotidiani quoddam radicis genus apponitur secus pauxilluli riuuli decursum. Hospes benedictione data stupet et, fame inuitante, ad gustandum ducitur: radices oblatas tam sapidas[g] repperit quod merito omnem nostri conuictus panem aut cibum dedignari poterat aut obliuisci. Comedit et saciatur; satiatus inquirit que sit et cuius herbe radix oblata, qualiterue aut quo indice preostensa. Ad hec uir sanctus: ‘Cum propter mundi spretas delicias ad hanc in monte Libani solitudinem peruenissem, ut non tantum mundi sed et mei immemor fierem, uidens terram montuosam et asperam, incultam et omni fructu sterilem, consumto modico pane quem[h] ad uiaticulum mecum detuleram, crescenteque naturali corporis esurie, dubius extiti quid consultius esset,[i] aut ardui cepti[j] propositi difficultatem deserere, aut quod ceperam arduum institutum prosequi usquequo natura deficeret. Quid ultra? Ad herbas siluestres me transfero, corde cruditatem earum insipiditatemque abhominante. Iam tepescebat ardor ardui principii, cum repente coruus aduenit, ereptamque in presenti cuiusdam herbe radicem ad pedes meos deponit aduectam. Tunc ego, tacitus rem considerans, herbam ori applico, suauemque[k] ac[l] omni dulcedine plenam reperio. Exhinc, timiditati necessitatique mee consultum agnoscens, panem omnem dedi obliuioni, eligens dulcedinem radicis, quam et tu probasti, quam omnem ueteris olle nidorem[m] panisue firmamentum.’[n][2] Dixerat, et conuiuio spiritualiter facto, hospiti suo frater heremi incola uale dixit, dans illi salutationis extreme uerbum et panis sui tam sollempnem quam iugem memoriam.[3]

[g] sapiendas *N* [h] quem *X*; quod *NAQI* [i] esset *supplied by author N*
[j] ceptique *Cβ* [k] suauenque *N* [l] ac *om. XQ* [m] nidorem *supplied by author N* [n] firamentum *N*

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[2] Cf. Ps. 104 (105): 16.

[3] Tales of the sustenance of hermits in the desert enjoyed great popularity. The raven in this story may be compared with the ones which supplied food for Elijah (3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 17: 6); cf. also Jerome, *Vita S. Pauli*, c. 10 (*PL* xxiii. 25) and *Otia*, ii. 4, at n. 84; Severus, *Dial.* i. 16 (ed. Halm, pp. 168–9 = *PL* xx. 194).

his children and other near relations; next, as it was now past the proper time, a meal was prepared. It turned out that the grass served as his table, while in place of daily bread a certain kind of root was set before them beside the course of a little stream. After grace had been said, the guest hesitated at first; but then, compelled by hunger, be brought himself to taste it. He found the roots with which he had been served so tasty that with good reason he could have despised or forgotten all the bread and other food which we eat. He ate his fill; and when he was satisfied, he asked what the root was that he had been given, what plant it came from, and how or by whose guidance it had been shown to him. The holy man said in reply: ‘I came to this desert place on Mount Lebanon because I had spurned worldly pleasures, in order that I might become unmindful not only of the world, but also of myself. But seeing that the land was mountainous and hard, uncultivated and barren of any produce, after I had consumed the little bit of bread which I had brought with me for the journey, and with the natural hunger of my body increasing, I was undecided as to what was more advisable: to give up in the face of the difficulty of the arduous course I had undertaken, or to pursue this hard enterprise which I had begun until my life naturally expired. Why spin out my story? I turned to wild herbs, though my sensibility revolted against their toughness and unpleasantness. My ardour for my difficult undertaking was already cooling, when suddenly a raven came on the scene, and tearing up the root of a certain plant in my presence, it brought it and laid it at my feet. Then I, silently pondering what had happened, raised the herb to my lips, and found it delicious and filled with all sweetness. From this time on, recognizing it as an answer to my anxiety and need, I gave up all thought of bread of any kind, preferring the sweetness of the root, which you too have enjoyed, to any fragrance of cooking from the past or the support of bread.’[2] He finished speaking, and after this spiritual banquet, the brother living in the desert bade farewell to his guest, giving him a word of final salutation and the memory of his bread, as awesome as it was lasting.[3]

xxxii. *De calore solis quo cibaria sicut igne coquuntur*[a]

In prenominato Seueri *Dialogo*[1] refert Postumianus: 'Vbi prima heremi[2] ingressus sum, duodecim ferme a Nilo milibus, uidi ollam cum oleribus, que nobis in cenam a uiro Dei parabatur, sine igne feruere. Tanta quippe illic uis solis est ut quibuslibet cocis, etiam ad Gallorum pulmenta, sufficiat. Ex maiore parte qui illic inter illa secreta consistunt, cum alia ibi germina nulla succedant, palmarum pomis que dactilos nominamus[b] aluntur.'

xxxiii. *De Olimpo, qui flatum uentorum excedit*[a]

Cum in plerisque scripturis celsitudo montium describatur, non erit omittendum quod Olimpus, mons Tracie, tante dicitur altitudinis quod ad eius apicem nullus uentorum flatus unquam pertingit; quod ex litterarum perpetuitate et aeris nimia subtilitate conuincitur, ut f. 65^{v} supra, decisione prima, titulo | *De fonte paradysi et quatuor fluuiis*,[1] memorauimus. Si enim illuc uenti peruenirent, utique flatus aquosi crassiorem ibi quandoque aerem generarent.

Est et in ipso Affrice occeano mons Athlas altissimus, qui fabulose humeris suis celum sustentare dicitur, habens Mauritaniam[b] Tingitanam ad sinistram, ut supra, decisione secunda, titulo *De Affrica*,[2] lacius exposuimus.

Sed et ut testatur Postumianus in *Dialogo* Seueri,[3] iugum Sina montis tantam habet celsitudinem quod summum eius cacumen, celo pene uicinum, nequaquam adiri potest. *Cotidiana* tamen *Hystoria*[4]

[a] De . . . coquuntur] De cibariis que ad solem sine igne coquuntur *CXQ*   [b] que dactilos nominamus *om. Severus*

[a] qui . . . excedit] et Athlante et monte Synay *CXQ*   [b] Maritaniam *N*

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[1] Cf. Severus, *Dial.* i. 13. 1, 4, 7 (ed. Halm, pp. 164–5 = *PL* xx. 192). Gervase neatly extracts this marvel from Postumianus' lengthy description of how he found a hermit with a well and an ox who could therefore grow plants which were otherwise not to be found in the desert.

[2] In this phrase, taken over from Severus, the genitive *heremi* apparently depends on the neuter plural *prima*: lit. 'the first things of the desert'.

[1] Cf. *Otia*, i. 11, at n. 10 and ii. 7, at n. 65. Gervase's account here is so abbreviated as to be fully comprehensible only in the light of the earlier passages.

[2] Cf. *Otia*, ii. 11, at nn. 20 and 30; also ii. 2, at n. 22.

[3] Cf. Severus, *Dial.* i. 17. 2 (ed. Halm, p. 169 = *PL* xx. 194).

[4] The *Cotidiana Historia* may have been a martyrology: in the eighth and ninth

32. *The Heat of the Sun, which Cooks Food like a Fire*

In the *Dialogue*[1] of Severus already mentioned, Postumianus reports: 'Where I first entered the desert,[2] about twelve miles from the Nile, I saw a pot of vegetables, which was being prepared for our dinner by a man of God, boiling without a fire. Indeed the strength of the sun is so great there that it suffices for any cooks, even for the elaborate cuisine of the Gauls. For the most part those who live there in those solitary places feed on the fruit of palm-trees, which we call dates, since no other crops grow there.'

33. *Olympus, which Rises above the Path of the Winds*

Although the height of mountains is described in a good many writings, it would be wrong to omit the information that Olympus, a mountain in Thrace, is said to be of such great altitude that no breath of wind ever reaches its peak. This is proved by the way letters remain undisturbed and by the extreme thinness of the air, as we recorded above, in Book I, in the chapter *The Fountain of Paradise and the Four Rivers*.[1] For if the winds did penetrate there, moist currents would surely sometimes make the air there denser.

Another very high mountain is Mt Atlas, out in the ocean off Africa. Atlas is said in legend to support the sky on his shoulders. This mountain has Mauritania Tingitana to its left, as we described more fully above, in Book II, in the chapter *Africa*.[2]

Further, as Postumianus asserts in the *Dialogue* of Severus,[3] the summit of Mount Sinai is so high that its highest peak is completely inaccessible, being practically next to heaven. However, the *Daily History*[4] records that the most blessed virgin Catherine was buried on

centuries so-called 'historical martyrologies' replaced the earlier Hieronymian type, and much fuller biographical notices were introduced. Each copy tended to be different, as individual scribes made their own additions and modifications. A great number include St Catherine under 25 November, frequently with extensive notices (see e.g. the notes to Usuard's *Martyrologium* for that date, *PL* cxxiv. 733–7); it seems likely that Gervase was using some such manuscript here. Cf. *Otia*, iii. 119, at n. 2.

There is no trace of Catherine's name in early martyr-records and her legend appears to have no historical foundation, but she became one of the foremost medieval saints. All the texts of her legend assert that her body was carried to Mt Sinai and buried there by angels (e.g. the *Passio Beatae Catherinae Virginis* in Mombritius' *Sanctuarium*, Solesmes edition (Paris, 1910), i. 287); the monastery on Mt Sinai attracted a great number of pilgrims in the crusading era.

memorat in summitate montis Synai angelorum ministerio beatissimam uirginem Katerinam esse sepultam, ubi iuge oleum manat; fortassis summitatem uerticem intellexerunt auctores.[c] Verum in ipso cacumine uerticis, ubi Deus locutus est ad Moysem legem instituens, credimus locum esse inaccessum a tempore Moysi, ubi nubes operuit Moysen. In eius tamen confinio, sed aliquanto inferius, uirgo Katerina per manus angelicas sepulta predicatur.

xxxiv. *De uento quem in cirotheca conclusit sanctus Cesarius*[a]

Quia uero uentorum ac moncium fecimus mentionem, asserentes montes plerosque omnibus uentis esse altiores, illud quoque annectimus quasdam ualles esse sic montium contiguitate conclusas quod ad illas numquam aura peruenit.

Ecce in regno Arelatensi, episcopatu Vasionensi, est castrum de Nionis, multis colonis inhabitatum. Hoc in ualle circumquaque montibus circumscepta positum est, in quam eo quod uentus nec leuissimus subintrauerat, usque ad tempora Caroli Magni[1] sterilis semper uallis extiterat, omnique humano commodo prorsus[b] inutilis. Verum infecunditatem ipsius comperiens archiepiscopus Arelatensis, sanctissimus uir miraculis preclarus, Cesareus, mare ciuitati sue subiacens adiit et cirotecam suam uento marino oppletam strinxit. Accedens itaque ad uallem, inutilem tunc habitam, in nomine Christi cirotecam uento plenam scopulo cuidam iniecit, uentumque perpetuum iussit emittere; sicque factum est quod statim rupes, facto foramine, per scissuram exhaustum uentum semper eructuat, quem Pontianum uulgus nominat, quasi a ponto illuc uirtute diuina translatum.[2] Hic, inquam, impetuosus spiritus terminos cuiusdam subterfluentis aque[3] non transgreditur; omnia fecundat, omnia

[c] actores *N*

[a] quem . . . Cesarius] pontico et cirotheca sancti Cesarii *CXQ*   [b] prosus *N*

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[1] St Caesarius was archbishop of Arles from 503 until his death in 543, i.e. in the time of Clovis (king of the Franks *c.*481–511) and his sons Theuderic, Chlodomir, Childebert, and Chlotar. Gervase calls both Charles Martel (*c.*689–741) and Charlemagne (*c.*742–814) Carolus Magnus, but this incident would have occurred long before their time.

[2] The scribe of *Q* commented in the margin (f. 161^{v}): 'et adhuc ab incolis uulgariter dicitur "lo vent de sant Cezari"'. The story continued to be well-known locally: cf. 'Légendes et traditions du pays d'Arles: du vent de N–S dit le Pontias, ou vent de Saint-Césaire', *Le Musée*, Arles, v (1881), 88. When the orifice through which the wind blows was blocked in the sixteenth century, the land became unproductive and the inhabitants

the summit of Mount Sinai by the ministration of angels, and that oil flows perpetually there; perhaps authors have taken a peak to be the summit. But we believe that on the very top, where God spoke to Moses when he gave the Law, the place where the cloud covered Moses has been inaccessible from his time. Near that place, however, but a little lower down, it is proclaimed that the virgin Catherine was buried by the hands of angels.

34. *The Wind which St Caesarius Shut Up in a Glove*

Because we have made mention of winds and mountains, declaring that many mountains reach higher than any winds, we are also adding the fact that some valleys are so shut in by surrounding mountains that no breeze ever penetrates to them.

For instance, in the kingdom of Arles, in the bishopric of Vaison, is the village of Nyons, where many people now make a living off the land. This place is situated in a valley surrounded by mountains on every side; because not even the lightest wind had stolen into it, up to the time of Charles the Great[1] the valley had always been barren, and no use at all for any human purposes. But Caesarius, archbishop of Arles, a very holy man renowned for his miracles, learnt of its infertility. He went down to the sea near to his city, filled his glove with the sea breeze, and tied it up. Thus equipped, he went to the valley that was then held to be useless, and calling on the name of Christ he hurled the glove full of wind against a certain rock, commanding the rock to send forth a continuous breeze; and so it happened that at once an opening appeared, and the rock perpetually draws a wind through the cleft and blasts it out. The local people call this the Pontian wind, signifying that it was brought there by divine power from the sea (*pontus*).[2] Now I tell you, this gust of air does not cross the boundary of a certain stream[3] which flows down below in

suffered from diseases; so after seven or eight months the wind was allowed to blow again (see Duchesne, *Livre*, p. 160 f., n. 105).

Liebrecht (p. 112) points out that this legend belongs to the large class of tales of wind-makers and -sellers, going back to Aeolus putting the winds in a bag for Odysseus (*Odyssey*, x. 19 ff.). For a bibliography see *MI* D2140–2 and D1543.6. A collection of 'astronomische und tellurische Wunder' performed by saints in the Middle Ages is given by Peter Toldo, in 'Leben und Wunder der Heiligen im Mittelalter', *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, vi (1906), 330–3. C. G. Loomis gathers together examples of saints controlling the wind in *White Magic*, p. 45 f.; see also Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, pp. 152–63 and 472–9.

[3] i.e. the river d'Eygues.

salubrat, et dum pretereuntes a fronte salutat, eos arciore flatus algore flagellat quos, uallis confinium egressos, quasi prohibitus ne datas sibi metas excedat, non[c] approximat.

xxxv. *De uirgula arida que per obedientiam floruit*[a]

Insigne cuiusdam abbatis mandatum quantam in nouitio quodam operatum sit uirtutem Postumianus refert.[1] Abbas pollicenti nouicio perpetem ad omnia uel extrema pacienciam storacinam uirgam iam pridem aridam solo figit, imperans ut tam diu uirgule aquam irriguam ministraret donec lignum aridum in solo arente uiuesceret.[b] Subiectus aduena diuine[c] legis imperio, aquam a Nilo per duo ferme miliaria humeris cotidie conuehebat. Quo duobus annis infructuose completo, tercio demum succedentium temporum labente curriculo, uirga floruit. 'Ego', inquit Postumianus,[d] 'ipsam ex illa uirgula arbusculam, que hodie intra atrium monasterii est, ramis uirentibus uidi, quasi testimonium uirtutis diuine maneat.'[e]

Ex hiis apparet, serenissime princeps, quid meriti sancti habeat obedientia, que non minus terreno principi debetur in hiis que ad iura pertinent imperii, quam spirituali patri in his que ad Deum spectant. Vult enim Deus hominem homini subesse duplici ratione, carnali domino quia caro est, et spirituali quia spiritus est. Et sicut spiritus carni dominatur, a quo regimur,[f][2] ita spiritualia precepta preferenda | f. 66r sunt carnalibus in hiis que militant aduersus animam. Non solum autem diiudicanda sunt mandata terrena, sed et ipsa spiritualis domini distinguenda sunt precepta. Habet enim prelatus in quo facile deuiet, cum homo sit, et decipi possit aut ira uel odio, uel timore uel amore corrumpi seu turbari. Tunc[g] ergo cum generalis datur ad aliquid agendum sententia, semper subiecto bono erit

[c] non *supplied by author* (?) *N*

[a] De . . . floruit] De uirtute obedientie et uirga storacina *CXQ and Severus* [b] uiresceret *Q* [c] diuine *supplied by author N;* durae *Severus* [d] Postimianus *N* [e] quasi . . . maneat] quasi in testimonium manens *Severus* [f] regitur *ACβ* [g] tunc *supplied by author N*

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[1] Cf. Severus, *Dial.* i. 19. 1–6 (ed. Halm, pp. 171–2 = *PL* xx. 196). Liebrecht (p. 112) notes that the motif of a blossoming rod is widespread, and suggests that it originated in the story of the rod of Aaron (Num. 17). But the motif is by no means limited to the Judaeo-Christian tradition; a classical parallel is found in the club of Heracles (Pausanias, ii. 31). For a collection of such legends, see Loomis, *White Magic*, pp. 94 f. and 114; see further *MI* F971.1.

the valley, but it renders the whole valley fruitful and healthy; it welcomes travellers as they approach, but then it whips with quite a severe blast of cold air those whom, once they have left the confines of the valley, it can no longer accompany: for it is apparently forbidden to overstep its appointed limits.

35. *The Dry Rod which Blossomed as a result of Obedience*

Postumianus reports[1] what great power an abbot's extraordinary command brought into operation in a certain novice. Since the novice was promising perpetual submission to any extreme, the abbot planted a branch from a gum-tree in the ground for him; the branch had already withered, but he commanded the novice to give it water to drink until the dead wood should come to life in the parched ground. The newcomer, submitting to the rule of divine law, carried water on his shoulders every day from the Nile, a good two miles away. When he had done this for two years without reward, at last when the third cycle of successive seasons was slipping past, the branch blossomed. 'I have seen', says Postumianus, 'the very shrub that has grown from that rod, with its branches covered in leaves. It is now inside the monastery enclosure, remaining as a testimony, as it were, to divine power.'

From this it is clear, most serene Prince, what holy merit there is in obedience, which is owed no less to our earthly ruler in things which pertain to the laws of the empire, than to our spiritual father in things which have regard to God. For God wishes human beings to be subject one to another in a twofold scheme: to a lord after the flesh because they are flesh, and to a lord after the spirit because they are spirit. And just as the spirit by which we are governed[2] has dominion over the flesh, so spiritual precepts are to be given precedence over carnal ones in cases where the soul is endangered. However, it is not just earthly commands that require careful judgment: the precepts of a spiritual ruler must also be subjected to discrimination. For a prelate has a ready capacity to err, in that he is human, and can be misled by anger or hatred, and corrupted or confused by fear or love. Therefore in the case of a general pronouncement being made that something should be done, it should always be respected and adhered

[2] An odd phrase, whether one reads *regimur* with *N*, or *regitur* with the other MSS; in the latter case, the subject understood would presumably be *homo*.

timenda ac tenenda; cum uero[h] ad specialia descendit capitula, si manifeste iniusta ex causa et animo, spernenda erit, ut C. .xi. q. .iii.: 'Non semper', et c.: 'Si dominus iubet';[3] si ex animo solo iniusta, timenda; si ex ordine tantum, timenda; si ex animo et ordine iusta, sed ex causa manifeste iniusta, tempnenda erit, cum expressim fuerit contra Deum lata, ut D. .xl.: 'Multi', ubi dicitur: 'Mandant aliqua martires[i] fieri' etc.[4] Si ex ordine iniusta, non erit a subdito spernenda, sed usque ad sequentem synodum toleranda, ut C. .xi. q. .iii.: 'Si episcopus forte'.[5] Si ex iusta causa sit an non dubitatur, humiliter seruetur. Si ex manifeste iniusta causa, sed non de hiis que circa fidem habent periculum, tenenda erit; potuit enim aliud subesse peccatum, propter quod sententia fuisset in reum iaculanda, ut ait Gregorius.[6] Porro in summo pontifice pro sententia est ipsa rei uitatio, ut D. .xciii.: 'Si inimicus'.[7] Hec quidem de ecclesiastico iudice in hiis que ad Deum spectant. Si uero imperator mandat et id fieri papa uel episcopus uetat, profecto circa terrena, cum in execucione mandati imperialis non subest contemptus diuine legis, imperatori erit parendum; a quo tunc demum erit recedendum cum aut certum est esse contra Deum aut dubitatur an sit fidei consonum, ut C. .xxiii. q. .iii.:[j] 'Quid culpatur in bello?'.[8] Si ergo mandat que iura sunt imperii, obediam, inquam, non sacrilego principi, sed sacratissime legi, non imperatori, sed imperio; sic et pontifici malo non obedio, sed sedi, non prelato, sed ecclesie, non pape, sed Petro, non homini, sed Deo, cuius legatione fungitur, ut C. .ii. q. .vi. c.: 'Accusatio'.[9]

[h] uero *ACXQ;* ergo *N;* non *I* [i] martires *β;* matres *NAC* [j] .iiii. *XQ*

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[3] *Decretum*, C. 11 q. 3 cc. 92 and 93.

[4] *Decretum*, D. 50 c. 27.

[5] *Decretum*, C. 11 q. 3 c. 4: 'Si episcopus forte' deals with the procedure to be adopted in the case of an unjust excommunication. C. 11 q. 3 c. 30 would be more appropriate here: 'Clericus, qui episcopi districtionem circa se putat iniustam, recurrat ad sinodum.'

[6] i.e. in disobeying an unjust command a person might fall into some other sin. Gregory the Great's writings were an important source for canon law; the allusion here is perhaps to *Moralia in Iob*, iv. 1. 2 (*PL* lxxv. 639).

[7] *Decretum*, D. 93 c. 1.

[8] *Decretum*, C. 23 q. 1 c. 4.

[9] *Decretum*, C. 2 q. 7 c. 15: 'Accusatio', on the seriousness of laying charges against

to by a good subject; but when it comes down to particular details, if it is manifestly unjust in motive and intention, it will have to be rejected, in accordance with C. 11 q. 3: 'Non semper', and c.: 'Si dominus iubet';[3] if it is unjust in intention alone, it should be respected; if in the circumstances alone, it should be respected; but if it is just in intention and circumstances, but manifestly unjust in its motive, it should be spurned, since it will have been issued in clear opposition to God, according to D. 40: 'Multi', where it is said: 'Mandant aliqua martires fieri' etc.[4] If it is unjust in the circumstances, it should not be spurned by the subject, but should be observed until the next synod, in accordance with C. 11 q. 3: 'Si episcopus forte'.[5] If there is doubt as to whether it is based on a just motive or not, it should be obeyed in humility. If it is based on a manifestly unjust motive, but is not among those things which carry a risk to the faith, it should be adhered to; for there could have been another sin lurking in the situation, on account of which the defendant would have had to have been found guilty, as Gregory says.[6] Now in a case involving the pope, the complete shunning of the defendant is passed as a sentence, in accordance with D. 93: 'Si inimicus'.[7] What I have said so far has been in connection with an ecclesiastical judge dealing with matters which have regard to God. If, on the other hand, the emperor issues a command, and the pope or a bishop forbids its execution, the emperor must certainly be obeyed in earthly matters, as long as the carrying out of the imperial command does not involve the contempt of divine law; it will only be necessary to go against him when it is either certain that his command is in opposition to God, or doubtful whether it is compatible with the faith, in accordance with C. 23 q. 3: 'Quid culpatur in bello?'.[8] If therefore his commands constitute a lawful exercise of his imperial authority, I shall, I say, obey not a sacrilegious ruler, but a sacred law, not an emperor, but the imperial authority; so too I obey not a bad bishop, but the see, not a prelate, but the Church, not the pope, but Peter, not a human being, but God, whose mission he performs, according to C. 2 q. 6 c.: 'Accusatio'.[9]

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priests, ends with the words: 'quoniam iniuria eorum ad Christum pertinet, cuius legatione funguntur.'

In uita[k] *sanctorum Thebeorum*[l]

Audi, lector, audi quid beatissima Thebeorum legio[10] erga imperatorem egerit. Erant uiri in rebus bellicis strenui, uirtute nobiles, sed fide nobiliores. Euangelici precepti etiam sub armis non immemores, reddebant que Dei erant Deo, et que Cesaris Cesari persoluebant.[11] Inquiunt ad imperatorem[m] Maximianum: 'Tibi miliciam, Deo debemus innocenciam; a te stipendia laboris accipimus, ab illo uite exordium sumpsimus.[n] Sequi imperatorem in hoc nequaquam possumus, ut auctorem[o] uite negemus. Dextre iste pugnare aduersus impios atque inimicos sciunt, laniare pios atque ciues nesciunt. Meminimus nos pro ciuibus potius quam contra ciues arma sumpsisse;[p] pugnauimus pro fide, quam quo pacto tibi seruabimus, si hanc Deo nostro non exhibemus? Iurauimus in sacramenta diuina, iurauimus deinde in sacramenta regia; nichil nobis de secundis, credas, necesse est, si priora prerumpimus.'

Attende igitur, sanctissime papa, qui mandas ne principi paream.[12] Pareo libens in hiis que Dei sunt tibi ut anime custodi; parebo et principi in hiis que ius tangunt imperii. Fidem seruabo inperio cui iuraui in imperatore; fidem Deo seruabo cui iuraui in baptismo. Vtrimque Deo quod illi debeo soluam, si tibi in spiritualibus et in terrenis imperatori obediero. Non ueni[13] pugnam constituere inter sacerdocium et imperium: unita sunt in Christo, concordia sunt in christiano. Vtrinque inuenies consonantiam, si seruaueris debitam utrique obedientiam. Principi legionis tuam, si miles es, debes obedientiam; quanto forcius imperatori parendum est, cui fidelitatem iurasti.

Audi mirabilem obedientie transgressionem mirabili pene cruciatu

[k] uita *supplied by author N* [l] In . . . Thebeorum] *written in margin N; om. CXQ*
[m] imperatorem *supplied by author N* [n] supmsimus *N* [o] actorem *N*
[p] supmsise *N*

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[10] The legend of the martyrdom of the Theban legion at Agaunum (Saint-Maurice-en-Valais in Switzerland), as a consequence of their refusal to persecute Christians, was first recorded in *c.*445 by Eucherius of Lyons in the *Passio Acaunensium martyrum:* this work is Gervase's source here. It would seem that a group of Christian soldiers from Egypt was put to death at Agaunum towards the end of the third century, and that the numbers were subsequently exaggerated; later, various martyrs were said to be stragglers from the Theban legion (cf. *Otia*, iii. 41). On the legend, see D. Van Berchem, *Le Martyre de la légion thébaine: Essai sur la formation d'une légende* (Basle, 1956); L. Dupraz, *Les Passions de saint Maurice d'Agaune* (Fribourg, 1961); S. Pricoco, *L'Isola dei santi: Il cenobio di Lerino e le origini del monachesimo gallico* (Rome, 1978), pp. 204–44; E. Chevalley, 'La passion anonyme', *Vallesia*, xlv (1990), 37–120. See also *Otia*, ii. 4, at n. 81; ii. 7, at n. 15; ii. 10, at n. 47.

An Episode from the Life of the Theban Saints

Hear, reader, hear how the blessed legion of Thebans[10] behaved towards the emperor. They were men stout-hearted in warfare, noble in their courage, but nobler still in their faith. Even under arms, they did not forget the evangelical precept: they rendered to God the things which were God's, and paid to Caesar the things that were Caesar's.[11] They said to the emperor Maximian: 'We owe you military service, we owe God our innocence; from you we receive payment for our work, from him we have derived our life's source. We can by no means follow the emperor in something which entails our denying the author of life. These right hands know how to fight against the impious and our enemies, but they do not know how to butcher the pious and our own people. We recollect that we took up arms on behalf of our people and not against them; we have fought for the faith, and how shall we keep faith with you, if we do not display it to our God? We swore to serve God, and then we swore to serve our earthly ruler; you have to believe that nothing is binding on us from the second oath, if we break the first.'

Take heed, therefore, Your Holiness, when you command me not to obey my earthly ruler.[12] I gladly render obedience to you, as the guardian of my soul, in what belongs to God; but I shall also obey my earthly ruler in what touches the lawful exercise of his authority. I shall keep faith with the empire, to which I have pledged myself in the person of the emperor; I shall keep faith with God, to whom I pledged myself at baptism. On either hand I shall pay God what I owe him, if I obey you in spiritual matters and the emperor in earthly matters. I have not come[13] to set up conflict between the sacerdotal and imperial powers: they are united in Christ, they are in harmony in the Christian. You will find no discord on either side, if you safeguard the obedience that is owed to each. You owe your obedience to the commander of your legion, if you are a soldier; how much more staunchly should the emperor be obeyed, to whom you have sworn fidelity.

Hear of an extraordinary transgression of obedience which was punished with an extraordinarily severe penalty. In the time of

[11] Cf. Matt. 22: 21; Mark 12: 17; Luke 20: 25.

[12] Otto had been excommunicated by Innocent III on 18 November 1210; see above, p. xxxii.

[13] Cf. Matt. 10: 34; Luke 12: 51.

punitam. Tempore Darii regis Persarum,[14] Manlius Torquatus consul Romanorum filium suum uirgis cesum securi percussit, quia contra imperium consulum cum hostibus pugnauerat, quamuis de ipsis uictor extitisset.[15] Si consul hec puniuit in filio que laudanda | f. 66^{v} potius erant cum triumpho, que pena dabitur feodotario qui etiam sub principe malo iura non defendit imperii? Quisquis es milicie debitor, considera quid debeas, et attende ne factus princeps exigas a subditis quod ipse subditus non impenderas.

xxxvi. *De uineis sine plantatore crescentibus*[a]

Est in Narbonensi prouincia, ad confinium montis Pessulani, castrum montis Ferrandi,[1] in cuius confinio, filice succisa atque combusta, terra more noualium colitur, aratroque scissa uites producit sine plantatore. Sic igitur uinea[b] beneficio nature concreta per triennium uina facit optima, exhinc ad sterilitatem siluestrem rediens, nisi iterato igne uratur.[2]

xxxvii. *De uado de Rodestum*[a]

In Britania maiore,[b] episcopatu Lincolniensi, loco qui ab indigenis Rodestum[c] nominatur, est[d] aqua profluens ad quantitatem grandis riui, modico uado passim transmeabilis. In hoc si duos equos septempnes adaquaueris, quantumcumque sint in corporis dimensione inequales, in humectatione tibiarum[e] et laterum inuenire pariter poteris sub equalitate altitudinis[f] humectatos.[1] Cumque aquam

[a] De . . . crescentibus] De uinea que sine plantatore (plantatione *Q*)) crescit *CXQ*
[b] uinea *supplied by author N*

[a] *sic X;* Rodestanen. *N*, Rodestim *Q*, Rodelban. *I* [b] i *written above* e *of* maiore *by author N* [c] *sic XA;* Rodestim *NQI* [d] est *om. XQ* [e] tibiarium *N*
[f] alititudinis *N*

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[14] i.e. Darius III, the last of the Achaemenid kings, who reigned 336–30 BC, and was defeated by Alexander the Great.

[15] Cf. Comestor, *Esther*, c. 3, Incidentia (*PL* cxcviii. 1495). Livy (viii. 7) relates that T. Manlius Torquatus as consul in 340 BC had his son beheaded because he fought against the revolting Latins in defiance of his edict.

[1] Confiscated from the count of Toulouse during the Albigensian Crusade, this castle was given to the bishop of Maguelone in 1215 by Innocent III (Duchesne, *Livre*, p. 161, n. 117).

[2] Stories of miraculous growth abound in folklore (see e.g. Loomis, *White Magic*,

Darius, king of Persia,[14] Manlius Torquatus, a consul of the Romans, had his own son scourged with rods and executed with an axe, because he had done battle with the enemy against the command of the consuls; this in spite of the fact that he had been victorious over them.[15] If a consul punished in his son this deed which deserved rather to be celebrated with a triumph, what punishment will be meted out to the vassal who has not defended the rights of the empire, even under a bad emperor? You, whoever you are, who owe military service, think what you owe; and if you become a ruler, make sure that you do not exact from your subjects anything that, when you were a subject yourself, you would not have paid.

36. *Vineyards which Grow Without a Planter*

In the province of Narbonne, in the district of Montpellier, is the castle of Montferrand.[1] Around this castle the bracken is cut down and burnt, and then the ground is tilled, following the usual procedure for newly-reclaimed land; but once it has been furrowed by the plough, it produces vines without anyone planting them. And so in this way a vineyard grows up out of the kindness of nature, and for a cycle of three years it yields very good wines; but after this it returns to a barren, overgrown state, unless it is scorched by another fire.[2]

37. *The Ford of Radstone*

In Great Britain, in the diocese of Lincoln, in a place which is known locally by the name of Radstone, there is some running water attaining the volume of a large stream, but shallow enough to be forded easily at any point. If you bring two seven-year-old horses into the water of this ford, you will be able to notice that, however much they may differ in the size of their bodies, when their legs and flanks get wet, the water reaches the same height on them both.[1] And when

pp. 94–6). This chapter may be compared with Gerald of Wales's description of a wood in the Auvergne, where vines spring up if the undergrowth is destroyed (*Topographia Hibernica*, ii. 7). Since the Montferrand in the Auvergne was better-known than the one near Montpellier, it seems likely that Gerald's wood in the Auvergne is a result of confusion between the two.

[1] On the marvels set in England, see Oman, 'The English folklore'. Extraordinary rivers are a favourite subject of folklore (see *MI* D915, F715, and F932); but the features of this

modice uadosam transieris, occurret in ripa mausoleum apertum, unius hominis capax, quod ad omnem plene etatis hominem in longitudine uidebis conuenire.[2]

xxxviii. *De aqua que pota lassatis reparat uires*[a]

In Britannia maiori, episcopatu Conuentrensi et comitatu de Stafford, ad radicem montis cui nomen[b] Mahul indigene indiderunt, est aqua in modum paludis[c] ample diffusa in territorio[d] uille quam Maggaleam[1] dicunt. In hac palude aqua est limpidissima et silue infinite continua, que tantam habet in resumendis corporum uiribus efficaciam quod, quociens uenatores ceruos aliasue feras insecuti fuerint usque ad equorum lassitudinem, si in ipso estuantis solis ardore aquam gustauerint ac equis exposuerint hauriendam, sic amissas[e] currendi uires reparant quod non cucurrisse dietam, sed uix attigisse iam ceptam arbitreris.

Nec absimilis est herbe cerifolii aut panis calidi[2] uirtus, quibus mustella, ex diutina cum serpente concertatione lassata, se implicat, ut ex confricatione herbarum amissas uires resumat.[3]

xxxix. *De prato de Cerzeules*[a]

In regno uestro Arelatensi, diocesi Vapincensi, est castrum Cerzeules,[b] in cuius castri territorio[c] lacus alte[d] profunditatis excreuit. Sane in lacus medio crusta pratum fecit,[1] que per anni circulum ab hominum attactu libera, tempore herbe tondende, applicitis restibus,

[a] pota . . . uires] uires reparat equis lassatis *CXQ* [b] nomen *C*; *om. NAβ* [c] plaudis *N* [d] terrotorio *N* [e] admissas *NI*

[a] de Cerzeules] crustato *CXQ* [b] Cerceules *N* [c] territori *N* [d] alte *supplied by author N*

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river are highly unusual. Radstone, in the Lincoln diocese, appears as 'Rodestun' in 1167. See E. Ekwall, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn. (Oxford, 1960), p. 379.

[2] Liebrecht (pp. 112–13) compares this tomb to that on Cruc Maur near Cardigan described by Nennius (*Historia Brittonum*, lxxiv). A number of later writers mention similar tombs without naming their whereabouts; Ralph de Diceto describes two tombs, one which would fit anyone, and another which would fit no one (*Abb. Chron.* pp. 13–14).

[1] 'This clearly refers to the lake at Mear, near Madely' (Oman, 'The English folklore', p. 9).

you have crossed the water, easily fordable as it is, you will be faced on the bank with an open tomb, of a size suitable for one person; and you will see this tomb adjust itself in length to fit any fully-grown human being.[2]

38. *Some Water, a Drink of which Restores Energy to the Weary*

In Great Britain, in the diocese of Coventry and the county of Staffordshire, at the foot of the hill which the locals have named Mahul, there is some water forming a marsh over a wide area in the territory of a hamlet which they call Maggalea.[1] The water in this marsh is very clear. It adjoins a vast forest, and it has such a great power to restore physical strength that, whenever hunters have chased stags or other wild beasts until their horses are worn out, if, even in the heat of a blazing sun, they taste the water and allow their horses to have a drink of it, they restore their lost energy for running to such an extent that you would think, not that they had been running all day long, but that they had only just begun.

Not unlike this is the virtue of the herb chervil, or of hot bread.[2] The weasel rolls itself in these herbs when it is wearied from a long struggle with the snake, in order that it may recover its lost strength by rubbing against them.[3]

39. *The Meadow of Cerzeules*

In your kingdom of Arles, in the diocese of Gap, is the village of Cerzeules, in whose territory a lake of great depth has formed. Now in the middle of the lake a crust of earth has produced a meadow.[1] This crust is free from human contact all year round, but in the haymaking season it is secured with ropes and pulled to the land which

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[2] Presumably, here, some kind of herb: cf. *panis cuculi*, wood-sorrel, and *herba calida*, columbine (Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, s.vv. *panis* and *herba*).

[3] Liebrecht (pp. 113–16) draws attention to Pliny's references to the battle of the weasel and the snake (*Hist. nat.* viii. 33. 79, x. 95. 204, xx. 51. 133, and xxxii. 12. 25). He goes on to discuss other appearances of the weasel in folklore, and particularly the belief that souls sometimes appeared as weasels, or, more regularly, as various kinds of birds.

[1] i.e. the 'motte flottante' of Pelleautier, in the marshes beside the mountain of Céze, not far from Gap: a marvel well-known in the Dauphiné (see Duchesne, *Livre*, p. 161, n. 119).

ad terram trahitur lacui imminentem, et sic defalcata sectiones recipit inter plerosque[c] coheredes. Facta itaque congrua diuisione, solutis funibus, crusta redit in id ipsum quo fuerat meditulium lacus occupatura.[2]

xl. *De aquis marinis que[a] congelantur in sal*

In regno Arelatensi, comitatu Aquensi, territorioque urbis Arelatensis, aque nimio frigidissimorum flatuum rigore[1] congelantur[b] in glaciem, effectuque contrario, pre nimio solis ardore sub Augusti feruore, aqua salsa congelatur et condensatur in salis coagulum. Exhinc ergo sumi ratio potest quare mare occeanum circuiri non potest discursu nauigantium. Hinc enim frigore congelatum sub septemtrione fit inuium, illinc nimio solis ardore spissatum transeuntibus efficitur ad euroaustrum et meridiem immeabile.[2]

xli. *De uexillis apparentibus in die sancti Constantii*[1]

In Italia, in confinio Alpium Apenninarum,[2] episcopatu Thaurinensi, iuxta est mons in cuius uertice requiescit beatus Constancius, unus de sanctissima legione Thebeorum.[3] Ad radices uero montis est abbatia religione preclara ab antiquo. Quotannis igitur, in die festiuitatis sancti Constancii, aduenientibus ad sollempnitatem apparent uexilla quam plurima in cacumine montis deambulantia, nunc alba, nunc rubea,[4] quorum portitores nulli comparent. Sed et ipsa uexilla

[c] plerosque *supplied by author N*

[a] De . . . que] De salinis que calore *CXQ*   [b] congelatur *NCXI*

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[2] This meadow belongs to the class of floating islands, the most familiar of which is Aeolia, floating on the western sea (*Odyssey*, x. 1 ff.); see further *MI* F737, D1643.3, and D2136.6.

[1] i.e. the mistral.

[2] The theory which Gervase advances here is an elaboration of ideas put forward by a number of earlier writers. The belief that the sea was *concretum* to the north beyond Ultima Thule goes back to antiquity (e.g. Pliny, *Hist. nat.* iv. 16. 104; Solinus, *Collect.* xxii. 9; Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, vi. 666, ed. A. Dick, 2nd edn. J. Préaux (Stuttgart, 1978)); and this idea was repeated by medieval authors (e.g. Adam of Bremen, *Hamburgische Kirkengeschichte*, ed. B. Schmeidler, *MGH SRG* ii (Hanover, 1917), 276. Other writers had suggested that the sea's salinity was caused by the heat of the sun (Adelard of Bath, *Quaestiones naturales*, li, ed. M. Müller (Münster,

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borders on the lake; and so it is mown, and the crop is divided out among several co-owners. Once a fair distribution has been made, the ropes are untied, and the crust floats back to take up the same position in the middle of the lake where it had been before.[2]

40. *Sea-Water which Hardens into Salt*

In the kingdom of Arles, in the county of Aix and the territory of the city of Arles, the water is hardened into ice by the extreme cold of the chilling winds,[1] and by an opposite process, beneath the extreme fieriness of the sun in the heat of August, the salt water hardens and condenses into solid salt. An explanation can therefore be drawn from this as to why the ocean cannot be circumnavigated in sailors' voyaging. For on the one hand it becomes impenetrable to the north because it is hardened by the cold, while on the other it is rendered impassable to travellers to the south-east and the south because it condenses under the extreme fieriness of the sun.[2]

41. *The Banners which Appear on the Feast of St Constantius*[1]

In Italy, in the region of the Pennine Alps[2] and the diocese of Turin, there is a mountain in the vicinity, on whose summit reposes the blessed Constantius, one of the holy legion of Thebans.[3] In the foothills of the mountain there is an abbey renowned from of old for the quality of its religious observance. Now every year, on the feast-day of St Constantius, banners are seen by the people arriving for his festival, a very large number of them, parading about on top of the mountain, some white, some red;[4] but no bearers are visible. What is

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1934); Pseudo-Honorius of Autun, *De philosophia mundi*, iii. 16 (*PL* clxxii. 82); Neckam, *De naturis rerum*, ii. 1, and *De laud. sap.* iii. 75–8). Gervase combined these ideas in the light of his observation of the Camargue, and deduced from them that it was impossible to sail round the world. Compare his remarks on the same phenomenon above, *Otia*, iii. 2, at n. 4.

[1] This chapter and the next two describe visions that can only be seen from a distance.

[2] The Pennine Alps and the Apennines were regularly confused: cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 8. 13; Paul the Deacon, *HL* ii. 18 (ed. Waitz, p. 83); *Otia*, iii. 44.

[3] Cf. *Otia*, iii. 35. In Eucherius' account the whole legion was martyred at Agaunum, but later hagiographers maintained that Maximian and Diocletian ran to ground a remnant scattered through various places, especially in Cisalpine Gaul.

[4] These were St Maurice's colours.

existentibus in mortali peccato non comparent, et si quis ad apicem montis ascenderit, statim omnis illa processionis uisio disparet.

xlii. *De rupe que nominatur*[a] *Equa Illi*[1]

Solent adolescentie[b] sectatores non minus figmenta uenari quam uera, et cum uanitas uanitatum sit et omnia uanitas,[2] uani filii hominum, dum mentiuntur in stateris,[3] inter matura precoquum[c] aliquid f. 67^{r} decerpunt, | et non minus fabulis quandoque delectantur quam rebus gestis. Ecce in regno Arelatensi et episcopatu Grationopolitano, iuxta Diensis diocesis confinium, est rupes altissima in territorio quod incole Treues nominant, quam altera e uicino rupes respicit, cui nomen Equa Illi, eo quod sit equalis illi; sed inaccessibilis in sua altitudine. Ex opposita igitur ruppe conspicientibus apparet illic fons perspicuus qui scopulosa scabre delabitur, et in summo rupis apice ad modum prati herba uiret, in quo nonnumquam panni superextensi candidissimi uisuntur ad exsicandum expositi, sicut lotrices in usu habent. Istud unde prodeat aut quid signet aut quo ministrante compareat querere facile fuit, sed inuenire difficilimum.[4]

xliii. *De fenestris in quibus apparent domine*[a]

In regno quoque Arelatensi et prouincia Aquensi, tradunt esse rupem in cuius arduitate, ad instar parietis per fenestras intercisi, a longinca uia transeuntibus domine due uel plures apparent, inuicem, ut assimulant, colloquentes ac mutuo risu sibi applaudentes. He subsistentibus a remotis uidentur speciose, iocunde, ac deliciantes; accedentibus autem uisio penitus euanescit in fabulam.

[a] uocatur *CXQ* [b] adolentie *N* [c] id est antecoctum *written in margin by author N*

[a] De . . . domine] De dominabus apparentibus in fenestra *CXQ*

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[1] i.e. Mont Aiguille, near Monestier-de-Clermont, Isère. Leibniz (p. 974) cites in comparison two hills near Göttingen called 'die Gleichen', and Liebrecht (p. 116) adds the hills in North Africa called the Seven Brothers because of their equal height, mentioned by Pliny (*Hist. nat.* v. 1. 18).

[2] Cf. Eccles. 1: 2; 12: 8.

[3] Cf. Ps. 61 (62): 10 (9). The Vulgate text: 'Verumtamen vani filii hominum, | Mendaces filii hominum in stateris, | Ut decipiant ipsi de vanitate in idipsum' is indebted to the LXX: *πλὴν μάταιοι οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ψευδεῖς οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ζυγοῖς τοῦ ἀδικῆσαι, αὐτοὶ ἐκ ματαιότητος ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*. Cf. the New Revised Standard Version: 'Those of low estate are but a breath, those of high estate are a delusion; in the balances they go up; they are together lighter than a breath.'

more, even the banners are invisible to any who are in a state of mortal sin; and if anyone climbs up to the mountain-top, that whole vision of a procession immediately disappears.

42. *The Crag which is Named Equal To That*[1]

People in pursuit of youth customarily chase after fiction no less than truth, and although it is vanity of vanities and all is vanity,[2] the vain children of men, liars in the scales that they are,[3] pluck an unripe fruit in the midst of ripe ones, and enjoy mere stories at times no less than actual happenings. Now in the kingdom of Arles and the diocese of Grenoble, near the boundary of the diocese of Die, there is a very high crag, in the district which the inhabitants call Trièves. Close by is another crag facing it, which bears the name Equal To That, because it is as high as the first; but its steepness makes it inaccessible. Well, people looking from the opposite crag can see a clear spring on this one, which tumbles down a rocky gully; and on the very top of the crag there is a patch of green grass like a meadow, and pure white garments are sometimes seen spread over the ground, having been put out to dry, just in the way washerwomen do. Whence that phenomenon comes, or what it signifies, or by whose agency it appears, was easy to ask, but very difficult to discover.[4]

43. *Windows at which Ladies are Seen*

Also in the kingdom of Arles, in the province of Aix, they say that there is a crag, on whose steep face, which is like a wall pierced with windows, two or more ladies appear to travellers when they are a long way away, conversing with each other, as they pretend, and clapping their hands at a shared joke. These women seem beautiful, charming, and alluring to people at a distance; but when they come closer, the vision utterly vanishes into illusion.

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[4] Liebrecht (p. 116) cites a similar phenomenon, but concerning water- rather than mountain-spirits, described by F. F. A. Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen* (Berlin, 1843), no. 174.

xliv. *De natura beueris et eius domicilio*[a]

Quamuis de naturis animalium tractare nostri non sit propositi, tamen interserere inusitata plurimisque incognita tanquam miranda scribere fuit. In deciduo Alpium Appenninarum,[1] iuxta castrum Secutiam in[b] Thaurinensi episcopatu, est aqua modicum[c] fluuium faciens, sed ex terre pendulo et aliarum scaturiginum immersione in latiorem amnem prorumpens. In huius ripa ostensus est mihi beuer, animal quidem ad anteriorem partem gressibile, sed ad subteriorem medietatem in piscem desinit;[2] partem inferiorem semper aqua immergit, superiorem terre infigit, et ut nature sue commoda inueniat receptacula, in ripa quasi solaria cauernosa facit, ut cum ascendit aqua uel descendit paratas sibi reperiat mansiones. De hoc sane animali[d] egregius uersificator Bernardus[e] Siluester ait:

> Cisimus obrepsit,[f] et uestitura potentes
> Marturis, et spolio non leuiore beuer.[3]

xlv. *De antipodibus et eorum terra*[a,b]

In Britannia maiore castrum est inter montana quedam situm, cui populus nomen Pech[c][1] imposuit. Munitio eius difficile expugnabilis, et in monte cauerna foraminis, que uelut fistula uentum pro tempore ualidissime eructuat. Vnde tanta prodeat aura miratur populus, et inter plurima que ibidem cum admiratione geruntur, accepi a uiro religiosissimo, Roberto priore de Kenildewirtha,[2] exinde oriundo, quod cum uir nobilis Guillelmus Peuerelli[3] castrum cum adiacente baronia pretaxatum possideret, uir quidem strenuus et potens ac in animalibus diuersis copiosus, uno aliquo die subulcus eius, cum

[a] De . . . domicilio] De beuere et eius natura *CXQ*   [b] in *supplied by author N*   [c] modicun *N*   [d] anmali *N*   [e] Bernadus *N*   [f] abrepsit *N*

[a] eorum terra *supplied by author N*   [b] De . . . terra] De castro quod Angli Pech nominant *CXQ*   [c] Peth *N*

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[1] See *Otia*, iii. 41, n. 2.
[2] Cf. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, l. 4.
[3] This couplet from Bernard Sylvester (*De mundi universitate*, iii. 230–1, ed. P. Dronke (Leiden, 1978)), is also quoted by Peter the Chanter (*Verbum abbreviatum*, 85, *PL* ccv. 255) to illustrate excessive luxury in dress.

[1] i.e. the Peak Castle, near Castleton in Derbyshire.

44. *The Nature of the Beaver and its Habitation*

Although it is not our purpose to treat of the natures of animals, nevertheless we did propose to include unusual phenomena and to write about things with which most people are unfamiliar, as being fit objects of wonder. On the slopes of the Pennine Alps,[1] near the town of Susa in the diocese of Turin, there is some water forming a small river, but surging out into a broader torrent after a drop in ground level and the absorption of other spring-waters. On the bank of this river I was shown a beaver. This is an animal which goes on legs in its fore part, but ends as a fish[2] for its bottom half; it always keeps its hinder part under water, but it rests its front on dry land. In order to find a suitable shelter for its nature, it excavates hollow terraces, as it were, in the bank, so that, according as the water-level rises or falls, it may always find a lodging prepared for it. The distinguished versifier Bernard Sylvester says of this animal:

> The squirrel crept up, and, destined to clothe the great,
> The marten, and with a hide of no less value, the beaver.[3]

45. *The Antipodeans and their Land*

In Great Britain there is a castle, situated in a mountainous district, to which the people have given the name of the Peak;[1] its fortifications can hardly be assailed. In the hillside is the mouth of a cave, which from time to time, like a pipe, blasts out a wind with great force. Where such a great gust comes from is a source of wonder to the people, and many things happen there which give rise to further wonder: here is one of them, which I heard from a man of high religious standing, Robert, prior of Kenilworth,[2] a native of the area. When the nobleman William Peveril[3] owned this castle with the attached estate (an energetic and powerful man, rich in various kinds of livestock), a swineherd of his was one day being lazy about the task

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[2] Robert was prior *c.*1160–86. See *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales*, ed. D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, and V. C. M. London (Cambridge, 1972), p. 167.
[3] 'William Peveril won distinction at the Battle of the Standard in 1138. In the Romance of Fulk Fitz Warine he appears as a fine gentleman, but that he was a man whom a swineherd might justly fear is shown by the fact that he was exiled and lost all his lands in 1155, for having poisoned Ranulf, Earl of Chester' (Oman, 'The English folklore', p. 10). William features in Walter Scott's novel, *Peveril of the Peak*.

segnis circa creditum sibi ministerium esset, suem grauidam de genere scrofarum magis generosam perdidit. Timens ergo propter iacturam[d] asperiora uicarii dominici uerba, cogitauit penes se si quo fortasis casu sus illa foramen Pech[e] famosum, sed usque ad illa tempora inscrutatum, subintrasset. Apponit in animo ut abditi loci se faciat perscrutatorem. Intrat cauernam tempore tunc ab omni uento tranquillo, et cum diutinam in procedendo uiam perfecisset, tandem ab opacis in locum lucidum obuenit, solutus in spatiosam camporum planiciem; terram ingressus late cultam, messores reperit fructus maturos colligentes, et inter spicas pendentes scrofam que multiplicauerat ex se suculos editos recognouit. Tunc miratus subulcus et de reintegrata iactura congratulatus, facto rerum prout euenerant uerbo cum preposito terre illius, scrofam recipit, et cum gaudio dimissus, gregem porcorum educit. Mira res: a messibus subterraneis ueniens, hyemalia frigora uidet in nostro emisperio perseuerare, quod utique solis absentie ac uicarie presentie merito ascribendum duxi.[4]

xlvi. *De ymagine Beate Virginis*

Cum de mirabilibus mundi tractatus nostri sit propositi, nihil inter
f. 67ᵛ mirabilia dignius quam id quod, cotidiana ad|miratione dignum, et diuina uirtute firmatur et utilitati nostre deseruire censetur. Ecce in Siria inferiori et prouincia Damascena, sub potestate paganorum, est ecclesia quam sancte Marie de Sardenai[1] nominant. In hac est yconia ymaginem Beatissime Virginis representans, sub cuius mamilla,

[d] factam *add. before* iacturam *X*, *after* iacturam *Q*   [e] Peth *N*

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[4] The Other World has been a constant challenge to the human imagination, and there is a vast literature on the subject: see, in particular, H. R. Patch, 'Some elements in mediaeval descriptions of the Other World', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, xxxiii (1918), 601–43; id., *The Other World, according to descriptions in mediaeval literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950). For further bibliography, see *MI* F1–199, especially F92, F110, F111.0.2, and F161.1.1.

Liebrecht (pp. 117–23) quotes Camden's *Britannia* on this cave, called the Devil's Arse; Camden denies the existence of the wind described by Gervase. Liebrecht also cites Nennius' description of a windy cave (*Historia Brittonum*, lxx). The Peak cavern and its wind are similarly described by Ralph de Diceto (*Abb. chron.*, p. 11), Henry of Huntingdon (*Historia Anglorum*, i. 7, ed. Diana Greenway (OMT, 1996), pp. 22–3), and Alexander Neckam (*De laud. sap.* v. 747–50). In the Saxon legend of Eadburga, daughter of the Thane of Castleton, the Peak cavern likewise forms an entrance to a subterranean world

assigned to him, and lost a pregnant breeding sow of a particularly good stock. Consequently, fearing the sharp words from his master's steward which the loss would provoke, he wondered to himself whether by any chance that sow might have gone into the famous, but up to those times unexplored, cave of the Peak. He made up his mind that he would himself become the explorer of that mysterious place. He entered the cave at a time when the weather was calm, without any wind, and after making his way forward into it for a long time, he eventually came out from the darkness into a light place, and found that he had emerged into wide open fields; advancing into the countryside, which was cultivated all round, he found harvesters gathering in ripe crops, and in the midst of the hanging ears of corn he recognized the sow, which had dropped its litter of several piglets. Then the swineherd, full of amazement, and delighted at the recovery of his loss, described the events just as they had occurred to the overseer of that land; he was given back the sow and, after a joyful leave-taking, led away his herd of pigs. The remarkable thing is that, on his return from the subterranean harvest, he saw the winter cold uninterrupted in our hemisphere. I have justifiably come to the conclusion that this is undoubtedly to be ascribed to the sun's absence, and its presence elsewhere.[4]

46. *An Image of the Blessed Virgin*

It being our aim to produce a treatise on the world's marvels, surely none among them could be more worthy to be included than something which deserves daily admiration, being both established by divine power and seen as serving our needs. Listen, then: in Lower Syria, in the province of Damascus, under pagan rule, there is a church which they call the Church of St Mary of Sardenaye.[1] In this church there is an icon displaying an image of the most Blessed Virgin, and from her breast, which by a divine miracle has turned to

(*A Legend of the Peak*, Loughborough, 1858). See also *The Place-Names of Derbyshire*, i, ed. K. Cameron, English Place-Name Society, xxvii (Cambridge, 1959).

Stories of the Other World were in vogue at this time: cf. William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, i. 27; Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Kambrie*, i. 8; Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 118–20. In all of them the Other World is situated under, or within, the earth, but it is not an abode of the dead. Gervase's account differs from the others in its reversal of the seasons: the others all describe a kind of half-light.

On medieval ideas concerning the possible existence of antipodeans, see *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 116.

[1] i.e. the modern Seidnaya, or Said Nâya, near Damascus.

carnea diuino miraculo facta, oleum uice lactis stillat, infirmorum sanitati proficuum.[2] Quod qualiter aut quo diuino iudicio prouenerit[a] a multis celebriter tam testificatum quam scripture commendatum habemus.

xlvii. *De cruce latronis Dominum in cruce confitentis*[a]

In insula Cipro crux est latronis confitentis Dominum, cui Dominus ait: 'Hodie mecum eris in paradyso.'[1] Eratque sub diuo posita eo quod, tempore inuentionis sancte crucis, cum sancta Elena, mater Constantini imperatoris et filia Colli, regis Britannie maioris,[2] cum tesauro preciosisimo crucis clauorum et ampulis sanguinis et aque que fluxerant e latere Domini pendentis in cruce, transitum fecit per Ciprum Romam rediens, tunc terra Cipri nullum cadauer poterat retinere.[3] Vnde factum est ut ad instanciam populi de corruptione aeris et miranda nouitate conquerentis, crucem in insula Cipro relinqueret, cuius uirtute terra cadauera mortuorum absorta retinuit, cum ante id tempus sepulta reuomere consueuisset.

Est autem hoc insigne crucis illius mirabile, quod cum sit in ecclesia inclusa, nullo fixorio firmatur, uerum in aere stans sine

[a] prouenit *CXQ*

[a] Dominum . . . confitentis] in Cipro *CXQ*

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[2] Portraits exuding oil are a fairly frequent phenomenon in medieval legend, but the famous icon of Seidnaya is of particular interest, because of the rich cultural exchanges which mark the history of its legend. This legend originated in Syria as an Arab story, associated with the Melchite convent of Seidnaya. It was transmitted to Europe by the Latin Christians: the earliest Latin version circulated in about the middle of the twelfth century (see E. Cerulli, *Il Libro etiopico dei Miracoli di Maria e le sue fonti nelle letterature del medio evo latino* (Rome, 1943), pp. 270–2). Over the next three centuries the legend was frequently retold in the west, acquiring many embellishments (see e.g. Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard (RS lvii (1872–83), ii. 484–8). At the same time the legend travelled through Egypt to Ethiopia (see Cerulli, op. cit., pp. 231–89; *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, transl. E. A. W. Budge (Cambridge, 1928), i. 34–6). For a recent study and bibliography, see L. Minervini, 'Leggende dei cristiani orientali nelle letterature romanze del medioevo', *Romance Philology*, xlix (1995), 1–12, at pp. 6–12.

The image was said to be one of Luke's portraits (cf. *Otia*, iii. 25, n. 6). According to the original version of the story, a monk one day lodged at the convent of Seidnaya on his way to Jerusalem, and the abbess asked him to bring her back a portrait of the Virgin. He forgot this errand, but heard a voice as he left the city reminding him of it. He went back and bought a portrait, which then protected him against thieves and wild animals on his journey. At this he decided to keep it, but when he entered a boat the wind carried him to Damascus. There he stayed at the convent again, but did not make himself known; when he saw that the icon was sweating oil, he tried to leave with it, but could not get

flesh, instead of milk there distils oil, which is beneficial for healing the sick.[2] We have learnt in what manner and by what divine ordinance this came about from many people, since it is well-known by hearsay as well as from written accounts.

47. *The Cross of the Thief who Acknowledged the Lord on the Cross*

On the island of Cyprus is the cross of the thief who acknowledged the Lord, to whom the Lord said: 'Today you shall be with me in paradise.'[1] It was originally set up in the open air for the following reason. At the time of the finding of the Holy Cross, St Helena, the mother of the emperor Constantine and the daughter of Coel, king of Great Britain,[2] made the crossing via Cyprus on her way back to Rome with the precious treasure of the nails of the cross, and with flasks of the blood and water which had flowed from the Lord's side while he was hanging on the cross. At that time the earth of Cyprus could not keep down any corpses.[3] The people complained about this extraordinary phenomenon and the corruption of the air, and so it came about that, at their entreaty, she left the cross on the island of Cyprus. Its power enabled the earth to keep down the dead bodies it swallowed, while up to that time it had habitually disgorged any that were buried in it.

Now here is an outstanding marvel which pertains to that cross: although it is now shut inside a church, it is not fastened to any

out. Eventually he confessed to the abbess, who received the portrait with great joy. The monk stayed and ministered to the icon for the rest of his life.

The convent became a major centre of pilgrimage. Western versions of the legend report that the icon was venerated by Christians and Muslims alike; this remains true even today (see William Dalrymple, *From the Holy Mountain* (London, 1997), pp. 187–91).

[1] Luke 23: 43. The so-called Good Thief of Luke's passion narrative occupied a notable place in apocryphal literature: see e.g. *Evangelia apocrypha*, ed. Tischendorf, pp. 192–3 and 361–2.

[2] A British tradition made St Helena the daughter of Coel of Colchester (Geoffrey of Monmouth, *HRB*, c. 78 (= ed. Griscom, v. 6)); however, there is no historical evidence for this. Helena was actually born almost certainly at Drepanum in Bithynia, later renamed Helenopolis by her son. In 324 she journeyed to the Holy Land, and a tradition which apparently arose at the end of the fourth century (it is first referred to by Ambrose in his sermon *De obitu Theodosii* cc. 41–8 (*CSEL* lxxiii. 393–7 = *PL* xvi. 1399–1402), dating from 395), attributed to her the finding of the True Cross together with the crosses of the two thieves.

[3] The idea of an island on which no corpse could be buried may be compared with the establishment of Delos as a holy island on which no one was to die or be buried; cf. also *Otia*, i. 14, n. 4.

firmamento, osculum porrigentibus se offert, contactum manuum fugit. Si attemptatur manibus, statim mouetur et fugam facit, nunc ad latus declinans, nunc in altum tendens.[4]

xlviii. *De aqua que[a] numquam bullit*

Est in regno Arelatensi et castro de Pirioleti[b] [1] aqua limpidissima, usui mortalium plurima commoda. Huius miranda erit complexio, quod cum ad plenum caro[c] [2] omnisque generis legumina decoquat, numquam tamen bullire potest. Vnde prouenit quod ignoti et transeuntes, hec ignorantes, aque bullicionem expectantes, post diutinos ignes longasque moras carnes aut pices cacabo immissos reperiunt sic comminutos et excoctos quod minus sapidi ex nimia decoctione redduntur.

xlix. *De facie[a] Domini impressa rupi[b]*

Miliario uno a Nazareth contra meridiem [1]ostenditur locus qui dicitur Saltus Domini, eo quod Iudei, ira turbati eicientesque Iesum extra ciuitatem, duxerunt eum ad supercilium montis ut precipitarent eum. Ille autem transsiens per medium illorum, ibat.[2]

[a] que *supplied by author N* [b] Puioleti *XQ*, Puiolen *I* [c] caro *NACXQ*; carnes *I*

[a] facie *supplied by author N* [b] De . . . rupi] De Saltu Domini *CXQ*; De facie Domini impressa ruppi uel de Saltu Domini *I*

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[4] The mainstream account of St Helena's finding of the three crosses on Calvary contains no mention of the cross of the Good Thief being left on Cyprus (see e.g. *AASS*, Aug. iii. 548–611). But this relic, which was preserved in the monastery of Stavro Vouni, attained great fame in the later Middle Ages; see J. Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus* (London, 1901), pp. 439–51. The earliest description of it is by Abbot Daniel, a Russian Christian who visited Cyprus *c.*1106–7. He affirms that it was suspended in mid-air, but does not mention the impossibility of burying the dead. The next account, however, by Willebrand of Oldenburg (who saw it in 1211), says that it swung to and fro in the air, and had the virtue of keeping the dead in their graves. Many subsequent travellers mentioned it, including 'Sir John Mandeville', William of Boldensele, and Jacopo da Verona. Neither of the two early accounts was Gervase's source here; he may be reporting a crusader's story.

When the Mamelukes invaded Cyprus in 1426, a body of troops plundering the monastery of Stavro Vouni discovered that the cross was supported by some springs concealed within it.

[1] Perhaps Piolenc, near Orange.

support, but standing in the air without a prop, it offers itself to people who come forward to kiss it, while it shuns the touch of hands. If anyone tries to take it in their hands, it immediately moves and makes its escape, sometimes swerving to the side, other times rising up high.[4]

48. *Water which Never Boils*

In the kingdom of Arles, and in the village of Pirioleti,[1] there is some water that is very clear, and well-fitted for human consumption. Its quality will arouse wonder, for although it cooks thoroughly meat[2] and vegetables of every kind, it can never boil. And so it happens that strangers and travellers, not realizing this and expecting the water to boil, find after long heating and tedious waiting that the pieces of meat or fish which they had put in the pot are so reduced and overdone that they are rendered virtually inedible by their excessive cooking.

49. *The Imprint of the Lord's Face on a Rock*

One mile from Nazareth towards the south, [1]a place is pointed out which is called the Lord's Leap, because the Jews, overcome with rage, thrust Jesus out of the city and brought him to the brow of a hill, meaning to cast him down headlong. But he, passing through the midst of them, went his way.[2] And in his descent the Lord pressed

[2] *I*'s *carnes* would seem to be a scribal correction of *caro*, apparently used here as a neuter noun.

[1–1] ostenditur . . . eius impressa notantur (p. 650)] Cf. Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 72 (*PL* cxcviii. 1574). The Saltus Domini is mentioned in many of the medieval descriptions of the holy places, as for example in those of Fretellus (1137 and 1148), John of Würzburg (*c.*1160–70), and Theoderic (*c.*1172). None of these mentions the imprint of Christ's form; however, this was such a favoured object of devotion that it was eventually completely obliterated (J.-A.-S. Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire critique des reliques et des images miraculeuses* (Paris, 1821), ii. 322).

Imprints left by holy people or gods are an ancient and widespread phenomenon: for a bibliography, see *MI* A972.1. This is one of many instances recorded with reference to Jesus: the same phenomenon supposedly occurred with, for example, the column on which he was scourged, and a rock on which he rested his shoulders on the Mount of Olives (see Theodosius, *De situ terrae sanctae*, cc. 7 and 21 (ed. Geyer, pp. 141 and 146)); cf. also the legends in *Otia*, iii. 23–5.

[2] Cf. Luke 4: 29–30.

Descendens itaque Dominus impressit se rupi, cedensque ei rupes fecit locum quasi latibuli, in quo adhuc uestigia lineamentorum[c] eius impressa notantur.[1]

l. *De statua et herba fimbrie*[a]

[1]In *Ecclesiastica hystoria* legitur quod quidam fecit statuam auream[2] in honore Saluatoris, et post statuam ipsius Martha illic sanata est.[3] Ibi quoque nascebatur herba quedam, ita plerumque cressens quod tangebat fimbriam uestimenti ymaginis; eratque tante uirtutis quod quicumque ex ea sumebat,[b] a languore quo tenebatur liberabatur. Et de hac intelligendum putant quod dicit Ambrosius in sermone *De Salomone*. Enumerans enim beneficia Christi circa genus humanum, post aliqua premissa subdidit: 'Dum languidum[c] sanguinis fluxum siccat in Marcha, dum demones expellit de Maria, dum corpus rediuiui[d] spiritus calore constringit in Lazaro.'[1] Quod enim dicitur in ewangelio,[e] dum iret Iesus ad filiam Iairi[f] archisinagoge[g] suscitandam, mulierem per duodecim annos fluxum sanguinis passam ad tactum fimbrie uestimenti eius curatam,[4] ad Martham non referunt, sed ad aliam mulierem cuius nomen tacetur;[5] sed de hiis latius diximus in tractatu *De uita Beate Virginis et discipulorum et eorum transitu*.[6]

[c] lineamentorum *MSS;* rugarum uestimentorum *Comestor*

[a] et . . . fimbrie] aurea *CXQ;* et herba fimbrie uel de statua aurea *I* [b] sumeret *Comestor* [c] sanat *written in margin by author after* languidum *N* [d] rediuiui *supplied by author* (*correction*) *N* [e] ewangelio *supplied by author* (*correction*) *N* [f] Iairi] miri *N* [g] archisinagogi *CQI*

[1-1] In . . . constringit in Lazaro.'] This passage is taken from the Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 61 and Additio 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1569–70); he in turn was drawing on Eusebius-Rufinus, *HE* vii. 18, ed. Mommsen, pp. 672–3). On the development of the legend, see Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 197–205 and 250*–73*; see also Liebrecht, pp. 123–5. There was apparently a bronze group at Paneas (Caesarea Philippi), representing a man with a woman kneeling before him, beside which a medicinal herb grew. Dobschütz remarks (p. 198): 'Offenbar war es eine Votivstele, eine Adorantin vor irgend einem Heilgotte darstellend, mag dabei an Asklepios oder an einen phoenicisch-syrischen Doppelgänger desselben gedacht sein.' By the time of Eusebius it had been given a Christian interpretation, and was said to have been set up in thanksgiving by the woman who was healed of an issue of blood. By the end of the fourth century we are told by Asterios of Amaseia that the statues had disappeared (Dobschütz, p. 255*). It seems that, since the legend had now become well known, the people of Paneas then pointed out another statue, this one just of a man, as the one in the legend: later accounts not derived from Eusebius know of only one statue (Dobschütz, p. 199).

himself against a rock, and the rock yielded to him, and formed as it were a hiding-place; and the imprinted traces of his features can still be observed there.[1]

50. *A Statue and the Herb at its Hem*

[1]In the *Ecclesiastical History* one reads that someone fashioned a golden[2] statue in honour of our Saviour; and Martha was healed there, behind his statue.[3] A certain herb also established itself there, showing a tendency to grow so as to touch the hem of the statue's garment; this herb possessed such great virtue that whoever ate of it was released from any ailment which hampered them. And people think that what Ambrose says in his sermon *On Solomon* is to be understood as referring to this herb. For in an enumeration of Christ's services to the human race, after mentioning various other things he added: 'when he dried up the enfeebling issue of blood in Martha, when he drove out the evil spirits from Mary, when he invigorated the body of Lazarus with the warmth of restored breath.'[1] For they do not take as referring to Martha the gospel account of how, while Jesus was on his way to raise up the daughter of Jairus, ruler of the synagogue, a woman who had suffered from an issue of blood for twelve years was healed at a touch of the hem of his garment;[4] but they take it as referring to another woman, whose name is not divulged.[5] However, we have discussed these matters more fully in our treatise *The Life of the Blessed Virgin and her Disciples and their Passing Away*.[6]

[2] The tradition, including the Comestor, is virtually unanimous in describing the statue as made of bronze: *auream* therefore seems to be a mistake on Gervase's part for *aeream*. The only other variant is in a version deriving from Theodosius, *De situ terrae sanctae*, c. 2 (ed. Geyer, p. 138): there the statue is said to be *electrina* (cf. *Otia*, ii. 23, at n. 16).

[3] The Comestor's text at this point reads: 'et propius statuam Marthae ubi sanata est.' Leibniz and Liebrecht both suggest the emendation *Martham quae* for Gervase's *Martha*. However, it seems likely that Gervase, or an intermediate source, knew the version of the story in which there was only one statue, and altered the Comestor's text accordingly.

The woman in this legend, nameless in Eusebius-Rufinus, was named as Martha by the Comestor following Pseudo-Ambrose, Sermo 46 *De Salomone* (*PL* xvii. 698: see below, n. 5, and cf. *Otia*, iii. 25, n. 1.)

[4] Cf. Matt. 9: 18–26; Mark 5: 22–43; Luke 8: 41–56.

[5] i.e. some people think that *two* women were healed of an issue of blood: one of them Martha, who was healed by the herb in this story, and the other the nameless woman of the gospels. This sentence is not in the Comestor's text.

[6] This work, presumably the same as that referred to in iii. 25, is lost.

li. *De balsamo*[a]

In Siria [1]regio est Ydumea pinguisima, ubi palmarum plurimum et balsamum nutritur; cuius inciso lapidibus accutis robore, stillantem lacrimam ex uulneribus colligunt.[1] Cuius bonitas sic probatur: si ponderat opobalsamum[b] plus duplo uel triplo quam terebintium, purum est; si minus | aut equaliter, sofisticatur.[2] f. 68^{r}

lii. *De medicabilibus balneis*[a]

[1]Philipus in termino Iudee septemtrionali[b] constituit ciuitatem quam uocauit Cesaream Philipi, in memoriam Tyberii Cesaris et sui nominis, et est in regione Fenicis, ubi ad radicem Libani oriuntur duo fontes, Ior et Dan; quorum riuuli, sociati sub montibus Gelboe sub urbe Cedar, secus medicabilia balnea, Iordanem faciunt, nomen eius quasi ex suis nominibus componentes. Tamen Ieronimus[2] dicit quod ciuitas illa olim dicta est Dan, ubi uitulum aureum posuit Ieroboam,[3] a qua riuus preterfluens dictus est Iordanis, quasi ex nomine fontis et ciuitatis cognominatus; que ciuitas nunc Paneas[c] dicitur. Porro Iosephus[4] dicit ultra Cesaream .cxx. stadiis modicum lacum esse, qui a rotunditate Fiala dicitur, semper plenus et numquam exuberans. Ibi oritur Iordanis, et paulo post a terra sorbetur, ad radicem Libani iterum ebuliens. Quod primus Philippus tetrarcha deprehendit: nam missis in Phialam paleis, eas apud Paneum[d] redditas inuenit; Paneum autem[e] uocat Iosephus fontem

[a] et eius probatione *add. after* balsamo *CXQ* [b] opobasamum *N*

[a] De . . . balneis] De fluuio succrescente *CXQ;* De medicabilibus balneis uel de fluuio succrescente *I* [b] septentrioonali *N* [c] Pineas *N* [d] Paneam *β* [e] aut *N*

[1–1] Cf. Comestor, *Libri Mach.*, c. 8 (*PL* cxcviii. 1528); Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 54; *Bell.* i. 138.

[2] Balsam was often mixed with other resins and sold as pure. Gervase returns to the balsam-tree in *Otia*, iii. 78, and Appendix i. 30.

[1–1] Philipus . . . confluentibus, conficitur Iordanis (p. 654)] Cf. Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 85 (*PL* cxcviii. 1580); Eusebius–Rufinus, *HE* vii. 17 (ed. Mommsen, p. 671). In the margin alongside this passage in *N* 'Hystoria ecclesiastica' was written by the rubricator; 'ecclesiastica' was then deleted and rewritten by the author. However, the Comestor's *Historia scholastica* was Gervase's immediate source here; the medicinal baths are not

51. *Balsam*

In Syria is [1]the very rich region of Idumaea, where a large number of palm-trees flourish, and also the balsam-tree. People cut open the trunk of this tree with sharp stones, and collect the gum-drop which exudes from the incisions.[1] Its quality is tested as follows: if the balsam weighs more than twice or three times as much as turpentine, it is pure; if it weighs less or the same, it is adulterated.[2]

52. *Some Medicinal Baths*

[1]Philip built a city on the northern boundary of Judaea which he called Caesarea Philippi, to preserve the memory of Tiberius Caesar and of his own name; it is in the region of Phoenicia, where two springs, the Jor and the Dan, rise at the foot of Lebanon. Their streams, joining together beneath the mountains of Gilboa near the city of Kedar, alongside some medicinal baths, form the Jordan; they also give it its name, which is a compound, so to speak, of both of theirs. But Jerome[2] says that that city is the place once called Dan, where Jeroboam set up a golden calf,[3] and the stream flowing past was called the Jordan after it, named as it were after the spring and the city, the city now being called Paneas. Moreover, Josephus[4] says that a hundred and twenty stades beyond Caesarea there is a small lake, which is called Phiala, or 'the Bowl', from its roundness. It is always full but never overflows. The Jordan has its source there, but after a little it sinks into the ground, bubbling up again at the foot of Lebanon. Philip the tetrarch was the first to prove this: he threw chaff into Phiala, and found that it bobbed up again at Paneum; for

mentioned by Eusebius. Philip the Tetrarch (son of Herod the Great) made improvements at Paneas, the modern Baniâs, and renamed it Caesarea Philippi; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 28, and see *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, ed. Richard Stillwell (Princeton, 1976), s.v. Paneas (p. 670); the site had not been excavated at the time of publication of this volume.

[2] Cf. Jerome, *Commentaria in Ezechielem*, viii. 27.19 (*CCSL* lxxv. 374 = *PL* xxv. 258). Dan was generally reckoned to be both the name of one of the springs of the Jordan, and the name of a place a little to the west of Paneas, or another name for Paneas itself.

[3] Cf. 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 12: 29.

[4] Cf. Josephus, *Bell.* iii. 506–15. The Greek stade is equal to 606¾ English feet. Phiala is the modern Birket Ram, about four miles south-east of Paneas. Paneum (or 'Pan's grotto'), near Paneas, is the source of the Lesser Jordan; there is not in fact any connection between it and Phiala.

sub Libano. Consimili ebulliendi genere dicit[5] supra Seleuciam ex quodam lacu riuum nasci, quem uocat maiorem[f] Iordanem. Sic ex duobus riuis, ad locum qui dicitur aureum templum Iouis[g] confluentibus, conficitur Iordanis.[1] Sic et Nilum[h] ex paradiso natum, et absortum, sub Athlante nasci diximus.[6]

Sane mare Galilee [7]lacus est, qui fit Iordane influente; et dicitur mare, cum sit aqua dulcis, ydiomate Hebreorum, qui omnem aquarum collectionem *tharsis*, id est mare, uocant. Dicitur autem Galilee quia preterfluit Galileam, et quandoque mare Tyberiadis, quia ciuitas hec famosa illi imminet; sed et stagnum Ienesareth ex accidenti dicitur: quandoque enim, crispantibus undis, generat ex se auram; extenditurque .cxl. stadiis in longitudine et quadraginta in latitudine. Dicit tamen Iosephus[8] eam[i][9] sic dictam[j] a modica regione Genesara quam preterfluit, quam etiam dicit admirabilem: nam tota diuersissimi[k] generis arbustis consita, nulli eorum ubertatem suam negat aut temperiem. Sunt illic nuces que maxime frigoribus gaudent; sunt et palme quas nutrit calor estiuus; sunt ficus et olee quibus aura mollior est destinata: ut[l] quasi repugnancia bona contentione[m] terre studio foueantur. Hanc dicit Iosephus irrigari fonte quem nominat[n] Capharnaum,[10] quem plerique uenam esse Nili opinantur, quia coracinum piscem[11] generat, nusquam preter Nilum repertum.[7]

liii. *De signis que apparuerunt in morte Iulii Cesaris*[a]

Inter mundo miranda, uice digressionis, signa que apparuerunt in morte Iulii Cesaris annectere dignum duxi, ut habeant deliciose aures

[f] maiorem *MSS;* minorem *Comestor* [g] aureum templum Iouis *MSS and Comestor;* aurei templum bouis *Josephus* [h] Nilum *supplied by author N* [i] eam *MSS;* eum *Comestor* [j] dictam *MSS;* dictum *Comestor* [k] diuersissimi *ACI and Comestor;* diuersissimis *NXQ* [l] ut *supplied by author N* [m] contentione *Comestor;* contentioso *Nβ;* contencio se *A* [n] quem nominat *MSS;* qui cadit in *Comestor*

[a] que . . . Cesaris] in morte Iulii Cesaris apparentibus *CXQ*

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[5] Cf. Josephus, *Bell.* iv. 2–5; Josephus, and the Comestor, actually say that it is the Lesser, not the Greater, Jordan which is fed by the springs from above Seleucia. There was some confusion, even in Josephus, as to whether the lesser and greater rivers were from two sources, or were the river above and below the Sea of Galilee respectively. The 'golden temple of Jupiter', here taken over from the Comestor, is a corruption of the 'temple of the golden calf' in Josephus (see apparatus).

[6] Cf. *Otia,* i. 11, and ii. 3 (pp. 182–3).

[7–7] lacus . . . preter Nilum repertum] Cf. Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 40 (*PL* cxcviii. 1560–1).

[8] Cf. Josephus, *Bell.* iii. 516–20. The plain of Gennesaret is north-west of the lake, between Capernaum and Magdala.

Josephus calls the spring beneath Lebanon Paneum. He says[5] that the stream which he calls the Greater Jordan bubbles up in a similar way, having its source in a lake above Seleucia. Thus the Jordan is formed from the two streams flowing into each other near the place called the Golden Temple of Jupiter.[1] We have already described how the Nile similarly has its source in paradise but then sinks back into the earth, to emerge again near Atlas.[6]

The Sea of Galilee [7]is in fact a lake, which is produced by the Jordan flowing into it. It is called a sea, even though the water is sweet, in accordance with Hebrew usage: they call any collection of water a *tharsis,* that is, a sea. It is called the Sea of Galilee because it washes against Galilee, or sometimes the Sea of Tiberias, because this famous city overlooks it; it is also called the Lake of Gennesaret from the circumstance that every so often the waves roughen and it generates a breeze from itself (*generat ex se auram*). It is a hundred and forty stades long, and forty across. Josephus,[8] however, says that it[9] takes its name from the little region of Gennesaret against which it washes. He also says that this region is a source of wonder, for it is planted throughout with many different kinds of trees, and it does not deny its richness or temperateness to any one of them. There are nut-trees there which thrive especially in a cold climate; there are also palm-trees which flourish in summer heat; there are fig-trees and olive-trees for which a milder atmosphere is prescribed: so that by a happy rivalry, things that would seem to be incompatible are fostered by the kindness of the land. Josephus says that it is watered by a spring which he calls Capernaum;[10] many are of the opinion that this is a tributary of the Nile, because it produces the coracin fish,[11] which is found nowhere apart from the Nile.[7]

53. *The Signs which Appeared on the Death of Julius Caesar*

In the course of describing the things that cause wonder to the world, I have deemed it fitting to add by way of a digression the signs which

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[9] The feminine *eam* would seem to be a mistake; the Comestor has *eum,* presumably referring to *lacus* a few lines above.

[10] Gervase's version here suggests a direct acquaintance with Josephus, who says that the spring is called Capernaum, whereas according to the Comestor it 'falls down to Capernaum' (see apparatus).

[11] The coracin, so-called because of its raven-black colour (from κόραξ, a raven), resembled an eel (cf. Martial, *Epigrammata,* xiii. 85; Pliny, *Hist. nat.* ix. 24. 57 and ix. 32. 68).

quod de tanto principe hauriant et corda principum de miranda nouitate reddantur attonita. [1]Exacto siquidem regno per reges septem, annis .ccxl., post sub[b] consulibus annis .cccclxiiii., obiit Cesar, anno etatis sue quinquagesimo nono;[c] [2] corpusque eius pro rostris combustum est, ac in urna[d] deaurata super Iuliam petram Numidici lapidis ad altitudinem uiginti pedum reconditum,[1] ut supra, decisione secunda, titulo *De situ Rome*,[3] diximus. [4]Centesimo igitur die ante mortem eius, fulmen cecidit iuxta statuam ipsius in foro, et de nomine eius superscripto C litteram capitalem abrasit. Nocte precedente diem obitus, fenestre thalami eius cum tanto strepitu sunt aperte ut, exiliens stratis, ruituram domum existimaret. Eadem die, cum iret in Capitolium, date sunt ei littere indices mortis imminentis; que, dum referretur a[e] Capitolio stillis confossus,[f] inuente sunt in eius manu, nondum solute. Die sequente apparuerunt tres soles in oriente, qui paulatim in unum corpus solare coacti sunt, significantes quod dominium Lucii Antonii[g] [5] et Marci Antonii et[h] | f. 68$^{\text{v}}$ Augusti in monarchiam rediret; uel pocius quod noticia trini Dei et unius toti orbi notificanda ueniebat. Bos etiam ad arantem in hec uerba prorupit, dicens in breui magis desituros[6] homines quam frumenta.[4]

liv. *De ligno dominice[a] crucis et piscina probatica*

Tradit antiquitas quod in edificatione templi inuentum est lignum nulli usui commodum in ipsius templi constructione:[b] aut enim

[b] sub *supplied by author N* [c] nono *MSS;* sexto *Comestor* [d] urna *supplied by author N;* in urna deaurata *om. Comestor* [e] a *I* (*presumably a scribal correction*); in *NACXQ;* a Capitolio *om. Comestor* [f] stillis confossus *MSS;* occisus *Comestor* [g] Lucii Antonii *MSS;* Marci Lepidi *Comestor* [h] et [f. 68$^{\text{v}}$] (Marci Antonii *del.*) et *N*

[a] dominice *om. CXQ* [b] constructone *N*

[1–1] Exacto . . . uiginti pedum reconditum] Cf. Comestor, *Libri Mach.*, c. 16 (*PL* cxcviii. 1531–2).

[2] The Comestor correctly says that Caesar died in his fifty-sixth year; cf. Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, c. 88.

[3] *Otia*, ii. 8, pp. 268–9.

[4–4] Centesimo . . . homines quam frumenta] Cf. Comestor, loc. cit. The portents of Caesar's death received treatment at the hand of many authors, including Cicero, Virgil, Ovid, Pliny, Plutarch, and Suetonius. The thunderbolt which struck the letter C from the inscription was in fact a portent of the death of Augustus, not Julius Caesar, according to Suetonius (*Divus Augustus*, c. 97). For the other portents mentioned here, cf. Suetonius,

appeared on the death of Julius Caesar, in order that my discerning listener may derive some profit from so great a ruler, and the hearts of princes may be rendered dumbfounded at an unprecedented marvel. Well then, [1]the kingdom of Rome came to an end after two hundred and forty years under seven kings, and after four hundred and sixty-four years under the rule of consuls, Caesar died, in the fifty-ninth year of his life.[2] His body was burnt before the rostra, and the ashes were deposited in a gilded urn set on top of the Julian rock, a block of Numidian stone twenty feet high,[1] as we said above, in Book II, in the chapter *The Topography of Rome*.[3] [4]So then, on the hundredth day before his death, a thunderbolt fell close to his statue in the forum, and erased the first letter, C, from his name in the inscription. On the night preceding the day of his death, his bedroom windows were flung open with such a crash that he jumped out of bed, believing that the house was about to fall down. On the day itself, when he was on his way to the Capitol, a letter was given to him warning of his impending death; when he was being carried back from the Capitol, riddled with stab-wounds, it was found in his hand, still unopened. On the following day three suns appeared in the east, but little by little they were brought together into one solar body, signifying that the rule of Lucius Antonius,[5] Marcus Antonius, and Augustus would be reduced to a monarchy; or rather, that knowledge of the triune God was arriving, to be made known to the whole world. Also an ox burst into speech, telling the ploughman that soon they would be putting men in the ground[6] rather than corn.[4]

54. *The Wood of the Lord's Cross and the Sheep-Pool*

There is an ancient tradition that, in the building of the temple, a piece of wood was found which was suited to no purpose in the construction of the temple itself, for it was either too short or too long

Divus Julius, c. 81; Julius Obsequens, *Liber prodigiorum*, ed. O. Rossbach (Leipzig, 1910), p. 178; see also S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 342–6.

[5] The third member of the triumvirate, besides Mark Antony and Octavian (Augustus), was M. Aemilius Lepidus; he is correctly named by the Comestor (see apparatus). Lucius Antonius (Mark Antony's younger brother) was consul in 41 BC, but never a triumvir.

[6] The future participle of the rare verb *desero*, to sow or plant deeply.

breuius erat aut longius quam requirebatur. [1]Veniens ergo regina Saba, uidit in spiritu, in domo saltus que Nerota[c][2] dicebatur, lignum dominice crucis, et nunciauit Salomoni, cum iam recessisset ab eo, quod in eo moreretur quidam, pro quo occiso perirent Iudei, perderentque locum et gentem. Timens Salomon effodit illud in terra, ubi post facta est probatica piscina. Appropinquante enim tempore Christi superenatauit, quasi prenuncians Christum; et exinde cepit, ut dicunt, mocio que fiebat angelo descendente, et qui primus languens[d] in aquam descendebat, sanus fiebat a quacumque infirmitate.[1] Et hoc lignum asserunt esse crucem Domini.[3] (Sed et allii dicunt Adam de paradiso tulisse pomum uel surculum ligni uetiti, ex cuius semente fuit crux,[4] ut unde mors oriebatur, inde uita resurgeret,[5] ut legitur super Matheum in glosa.) Sed hec[e] auctorem[f] certum[g] non habent quo certum sit quo tempore mocio ceperit, aut

[c] Nethota *Comestor* [d] langues *N* [e] Sed hec] Sane *XQ* [f] actorem *N* [g] certum *om.* *XQ*

[1–1] Veniens . . . a quacumque infirmitate] Cf. Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 81 (*PL* cxcviii. 1579); 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 10: 1–13 and 7: 2–8; John 5: 2–4.

Legends concerning the history of the wood of the cross before the time of Christ seem to have been unknown before the twelfth century, but evolved very rapidly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from simple beginnings to a long and elaborate history. Their development was traced by W. Meyer in 'Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christus', *Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-Philologischen Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* xvi (2) (Munich, 1882), 101–65; see also A. Mussafia, 'Sulla leggenda del legno della croce', *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften,* lxiii (Vienna, 1870), 165–216; and on the iconographical tradition, J.-L. Herr, 'La Reine de Saba et le bois de la croix', *Revue Archéologique*, 4th series, xxiii (1914), 1–31.

The legend as it appears in the *Historia scholastica* is in its earliest form, the first of the nine versions distinguished by Meyer; in this version the wood is traced back to the time of Solomon, or David at the earliest. The information in Gervase's first sentence, that the wood could not be used in the building of the temple, is found in Meyer's second and third versions, represented by Godfrey of Viterbo and Johannes Beleth; these both take the story back to paradise, but do not mention the tree of knowledge.

Gervase is the earliest known source of the fourth version, which emerges in the sentence in parentheses, interrupting his borrowing from the Comestor. The distinguishing feature of this version is that the wood of the cross is said to have been derived ultimately from the tree of knowledge. This tree had long been seen as a type of the cross (e.g. Venantius Fortunatus: 'ipse lignum tunc notauit, damna ligni ut solueret', from the hymn 'Pange, lingua, gloriosi'); but the legend of the prehistory of the cross now asserted that the wood was actually derived from it. In *Otia*, iii. 105, where Gervase presents this version again, he attributes it to the Greeks; cf. *Legenda aurea*, c. 68; *Mandeville's Travels*, i. 8 and ii. 234.

The tree of knowledge tended to be identified with the tree of life, forming a single significant tree, such as is found in other myths of paradise (e.g. the Yggdrasil of Norse mythology). For a study of the Christian tree, see E. S. Greenhill, 'The Child in the Tree', *Traditio*, x (1954), 323–71. The tree of life also lent itself to be seen as a type of the cross

for what was required. [1]Then when the queen of Sheba came, she saw in the spirit, in the house of the forest which was called Nechota,[2] the wood of the Lord's cross; and she sent word to Solomon, after she had left him, that someone would die on it, and that in retribution for his murder the Jews would perish, and lose their country and their people. Solomon was afraid, and buried that piece of wood in the ground, on the spot where the sheep-pool later came to be built. Then when the time of Christ was drawing near, it floated up to the surface, as if to announce his coming; and it was then, so they say, that the troubling of the water began: this used to occur when an angel went down into it, and the first invalid to step down into the troubled water was made whole from whatever disease he had.[1] And they say that this piece of wood became the Lord's cross.[3] (But others say that Adam took an apple, or shoot, of the forbidden tree from paradise; he planted it, and from it grew the tree from which the cross was made,[4] so that, as death came from that tree, so too life should be restored from it,[5] as one reads in the gloss on Matthew.) But there is no reliable authority for these things, to establish when the troubling of the water began or at what hour of the day it used to occur; rather, the

(e.g. Honorius, *Speculum ecclesiae* (*PL* clxxii. 943): 'Porro lignum sancta crux uitae intellegitur, de qua fructus aeternae uitae tollitur'), and was likewise subsequently identified with the tree from which the cross was derived.

Liebrecht (p. 125) mentions another version of the legend, according to which God pulled up the tree of knowledge after the Fall and flung it over the wall of paradise. A thousand years later Abraham found it and planted it in his garden, whereupon a voice from heaven proclaimed that the Saviour would be crucified on the wood of that tree. This is Meyer's fifth version (p. 120); and further variations occur in the remaining four versions. In its developed form the legend enjoyed great popularity in vernacular redactions.

[2] Jacques Barrière identified this as a Hebrew word contained within the expression *bait-nechotah*, found in 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs) 20: 13 and Isa. 39: 2, meaning literally 'treasure-house'. Jerome, however, translated it as 'domum aromatum' or 'cellam aromatum' (D.V.: 'the house of his aromatical spices'), and indeed in both the passages in which the word occurs, the building is said to contain spices and precious ointments. According to an earlier chapter of the *Historia scholastica*, the lower part of the house of the forest was called *nephota* (*sic*), 'id est *pigmentaria*, in qua reponebantur aromata et pigmenta ad usus templi et domus regiae' ('that is, the spicery, in which the perfumes and spices for use in the temple and the royal palace were stored') (*III Reg.*, c. 22, *PL* cxcviii. 1367). Barrière (*Contribution*, pp. 53–4) suggests that two different buildings are here being confused; alternatively, it may be that the word *nechota* was deemed applicable to both.

[3] Cf. Comestor, *III Reg.*, c. 26 (*PL* cxcviii. 1370).

[4] See n. 1 above, and iii. 105.

[5] This is a liturgical text, which is found for instance in the Preface of the mass 'de sancta Cruce' in Alcuin's *Liber sacramentorum*, c. 6 (*PL* ci. 454); cf. Innocent III, *Sermones de tempore*, i (*PL* ccxvii. 317).

qua temporis hora fiebat; quin potius continuus languentium aduentus incertitudinem hore monstrat.[h][6]

lv. *De uermiculo*[a]

In regno Arelatensi[b] et confinio maritimo est arbor, cuius sarcina precium habet duodecim nummorum Mergoriensium;[1] eius fructus in flore precium facit quinquaginta librarum; eius cortex ad honus bestie precium habet quinque solidorum. Vermiculus[2] hic est, quo unguntur[c][3] preciosissimi regum panni, siue serici ut examiti,[d][4] siue lanei ut scarlata;[5] et est mirandum quod nulla uestis linea colorem uermiculatum recipit, sed sola uestis que ex uiuo animanteque uel quouis animato decerpitur. Vermiculus autem ex arbore ad modum ilicis et quantitatem dumi,[e] pungitiua folia habente, prodit, ad pedem nodulum faciens mollem, ad formam ciceris,[f] aquosum; et cum exterius colorem habeat nebule et roris coagulati, interius rubet. Et cum ungue magisterialiter decerptus ne, tenui rupta pellicula, humor inclusus effluat, postquam exsiccatur, corio includitur: cum enim tempus solstitii estiui aduenerit, ex se ipso uermiculos generat, et nisi coriis subtiliter consutis includerentur, omnes fugerent aut in nihilum euanescerent. Hinc est quod uermiculus nominatur, propter dissolutionem quam in uermes facile facit, ex natura roris Madialis a quo

[h] mostrat *N*

[a] De uermiculo] De arbore uermiculi *CXQ*, De uermiculi arbore *I* [b] Aurelatensi *N* [c] unguntur *corrected by author from* tinguntur *N;* tinguntur *ACβ*
[d] exaniiti *N* [e] dumi *supplied by author* (?) *N* [f] cicecis *N*

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[6] Cf. Comestor, *Evan.* c. 81 (*PL* cxcviii. 1579). Gervase seems to be combining two different sections of his source here. After recounting the tradition concerning the queen of Sheba, the Comestor comments: 'Sed hoc non est authenticum.' Earlier, he has said concerning the disturbing of the sheep-pool: 'De hac motione, incertum est quando coeperit. Quod autem incertum esset, quando moveri debebat, inde perpenditur, quod languidi semper erant ibi, qui ad certam horam convenirent tantum si sciretur' ('Concerning this troubling, it is uncertain when it began. That it was uncertain when the water was due to be troubled is deduced from the fact that the sick were always there; they would have assembled only at the time appointed if they had known it').

[1] The 'monnaie melgorienne' produced by the counts of Melgueil from the early tenth century was the most widely-used coinage of the French Midi: see A. Engel and R. Serrure, *Traité de numismatique du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1894), ii. 456–7; J.-P. Poly, *La Provence et la société féodale 879–1166: Contribution à l'étude des structures dites féodales dans le Midi* (Paris, 1976), pp. 228 and 232 f. The value of the coins varied greatly, but the point here is that the tree was most highly prized for its 'berries'.

continuous presence of the sick is evidence of the uncertainty of the hour.[6]

55. *Vermilion*

In the kingdom of Arles, on the coastal strip, there is found a tree, whose timber fetches the price of twelve Melgoriensian pence[1] per load; its fruit when it is ripe commands the sum of fifty pounds; its bark fetches the price of five shillings for as much as a pack-animal can carry. This is the kermes,[2] with which the costliest clothes of kings are dyed,[3] whether they are silken like samite,[4] or woollen like scarlet;[5] it is a remarkable fact that no linen cloth absorbs the colour of vermilion, but only cloth which is taken from a living creature or from one which has lived. Now the kermes comes from a tree shaped like an ilex, the size of a thorn-bush, with prickly leaves. At the foot of its trunk it produces a soft, moist nodule, in the shape of a chick-pea; on the outside it has the colour of mist and condensed dew, but on the inside it is red. It is gathered with a finger-nail by skilled workers, taking care lest the delicate membrane should burst and the fluid contained in it run out; then, once it has dried out, it is enclosed in a skin: for when the season of the summer solstice has arrived, it generates little worms from itself, and unless they were confined in finely-stitched skins, they would all escape or vanish into nothingness. It is for this reason that vermilion is called *uermiculus* ('little worm'), because it readily undergoes dissolution into worms, owing to the nature of the May dew from which it is generated; and so it is generatur; unde et illo tantum mense colligitur. Arbor autem uermiculum generans uulgo *auals*[6] nuncupatur.

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[2] i.e. the kermes oak (*Quercus coccifera*), on which the kermes lives. The kermes is 'the pregnant female of the insect *Coccus ilicis*, formerly supposed to be a berry; gathered in large quantities from a species of evergreen oak in S. Europe and N. Africa, for use in dyeing, and formerly in medicine; the red dye-stuff consisting of the dried bodies of these insects' (*OED*). A scribal note in the margin of *Q* reads: 'Prouinciales hanc granam uulgariter appellant *lo uermelli*': i.e. vermilion. From the end of the eleventh century a monopoly over the vermilion-trade enriched the land-owners and traders of the region; see Duchesne, *Livre*, p. 162, n. 152.

[3] With regard to the author's correction of *tinguntur* to *unguntur*, Annie Duchesne (*Livre*, p. 163, n. 153) records an observation by M. Pastoureau that: 'ce dernier verbe a le sens de teindre dans le vocabulaire des métiers de la ganterie et de la parfumerie, la fin du Moyen Age,' and suggests that the word was prompted by the association of vermilion with luxury goods.

[4] Samite was a rich silk fabric, sometimes interwoven with gold.

[5] The word scarlet in medieval usage denoted rich cloth, often but not necessarily red.

lvi. *De serico et unde et qualiter prodeat*[a]

Nunc annectamus de natura bombicis,[1] que non minus erit admiranda. Est enim a sui principio quasi semen sinapis minutissimum, cumque tempus aduenit, panniculis inclusum, coactum, illud semen in[b] sinu dominarum ac uirginum tenetur; beneficio caloris uiuificatum, foliis mori superponitur.[c] Sicque mira insitaque nature celeritate folia rodit, et super tabulam uermiculi extensi nutrimento foliorum mori in breui crescunt ad grossorum uermium quantitatem. Quid plura? Cum tempus operandi aduenit, globo serico[d] continuantes ieiunium sericum ex se conficiunt, et post pauca in ipso,[e] ad instar papilionum alati et in aeris libertatem iam recipiendi, globum penetrant quem fecerunt; et dum auolare[f] parant, comprehensi[g] masculi feminis miscentur, qui tamdiu caudatim copulati in sue libidinis estu sine omni cibo uiuunt donec expirent, et sic femina
f. 69^r semen exserit cum morte. | Proiectis igitur parentum bustis, grana
generationis[h] colliguntur et, in entecis reposita, in uere eo quo premisimus ordine uiuificantur. Color autem serici natiuus croceus est, et cum decoquitur albissimum recipit candorem, facile cuiusuis coloris susceptibilis per adoptionem.

[a] De . . . prodeat] De bombicibus qui faciunt sericum *XQ;* De bombicibus que faciunt sericum uocatis mainetis *C;* De bombicibus serico et unde et qualiter prodeat *I* [b] in *supplied by author* (?) *N* [c] supponitur *β* [d] globo serico *supplied by author N; om. XQ* [e] in ipso] tempore *X,* tempora *Q* [f] aduolare *N* [g] compensi *N* [h] generationis *supplied by author N*

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[6] In *Lou Tresor dóu Felibrige ou Dictionnaire Provençal-Français* (Paris, 1878), Frédéric Mistral gives the kermes oak the names of 'avaus, avausse, abals, agaus' (s.v. Avaus (quercus coccifera)).

[1] This description of the life-cycle of the silkworm (*Bombyx mori*) may be compared with that supplied by Neckam in his *De naturis rerum* (ii. 164). The native Chinese

only gathered in that month. The tree which produces vermilion is called *avals*[6] by the local people.

56. *Silk: Where it Comes From, and How it is Produced*

Let us now go on to treat of the nature of the silkworm,[1] which will prove no less a cause of wonder. At the beginning of its life-cycle it resembles a tiny mustard-seed. When the time comes, that seed is placed in little cloths, wrapped up, and kept in the bosom of ladies and girls; the beneficial effect of the warmth brings it to life, and it is then laid on the leaves of a mulberry tree. And so, with the remarkable swiftness that is characteristic of it, it devours the leaves; the little grubs, spread out over a board, soon grow on the nourishment of those mulberry leaves to the size of fat worms. Why draw out my account? When the time comes for them to do their work, they entirely stop eating, and produce silk from themselves to form a silken cocoon; after spending a little time inside it, they break out of the cocoon which they made, winged like butterflies and now ready to enjoy the freedom of the air. But while they are preparing to fly off, the males are seized in an embrace by the females and copulate with them, living with their hindparts joined together in the heat of their desire, without any food, all the time until they expire; and so the female deposits the seed as she dies. The carcasses of the parents are then swept away, and the seeds of new life are gathered up and stored in boxes; in the spring they are brought to life in the manner which we described above. The natural colour of silk is saffron, but when it is boiled it takes on a pure white sheen, and readily accepts any other colour by adoption.

silkworm was introduced to the west by two Persian monks, at the behest of the emperor Justinian. 'They effected [this] by concealing the eggs of the silkworm in a hollow cane. From the precious contents of that bamboo tube, brought to Constantinople about the year 550, were produced all the races and varieties of silkworm which stocked and supplied the western world for more than twelve hundred years' (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edn. (Cambridge, 1911), s.v. Silk, xxv. 97). The cocoon consists of one continuous white or yellow silk thread, averaging about 1,000 yards in length.

lvii. *De domina*[a] *castri de*[b] *Esperuer*[c,d][1]

Frequens est ut angeli Satane in angelos lucis se transforment[2] et in humanis mentibus aliquid diabolice inmissionis nutriant. Ad istorum agnitionem[e] quiddam admiratione dignissimum subtexui, quod a uiris probatissime ac sincere religionis accepi.

Erat in regni Arelatensis finibus, episcopatu Valentino, castrum Esperuer[f] nomine. Huius castri domina in assiduam consuetudinem[g] duxerat statim inter missarum sollempnia post euangelium ecclesiam egredi;[h] nec enim poterat consecrationem dominici corporis presentialiter sustinere. Cum per multos annos id compertum uir eius, dominus castri, habuisset, nec tante presumptionis causam sedulus inuestigator inuenisset, uno aliquo die sollempni, finito ewangelio, egrediens domina per uirum et clientulos eius inuita ac renitens detinetur; statimque sacerdote uerba consecratoria proferente, domina spiritu diabolico leuata auolat, partemque capelle secum in precipicium ducens, ulterius in partibus illis uisa non est. Sed et pars turris cui capella inittebatur adhuc superstes rerum fert testimonium.[3]

Hinc tibi, felix Auguste, doctrina sumenda est circa eos qui circa diuina sacramenta deuoti sunt, et contra illos qui fornicantur a Deo,[i][4] contempnentes sacramenta per manus nostri temporis sacerdotum ministrata, quasi ad ueritatem uirtutemque sacramentorum dignitas aut indignitas operetur ministrancium. Profecto heretici sunt hii, qui solem contempnunt transeuntem per immunda loca.[5] Quisquis ergo ad baptismum uenit per fidem, Deo saltem decimam sui laboris

[a] domina *supplied by author N* [b] de *supplied by author at end of line; also written by scribe on next line N; om. CXQ* [c] Esperuier *N* [d] et eius exitu *add. after* Esperuer *CXQ* [e] anitionem *N* [f] Esperuier *N* [g] consuetudiem *N* [h] ingredi *XQ* [i] a Deo *N;* adeo *ACβ*

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[1] L'Éparvier or L'Épervier, near Valence. [2] Cf. 2 Cor. 11: 14.

[3] This tale is similar to a family legend of the Plantagenets, as it occurs in the metrical romance *Richard Coer de Lion*, vv. 197–234 (ed. K. Brunner, *Wiener Beiträge*, xlii (1913), 90–1): Richard's mother is said to have been a demon, who flies off through the roof of the church when King Henry attempts to detain her to witness the elevation of the host; cf. Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, iii. 27, and Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, iii. 12. For references to other similar stories, see Liebrecht, p. 126.

The lady of L'Éparvier may also be compared with Mélusine, whose story is told in its earliest form by Gervase (i. 15). Elements of both are found in a story told by Walter Map (*De nugis nurialium*, iv. 9). Walter records a number of other tales concerning the dealings of supernatural women with mortal men (ii. 11–13 and iv. 10–11). See also Marie de France, *Lai de Lanval* (*Lais*, pp. 58–74); Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum naturale*, ii. 126–7; and *Gesta Romanorum*, c. 160 (taken from this chapter).

Gervase uses this story as an *exemplum* illustrating the importance of assiduous

57. *The Lady of the Castle of L'Éparvier*[1]

It often happens that the angels of Satan transform themselves into angels of light,[2] and foster something of diabolical origin in human minds. To aid their recognition, I have recorded below something richly deserving to be marvelled at, which I heard from men of completely proven and sincere religion.

There was, in the confines of the kingdom of Arles, in the diocese of Valence, a castle called L'Éparvier. The lady of this castle had formed an unfailing habit of leaving the church in the middle of the celebration of mass, immediately after the gospel: for she could not bear to be present at the consecration of the Lord's body. Her husband, the lord of the castle, had been aware of this for many years, but in spite of persistent questioning he had not discovered the reason for such great effrontery. Then one feast-day, at the end of the gospel, when the lady was on her way out she was held back, unwilling and struggling, by her husband and his retainers. Straightaway, as the priest pronounced the words of consecration, the lady was carried off by a diabolical spirit and flew away, taking part of the chapel with her, so that it fell down; and she was seen no more in those parts. But part of the tower which buttressed the chapel is still standing, to bear witness to these events.[3]

From this, happy Augustus, you should take instruction, learning to favour people who are devoted to the divine sacraments, while shunning those who commit fornication against God[4] and despise the sacraments administered at the hands of the priests of our time, as if the worthiness or unworthiness of the ministers decided the validity and effectiveness of the sacraments. They are heretics indeed, these people who despise the sun when it passes through unclean places.[5] Therefore whoever has undergone baptism should, as a faithful Christian, offer to God at least a tenth of his labour and

attendance at mass. In the exhortation which follows he is reacting to the antisacerdotalism and heresy that were rife in southern France, as well as inculcating in the emperor a proper respect for the Church. For a detailed study of this chapter, see R. Chanaud, 'Le Chevalier, la fée et l'hérétique: Une ancêtre valentinoise de Mélusine, la dame du château de l'Épervier', *Le Monde Alpin et Rhodanien*, xiii (1985), 31–54.

[4] Cf. Ps. 72 (73): 27; Hos. 4: 12.

[5] This image was used by the mid-twelfth century master Roland to illustrate the point that if a host is consumed unworthily (e.g. by a mouse), the body of Christ suffers no injury (*Die Sentenzen Rolands nachmals Papstes Alexander III*, ed. P. F. A. M. Gietl (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1891), p. 235).

offerat primiciasque cogitationis, secundum illud: 'Primum querite regnum Dei';[6] decimasque soluat sue diete. Saltem dum corpus consecratur dominicum et offertur pro nobis ad Deum[j] Patrem, unica hora stet cum Christo in cruce pro nobis pendente: oret cum orante, uigilet cum uigilante,[7] dum pro ipso patrocinatur eius aduocatus, a iudicis presentia non recedat. In ecclesia nichil preter orandum meditetur, nichil[k] loquatur, nichil uagis oculis intueatur. Non sit solo euangelio contentus, non oratione, non epistola, non canticis: hec enim ad illud summum preambula sunt, et non sunt illud quod sequitur, quod queritur, et quod creditur. Omnis consummationis finis querendus est. Cum enim Deus suos dilexisset, in finem dilexit illos:[8] finis, non pugna, coronat.

Nil credas actum cum quid superesset[l] agendum.[9]

Si cum essennio[10] nuncius[m] domini uenisti ut offeras quod mittitur,[11] numquid dicto salutationis uerbo et proposita esenii dominici[n] qualitate, ipso quod mittitur non porrecto ac responso gratiarum non audito, redibis prudenter? Profecto offerre uenis per orationem quod sacerdos offert per communicationem: utquid esennio non porrecto summo Patri refugisti? Hoc inquam esenium recte dixerim ab esu. Hic enim est[o] paschalis transitus ad esum agni[12] misticum per Iesum ordinatus. Transit enim per medium castrorum nostrorum agnus qui tollit peccata mundi.[13] Transit enim per os sacerdotis ita quod os non comminuitur ex eo;[14] et sicut in uerbis consecratoriis a sinu Patris mittitur ut descendat ad manus sacerdotis, ita in communicatione redit et ascendit per hos sacerdotale ad Deum Patrem, nostras et a nobis et pro nobis factas preces in eius conspectum oblaturus. Hinc est quod ab ipso Domino dicitur:[p] 'Hoc facite in meam commemorationem';[15] quocienscumque enim hoc feceritis, mortem Domini annunciabitis donec ueniat.[16]

[j] Dominum *add. before* Deum *XI* [k] nichil *supplied by author(?)* *N* [l] superest *XQ* [m] nuncius *supplied by author N* [n] Domini *XQ* [o] est enim *N* [p] dicitur *om. XQ*

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[6] Matt. 6: 33. [7] Cf. Matt. 26: 41; Eph. 6: 18. [8] Cf. John 13: 1.

[9] The line in Lucan (*Pharsalia*, ii. 657) reads: 'Nil actum credens cum quid superesset agendum.'

[10] *Essennium*, *encenium* etc. occur as medieval spellings of the word *xenium* (ξένιον), a gift.

[11] The verb *mittitur* ('is sent') continues the image of a gift sent by one's master, but the meaning 'is sacrificed' is also suggested by the context, referring to the mass (*missa*); cf. the penultimate paragraph. [12] Cf. Exod. 12: 4. [13] Cf. John 1: 29.

the first-fruits of his thoughts, in accordance with the saying: 'Seek first the kingdom of God';[6] and he should render him a tenth of his time each day. At least while the Lord's body is being consecrated and offered on our behalf to God the Father, he should stay just for one hour with Christ hanging on the cross for us: he should pray with him as he prays, and watch with him as he watches;[7] while his advocate is pleading for him, he should not withdraw from the judge's presence. In church he should think of nothing except his prayers, say nothing, and look at nothing, not allowing his eyes to wander. He should not be content with the gospel alone, nor with the prayer, nor with the epistle, nor with the canticles: for these are only the preliminaries leading up to the climax, and they are not the same as what follows, what is desired, and what forms the object of our faith. The complete perfection of consummation is to be sought. For when God loved his own, he loved them to the end:[8] the end, not the battle, brings the crown.

Believe nothing done when anything remains to do.[9]

If you have come as your master's envoy bearing a gift,[10] in order to offer what he has sent,[11] will you be acting wisely if, after speaking the word of greeting and proclaiming the worth of your master's gift, you go away again without having presented what he has sent, or heard the response of gratitude? Surely you come to offer through prayer what the priest offers through communion: so why have you rushed off before the gift has been presented to your Father on high? I have used this word *esenium* for gift advisedly, I assure you, derived as it is from *esus*, or eating. For this is the feast of the Passover, ordained by Jesus for the mystical eating (*esus*) of the Lamb.[12] The Lamb that takes away the sins of the world[13] passes through the midst of our camp. For he passes through the mouth of the priest, in such a way that a bone of him is not broken;[14] and just as during the words of consecration he is sent from the Father's bosom to come down into the priest's hands, so at the communion he returns and goes back up through the priest's mouth to God the Father, to bring into his presence our prayers, offered both by us and for us. This is why the Lord himself says: 'Do this in memory of me';[15] for as often as you do this, you will show the Lord's death, till he comes.[16]

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[14] Cf. John: 19: 36; Exod. 12: 46; Num. 9: 12.

[15] Luke 22: 19; 1 Cor. 11: 24; spoken by the priest in the eucharistic canon.

[16] Cf. 1 Cor. 11: 26.

f. 69v | Quisquis ergo fugis non completa hostia, ipsam que mittitur pro te hostia[q][17] tibi prodesse posse non credis, quasi uenisses ut imperatorem uisitares, uisisque cursoribus eius, recessisses. Pueri Domini sunt et nuncii Gregorius in introitu quem cecinit, Paulus in epistola, propheta in lectione, modulatio gradualis et alleluya. Tuba dominica sonat in ewangelio; uerum inter secreta sacerdotis opera Christus ipse descendit, tanto districtius occurentem te sibi diiudicans quanto secretius te uidet intus, renes et corda perscrutans.[18]

Ecce quod peccato pessime illius muliercule de qua diximus capella corruit, ipsaque inter manus tenentium eam euanuit. Sed et ipsum castrum dirutum saniore consilio sedem mutauit et nomen: translati enim sunt incole ad castrum quod Carpeil noncupatur.

lviii. *De militibus qui apparent*[a]

In Catalonia est rupes in aliquantam planiciem extensa, in cuius summitate circa meridianam horam conspiciuntur milites arma gestantes seseque more militum hastis impellentes. Si uero ad locum quis accesserit, nihil prorsus huiuscemodi[b] rei apparet.[1]

lix. *De Wandlebiria*[a]

In Anglia, ad terminos episcopatus Eliensis, est castrum Cantubricha nomine, infra cuius limites e uicino locus est quem Wandalebiriam dicunt, eo quod illic Wandali, partes Britannie seua Christianorum peremptione uastantes, castra metati sunt. Vbi uero ad monticuli apicem fixere tentoria, planicies in rotundum uallatis circumcluditur, unico ad instar portalis aditu patens ad ingressum.[1] In hanc campi

[q] hostiam *C* (*presumably a scribal correction*)

[a] qui apparent] apparentibus *CXQ*   [b] huiusce *Cβ*

[a] De Wandlebiria] De milicia Osberti filii Hugonis *CXQ*

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[17] The noun has been attracted into the nominative case, instead of the expected accusative, by the relative clause. [18] Cf. Ps. 7: 10 (9); Jer. 17: 10; Rev. 2: 23.

[1] For other apparitions which can only be seen from a distance, cf. *Otia*, iii. 41–3. Liebrecht (p. 126) connects these spectral knights with the German legend of the Wild Hunt; other examples of visions and sounds of armed hosts are given by Hartland, *Fairy Tales*, pp. 233–5; cf. also *Otia*, ii. 12, nn. 42 and 43.

[1] i.e. Wandlebury Ring on the Gogmagog Hills: see B. R. Hartley, 'The Wandlebury

Therefore if ever you leave when the sacrifice is not complete, you do not believe that the sacrifice[17] which is being offered for you is able to do you good. It is as if you had come to see the emperor, and after seeing his attendants you had gone away again. Gregory in the introit which he has sung, Paul in the epistle, the prophet in the reading, the singing of the gradual, the alleluia—all these are the servants and the messengers of the Lord. The Lord's trumpet sounds in the gospel; but during the mysterious actions of the priest, Christ himself comes down, judging you as you come before him the more severely as he sees the more deeply into your inmost being, trying the hearts and reins.[18]

Let me tell you that as a result of the sin of that wicked woman of whom we spoke, the chapel collapsed, and she herself vanished, slipping through the hands of the people who were holding her. The castle itself was also destroyed, and by a wise decision its site and name were changed: the residents moved to the castle which is called Charpey.

58. *A Vision of Knights*

In Catalonia there is a crag which levels out to form a fair-sized plateau. On its summit at about midday knights are seen wearing armour and charging each other with spears as knights do. But if anyone goes near the place, nothing at all of this kind of thing is visible.[1]

59. *Wandlebury*

In England, near the outskirts of the diocese of Ely, there is a town called Cambridge. In its territory, not far from the town, is a place which they call Wandlebury, because the Vandals pitched camp there when they were laying waste whole areas of Britain, cruelly slaughtering the Christians. Now in the place on top of a slight hill where they set up their tents, a plateau is enclosed by earthworks forming a circle, open for access by a single gate-like approach.[1] There is a

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Iron Age Hill-Fort, Excavations of 1955–6', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, l (1957), 1–27; G. Goetink, 'The Wandlebury legend and Welsh romance', ibid. lxxvii (1988), 105–8, and references; P. H. Reaney, *Place Names of Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge, 1943), pp. 88–9.

planiciem, ab antiquissimis temporibus colitur fama que uulgo testatur, post noctis conticinium,[2] lucente luna, si quis miles ingrediens exclamat: 'Miles contra militem ueniat!', statim ex aduerso miles occuret, qui ad congrediendum paratus, concurrentibus equis, aut resistentem deicit aut deicitur. Verum ad cautelam preambulum est quod intra aditus illius septa solus miles habet ingredi, ab exteriore conspectu sociis non artandis.

Ad huius rei fidem, rem gestam et multis uulgo cognitam subiungo, quam ab incolis et indigenis auditui meo subieci. Erat in Britannia maiore, paucis exactis diebus, miles in armis strenuissimus, omnibus uirtutibus dotatus, inter barones paucis secundus in potentia, nullique[b] inferior in probitate, Osbertus Hugonis nominatus.[c] [3] Hic aliquo die castrum memoratum ut hospes ingreditur, et cum in hyemis intemperie post cenam noctu familia diuitis ad focum, ut potentibus moris est, recensendis[d] antiquorum gestis operam daret et aures acommodaret, tandem occurrit ab indigenis pretaxatum mirabile recensitum. Vir ergo strenuus, agens ut quod auribus hauserat rei ipsius experientia probaret, unum de nobilibus armigeris eligit, quo comite locum adiit. Ad ostensum locum loricatus miles apropians sonipedem ascendit, dimissoque domicello, campum solus ingreditur. Exclamat miles ut[e] alterum inueniat, et ad uocem ex opposito[f] miles, aut instar[g] militis, celer occurrit, pereque ut uidebatur armatus.

Quid plura? Ostensis clipeis, directis hastis, equi concurrunt, equites impulsibus mutuis concutiuntur, et elusa iam alterius lancea ictuque euanescente per lubricum, Osbertus aduersarium suum potenter impellit ad casum. Cadens, et sine mora resurgens, ut Osbertum per lora conspicit[h] equum ex causa lucratiua abducere,[i] lanceam succutit, et dum eam modo iaculi missilis emittit, femur Osberti ictu atrocissimo transfodit. Ex aduerso miles noster, aut pre
f. 70r gaudio uictorie ictum[j] uulnusque non sentiens, | aut dissimulans, disparente aduersario, campum uictor egreditur. Equum lucratum

[b] nulloque *β* [c] Osbertus . . . nominatus] *om.* *β* [d] recessendis *N*
[e] ut *A*; *om. NCXI*; alterum ut ueniat *Q* [f] ex opposito] exposito *N* [g] ad *add. after* aut *N* [h] conspicit *supplied by author, followed by a few deleted words; scribe resumes with* conspicit *N* [i] adducere *NI* [j] iectum *N*

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[2] Cf. *Otia*, ii. 12, n. 42.

[3] Probably the Osbert Fitz Hugh who founded a priory at Westwood early in the reign of Henry II (see D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses* (London, 1971), p. 105); he is also mentioned in charters of 1137–9 and 1140–4 (see *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis (Oxford, 1968), iii, nos. 437 and 964). In an otherwise faithful reproduction of this story in the *Gesta Romanorum* (c. 155), the hero is called Albert.

widely-attested report, going back to very ancient times, that if a knight goes onto this plateau at dead of night[2] when there is a moon shining, and shouts: 'Let a knight come against a knight!', a knight will immediately come forward to meet him, ready to engage in combat; their horses charge together, and he either overthrows his opponent or is overthrown himself. But there is a condition to be fulfilled first: the knight has to go through that entrance into the enclosure on his own, though there is nothing to prevent his companions from looking on from outside.

To lend credibility to this matter, I am going to describe an exploit well known to many people, which I got the local inhabitants to recount to me. There was in Great Britain, a little time ago, a knight most gallant in arms, endowed with all the virtues, second to few among the barons in power, and inferior to none in prowess. His name was Osbert Fitz Hugh.[3] One day this man came to stay in the town of which I have spoken. It was the harsh winter-season, and in the evening after dinner the household of his wealthy host gathered round the hearth and, as is the custom among the nobility, turned their attention to recounting the deeds of people of old, or else settled down to listen. In due course the marvel I have mentioned came up, and was described by the residents. And so, being a man of prompt action, and wanting to test by experience the truth of the tale he had listened to so avidly, he chose one of the noble squires, and with this companion set off for the place. When he got near to the designated spot, the knight, clad in mail, mounted his steed; he dismissed the squire, and entered the field alone. He duly shouted to discover the other, and at the sound of his voice a knight, or something like a knight, came rapidly towards him from the other side, similarly armed, as it appeared.

To tell it briefly, they put up their shields, they aimed their spears, their horses charged together, and the riders struck each other with an exchange of blows; at this point Osbert, having avoided the lance of the other knight, whose blow missed its mark thanks to some slippery ground, powerfully knocked his adversary to the ground. He fell, but rose again in a trice, and when he saw Osbert leading his horse away by the reins as the spoils of the fight, he brandished his lance, and hurling it like a javelin he pierced Osbert's thigh with a cruel blow. On his side our knight, either not feeling the blow and the wound in the joy of victory, or pretending not to, emerged from the field victorious, while his adversary disappeared. He handed over to the armigero tradit, statura grandem, leuitate agilem, et in apparentia pulcherimum.

Regredienti uiro nobili turba familiaris occurrit, euentum miratur, casum deiecti militis gratum habens et strenuitatem tam illustris baronis commendans. Exuit Osbertus[k] arma militaria, et cum caligas ferreas discalceat, unam sanguinis coagulo uidet oppletam: stupet familia de uulnere, sed dominus indignatur timere. Concurrit[l] excitus populus, et quos ante sompnus presserat, excrescens admiratio ducit ad uigilandum. Testis triumphi equus, freno non demisso, tenetur ad publicum conspectum expositus, oculis toruis, ceruice erecta, pilo nigro, sella militari totoque substernio itidem[m] nigro. Iam gallicantus aduenerat, et equus saltibus estuans, naribus ebulliens, pedibus terram pulsans, loris[n] quibus tenebatur diruptis, in natiuam se recipit libertatem: fuga facta, insecutus[4] disparuit.[5]

Et nobilis noster id inusti uulneris perpetuum habuit monimentum quod[o] singulis annis, illo eodem noctis renouate momento, uulnus in superficie cura superductum recrudescebat. Vnde factum est quod post annos paucos miles illustris transfretauit et, sub multiplicata pugnandi contra paganos strenuitate, uitam diuino ministerio, animam Deo reddidit.[6]

lx. *De cornu potacionis*[a, b]

Accedit[1] aliud[c] non minus mirandum in Britannia maiori, satis diuulgatum. Erat in comitatu Claudii Cestrie silua uenatoria, apris, ceruis, omnique uenatione secundum Anglie condicionem copiosa. In huius nemoroso saltu erat monticulus, ad staturam hominis in apicem exurgens, in quem milites aliique uenatores ascendere consueuerunt cum, estu ac siti fatigati, aliquod instancie sue querebant remedium. Verum ex loci ac rei conditione, relictis a longe sociis solus quiuis

[k] Osbertur *N* [l] cucurrit *N* [m] itidem *supplied by author* (*correcting* inde) *N*; inde *CXQ* [n] loris *supplied by author N* [o] quos *N*

[a] potacionis *supplied by author N* [b] potacionis] et etiam pincerna *C*, et pincerna siluestri *XQ* [c] aliud *supplied by author N*

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[4] The participle *insecutus* here has a passive sense (cf. *Otia*, iii. 24, n. 8).

[5] As Liebrecht points out (p. 128), the disappearance of a supernatural creature temporarily trapped in our world is a regular phenomenon. On fairy horses, see M. O. Howey, *The Horse in Magic and Myth* (London, 1923), pp. 1–16.

[6] 'Despite the manner in which Gervase tries to pass the tale off as of fairly recent occurrence, it seems only possible to class it with other Nordic legends of fights between heroes and demons' (Oman, 'The English folklore', p. 9); for other examples of such fights,

squire the horse he had taken as his spoils; it was large in stature, sprightly in movement, and very handsome in appearance.

The household came trooping out to meet the noble gentleman on his return, and marvelled at what had happened. They rejoiced at the fall of the defeated knight, and praised the valour of this baron who had so distinguished himself. Osbert took off his knightly armour, and when he was undoing his iron shoes, he saw that one was full of clotted blood: his friends were shocked at the wound, but the lord disdained to fear. The townsfolk were roused and gathered round; even people who had been sound asleep were soon brought wide-awake by the mounting excitement. The horse, the proof of his triumph, was being held with its bridle unslackened, exposed to public view: its eyes were wild, its neck stiff, its coat black; the knight's saddle and the whole saddle-cloth were likewise black. But as soon as the first cock crowed, the horse, bucking violently, foaming at the nostrils, and pounding the ground with its hooves, broke the reins by which it was held, and regained its native freedom: it took flight and, though pursued,[4] was lost to sight.[5]

Our noble friend had a permanent token of that indelible wound: every year, at that same moment of the night when it came round again, the wound broke open afresh, although it had healed over on the surface. And so it came to pass that after a few years the distinguished knight crossed the sea and, fighting with redoubled courage against the pagans, gave his life to divine service and his soul to God.[6]

60. *A Drinking-Horn*

Here is[1] another thing, no less wonderful and quite widely known, which happened in Great Britain. There was a hunting-forest in Gloucestershire teeming with boars, stags, and every kind of game commonly found in England. In a leafy glade of this forest was a hillock, which rose to a man's height at its highest point. Knights and other hunters used to climb up on top of this hillock whenever, worn out with heat and thirst, they sought some relief for their discomfort. Now given the right combination of place and circumstances, if

see Liebrecht, pp. 126–8. The motif of a wound breaking open every year is also found in the Arthurian legend; cf. *Otia*, ii. 12, n. 41.

[1] Gervase uses the words *accedit* and *accidit* almost interchangeably; cf. iii. 70.

ascendit, cumque solus quasi ad alterum loquens diceret 'Sitio,' statim ex improuiso e latere propinator astabat, celebri cultu, uultu yllari, manu exposita cornu grande gestans, auro gemmisque ornatum, sicut apud antiquissimos Anglos usus habet uice calicis. Nectar ignoti set suauissimi saporis offerebatur; quo hausto, totus calescentis corporis estus et lassitudo fugiebat, ut non laborasse, sed laborem arripere uelle quis crederetur. Sed et sumpto nectare, minister mantile ad ora siccanda porrigebat, et expleto suo ministerio disparens, nec mercedem pro obsequio nec colloquium pro inquisitione expectabat.

Hoc multis annositatis antique curriculis apud uetustissimos celeberrimum ac cotidianum agebatur, cum uno aliquo die miles e uicinitate[d] illa uenator illuc accessit et, postulato potu et sumpto cornu, non illud ut consuetudinis ac urbanitatis erat pincerne restituit, sed ad proprium usum retinuit. Verum dominus eius, comes illustris Claudii Castri, comperta rei ueritate, dampnauit predonem; et cornu[e] illud excellentissimo proauo tuo, regi Henrico uetustiori, donauit, ne tanti mali fautor[f] fuisse censeretur si domestice proprietatis thesauro rapinam alienam congessisset.[2]

lxi. *De neptunis qui homines deludunt*[a]

Sicut inter homines quedam mirabilia natura producit,[b] ita spiritus, in humanis corporibus aeriis que assumunt ex diuina permissione,[1] ludibria sui faciunt. Ecce enim Anglia demones quosdam habet (demones, inquam, nescio dixerim an secretas et ignote generationis effigies), quos Galli neptunos, Angli portunos nominant.[2] Istis

[d] e uicinitate *CI;* est (esset *X*) in ciuitate *NAXQ* [e] cormu *N* [f] factor *N*

[a] qui . . . deludunt] siue portunis *CXQ* [b] produxit *N*

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[2] The forest in which this story is set is probably the forest of Dean. Oman remarks: 'It is clear that Gervase conceived the servant as a sort of fairy, but the mention of the mound suggests a barrow and funeral libations, recorded thus by a muddled folk memory' ('The English folklore', p. 7).

Stories of thefts from fairies are common in northern folklore: for a bibliography for England, see Baughman, *MI,* F350–2; see also I. M. Boberg, *Motif-Index of Early Icelandic Literature* (Copenhagen, 1966), F352. E. S. Hartland devoted a chapter of *The Science of Fairy Tales* to 'Robberies from Fairyland' (pp. 135–60), and comments (p. 145): 'the stolen article is usually . . . a cup or a drinking-horn.' A similar story, also associated with Henry I, is recorded by Gervase's older contemporary William of Newburgh (*Historia rerum Anglicarum*, i. 28). Liebrecht (pp. 128–30) gives references to other parallel stories, and also points a comparison with Gervase's account of the horn received from St Simeon (iii. 70).

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anyone strayed a long way from his companions and climbed it alone, and then, though alone, said 'I'm thirsty,' as if he were speaking to someone else, at once, to his surprise, there would be a cupbearer standing at his side, in rich attire, with a merry face, and holding in his outstretched hand a large horn, adorned with gold and jewels, such as is used by the old English as a drinking-vessel. Some nectar of an unfamiliar but delicious taste would be offered to him. When he had drunk it, all the heat and weariness of his sweating body would leave him, so that anyone would believe, not that he had just been engaged in action, but that he was eager to start. When he had consumed the nectar, the server would provide him with a napkin with which to wipe his lips; and then, his ministration completed, he would disappear without waiting for a reward for his services or for conversation to satisfy curiosity.

This came to be of well-known and daily occurrence among the old population, for many cycles of the years gone by. Then one day, when a knight from that vicinity was out hunting, he came to the place and, having asked for a drink and taken the horn, he did not restore it to the cupbearer as custom and manners demanded, but kept it for his own use. However, when his lord, the illustrious earl of Gloucester, discovered the truth of the matter, he condemned the thief; and he presented that horn to your excellent great-great-grandfather, King Henry the Elder, lest he should be deemed to have connived at such a great wrong if he had added another's stolen goods to the treasure of his own household property.[2]

61. *Neptunes which Delude Human Beings*

Just as nature produces certain marvels in the world of humans, so spirits perpetrate their jokes in human bodies made of air, which they put on with God's permission.[1] For instance, England has certain demons (though I admit that I do not know whether I should call them demons, or mysterious ghosts of unknown origin), which the French call neptunes, and the English portunes.[2] It belongs to their

[1] Cf. *Otia*, iii. 86, at n. 6.

[2] It seems likely that the names *neptuni* and *portuni* were adopted from Latin and applied to divinities or spirits already established in popular belief, owing to a similarity in the sound of their names rather than any association with the sea or harbours. The creatures described here can be identified with the French nutons or lutins, and the Scottish brownies; they belong to the class of friendly house-spirits, along with nisses,

insitum est quod simplicitatem fortunatorum colonorum amplectuntur, et cum nocturnas propter domesticas operas agunt uigilias, f. 70^{v} subito | clausis ianuis ad ignem calefiunt, et ranunculas e[c] sinu proiectas, prunis impositas, comedunt. Senili uultu, facie corrugata, statura pusilli, dimidium pollicis non habentes,[3] panniculis consertis induuntur; et si quid gestandum in domo fuerit aut honerosi operis agendum, ad operandum se ingerunt, cicius humana facilitate expediunt. Id illis inditum[d] est ut obsequi[e] possint et obesse non possint. Verumptamen unicum quasi nocendi modulum habent. Cum enim[f] inter ambiguas noctis tenebras Angli solitarii quandoque equitant, portunus nonnumquam inuisus equitanti se copulat, et cum diucius comitatur euntem, tandem loris arreptis equum in lutum ad manum ducit; in quo dum infixus uolutatur, portunus exiens cachinnum facit, et sic huiuscemodi[g] ludibrio humanam simplicitatem deridet.[4]

lxii. *De grant*[a]

Est in Anglia quoddam demonum genus quod suo ydiomate *grant* nominant, ad instar pulli equini[b] anniculi, tibiis erectum, oculis scintillantibus. Istud demonum genus sepissime comparet in plateis in ipsius diei feruore aut circa solis occiduum, et quociens apparet, futurum in urbe illa uel uico portendit incendium. Cum ergo sequente die uel nocte instat periculum, in plateis discursu facto, canes prouocat ad latrandum, et dum fugam simulat, sequentes canes ad insequendum spe uana consequendi inuitat. Huiusmodi[c] illusio cumuicaneis de ignis custodia cautelam facit, et sic officiosum

[c] e *supplied by author N* [d] inditum *AQI;* indicium *N* (*correcting* indicum), *CX*
[e] obsequii *N* [f] enim *om. XQ* [g] huiusce *Cβ*

[a] et incendiis *add. CXQ* [b] equi *XQ* [c] -modi *om. N*

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kobolds, and hobgoblins: see Liebrecht, p. 131; Lecouteux, *Les Nains et les elfes*, pp. 174–8; Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, pp. 214–25; Burne and Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, pp. 44–54; cf. also Gervase's account of poltergeists in i. 18.

[3] Oman ('The English folklore', p. 5, n. 5) suggests that the MSS must be corrupt here, since little people half an inch high could not have been of any real use about a house. However, it seems unnecessary to apply realistic criticism of this kind. The MSS are in agreement, and Gervase clearly intended to describe the *portuni* as very small.

[4] It was a common caprice of fairies to lead people astray at night: it was, indeed, the chief occupation of the Will-o'-the-Wisp (on which see R. C. Maclagan, 'Ghost Lights of

nature to take pleasure in the simplicity of happy peasants. When peasants stay up late at night for the sake of their domestic tasks, suddenly, though the doors are closed, they are there warming themselves at the fire and eating little frogs which they bring out of their pockets and roast on the coals. They have an aged appearance, and a wrinkled face; they are very small in stature, measuring less than half a thumb,[3] and they wear tiny rags sewn together. If there should be anything to be carried in the house or any heavy task to be done, they apply themselves to the work, and accomplish it more quickly than it could be done by human means. It is a law of their nature that they can be useful but cannot do harm. However, they do have one way of being something of a nuisance: when on occasions Englishmen ride alone through the uncertain shadows of night, a portune sometimes attaches himself to the rider without being seen, and when he has accompanied him on his way for some time, there comes a moment when he seizes the reins and leads the horse into some nearby mud. While the horse wallows stuck in the mud, the portune goes off roaring with laughter, and so with a trick of this kind he makes fun of human simplicity.[4]

62. *Grant*

There is in England a certain kind of demon which they call *grant* in the native idiom. It is like a yearling colt, prancing on its hind-legs, with sparkling eyes. This kind of demon very often appears in the streets in the heat of the day or at about sunset, and whenever it is seen, it gives warning of an imminent fire in that city or neighbourhood. When danger is looming on the following day or night, it sets the dogs barking by running to and fro in the streets, and feigning flight, lures the dogs on its tail to pursue it in the vain hope of catching it. An apparition of this kind makes the townspeople take care to guard their fires, and thus, while this obliging variety of

the West Highlands', *Folk Lore*, viii (1897), 220–35). Robert Burton in *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (ed. H. Jackson (London, 1932), i. 195–6) speaks of '*ambulones*, that walk about midnight on great heaths and desert places . . . Sometimes they sit by the highway side, to give men falls, and make their horses stumble and start as they ride . . . and if a man curse or spur his horse for stumbling they do heartily rejoice at it; with many such pretty feats.' It was typical of these creatures to go off laughing when they had played their pranks, just as Shakespeare's Puck 'misleads night-wanderers, laughing at their harm' (*A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, ii. 1. 39).

demonum genus, dum[d] conspicientes terret, suo aduentu munire ignorantes solet.[1]

lxiii. *De dalfinis*[a]

Quisquis marini fluctus inuestigator extitit aut ipsius maris explorator, audiat et constanter affirmet nullam in nostra habitatione terrena repertam cuiusuis animantis effigiem cuius[b] similitudinem[c] non liceat in piscibus occeani Britannici ab umbilico[d] superius speculari.[1] Illic piscis monachus ad medium uentrem squama monachali piscem tegit; illic rex piscis est coronatus; illic miles armatus equitat; illic canis, rictum oris aperiens; illic porcus, quem dalfinum nominant, quem de genere militum esse uulgus auctumat, porcina sibi inter fluctus maris transmutata latenter effigie.

Narrant enim naute in mari Mediterraneo, quod nostrum dicimus, aliquo die, naui pelagum sulcante, dalfinos innumeros nauim circuire; cumque ex iuuenili agilitate quidam ex nautis dalfinum telo uulnerasset, aliis dalphinis maris fundum petentibus, de subito inaudita tempestas nauim inuoluit. Nautis iam de uita desperantibus, ecce quidam ad formam equitis equo super mare aduehitur, et pro liberatione[e] omnium uulneratorem dalfini sibi postulat exponi. Inter pressuras naute positi, et periclitari timent, et socium exponere morti crudelissimum putant: sue quippe saluti consulere cum aliene uite dispendio infame faciunt. Tandem uulnerator ipse, dum mauult omnes unius pena liberari, dum sunt innocentes, quam propter suam leuitatem tantum populum periculum pati, ne ex ipsius tuicione

[d] dum *om.* XQ

[a] De dalfinis] De dalphino pisce marino (et ciconiis *C*) *CXQ* [b] ad *add. after* cuius *XQ* [c] similitudiem *N* [d] umblico *N* [e] liberatone *N*

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[1] Grant is another name for the river Cam (see e.g. J. Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (London, 1898), s.v. *Grantan-brycg*); Liebrecht therefore argues (p. 133), from the freqent appearance of water-spirits in the form of a horse (see *MI* F420. 1. 3. 3), and also their frequent connection with fire, that the grant is such a water-spirit.

The idea of a spirit whose appearance serves to warn of imminent danger has been commonly known in Britain. For instance, Walter Scott wrote of the water-kelpy: 'The [Highland] River-demon, or River-horse, for it is that form which he commonly assumes, is the Kelpy of the Lowlands, an evil and malicious spirit, delighting to forbode and to witness calamity' (n. xxxii on 'The Lady of the Lake', in *The Poetical Works of Walter Scott*, ed. J. L. Robertson (repr. London, 1951), p. 290); cf. R. C. Maclagan ('Ghost Lights of the West Highlands', *Folk Lore*, viii (1897), 221) on the Gaelic *manadh*, or warning, and

demon frightens anyone who sees it, its coming regularly serves to protect people who would otherwise have been unaware of their danger.[1]

63. *Dolphins*

Anyone who has made a study of salt water or conducted explorations of the sea itself should listen to this, and staunchly confirm that there is no form of any creature found living among us on dry land whose likeness, from the navel upwards, may not be observed among the fish of the ocean off Britain.[1] There the monk-fish covers itself to the middle of its belly with a scaly cowl; there the king-fish is found, wearing its crown; there the knight-fish rides in armour; there the dog-fish is seen, opening wide its jaws; there too is the pig-fish, which they call a dolphin: the people say that this fish is born as a knight, and puts on its piggish appearance secretly among the waves of the sea.

Indeed, there is a sailors' story of how one day in the Mediterranean Sea (which we call our sea), while a ship was ploughing over the deep, countless dolphins came and circled round it. Then one of the sailors, out of youthful exuberance, wounded a dolphin with a javelin. At this the other dolphins made for the bottom of the sea, and an unprecedented storm suddenly enveloped the ship. The sailors were beginning to despair of their lives when, see! a figure resembling a knight was coming towards them over the sea on horseback. He demanded that the one who had wounded the dolphin should be given up to him in exchange for the deliverance of them all. The sailors, trapped between two evils, both feared to incur danger, and thought it extremely cruel to expose their comrade to death: in their reckoning, it was dishonourable to consider their own safety at the expense of another's life. But the one who had inflicted the wound preferred that all should be delivered by the punishment of one (for they were indeed innocent), than that such a large company should undergo danger as a result of his own irresponsibility. Finally

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C. S. Burne ('Staffordshire Folk and their Lore', *Folk Lore*, vii (1896), 371) on 'knockers' in mines.

[1] Alexander Neckam (*De naturis rerum*, ii. 25) also mentions the knight-fish and the monk-fish. The belief that all creatures on land had their marine equivalents was an ancient one (see e.g. Pliny, *Hist. nat.* ix. 2. 7–8 and ix. 4. 10–11), and was still current when Camden wrote his *Britannia* (Liebrecht, pp. 134–5).

efficiantur nocentes, exponit se morti quam meruit, et libens, ex inuita electionis uoluntate, ascendit militis equum ex posteriore dorsi parte.

Abit[f] miles, sic super aquam firmam gradiendi semitam eligens sicut in fixo solo gressus firmarentur. In longinquam in breui transcursu regionem aduectus, in lecto preciosi apparatus militem reperit quem ut dalfinum pridem uulnerauerat;[2] et dum a ductore suo telum uulneri infixum iubetur extrahere, mandatis parens, uulneris auxilium dextra nociua tulit. Eo facto, reducitur nauta celeri cursu ad nauim; redditusque sociis rerum gestarum seriem pandit, et per ipsius factum morti addicti, ex contrario facto eius liberantur. Hinc est quod exinde naute dalfinos persequi cessant. Sunt enim uenture tempestatis indices, et indignum esset illis penam infligere, per quos imminentis habetur periculi cautela.[3]

Sic[g] ciconias asserunt in remotis orbis partibus homines esse, et apud nos in auium specie uiuere.[4] De quibus mirandum[h] iudico quod
f. 71^r in[i] | hyeme fluminibus se immergunt, in quorum fundo nonnumquam a piscatoribus dormientes extrahuntur. Nosque taliter e gurgite tractas uidimus ad ignem calefieri uelut a graui sompno expergefactas, et uite reddi, cum antea more lapidum insensibiles uiserentur. Sic et yrundines quercubus[j] infixe concauis dormiendo yemem transigunt.

lxiv. *De serenis maris Britannici*[a]

Ad hec in mari Britannico serene scopulis insidere uidentur, que caput femineum, capillos lucidos et proceros habent, ubera muliebria, omniaque feminee forme membra usque ad umbelicum; cetera in

[f] abiit *AXQ* [g] infra titulo de ciconiis *written in margin by rubricator N* [h] mirandum *supplied by author N* [i] in [f. 71^r] in *N* [j] quercubus *supplied by author N*

[a] maris Britannici] bene cantantibus *CXQ*

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[2] A belief in spirits who live in a luxurious abode at the bottom of the sea is also found in northern Scotland. These spirits are likewise said to put on a sea-creature's shape, often that of a seal, when they leave their abode: cf. Liebrecht, p. 134; Keightley, *Fairy Mythology*, pp. 167–71. The persistence of a wound delivered to a human being in the shape of an animal after human form has been resumed is, as Liebrecht points out (p. 137), a well-known motif; cf. *Otia*, iii. 93, at n. 6, and iii. 120, at n. 5.

[3] Dolphins have traditionally been regarded as benevolent creatures; for a bibliography, see *MI* B473.

[4] On storks, cf. *Otia*, iii. 73, at n. 7, and iii. 97. The idea that storks spend the winter in Egypt in human form partially accounts for the reverence paid to them in northern

therefore, lest they should incur guilt by protecting him, he exposed himself to the death which he deserved, and freely, of his own reluctant but voluntary choice, climbed on to the horse's back behind the knight.

The knight rode off, picking out as firm a path over the water for his horse to step on as if its paces were supported on solid ground. The sailor was taken to a far-distant region, though the journey only took a short time; there, on a couch of costly furnishing, he found the knight whom he had wounded earlier as a dolphin.[2] On being ordered by his escort to draw out the javelin stuck in the wound, he obeyed the command, and brought healing to the wound with the very hand that had done the hurt. With this accomplished, the sailor was speedily conveyed back to the ship. Once restored to his comrades, he described the sequence of events, and they, who had been sentenced to death by his action, found themselves reprieved by his reversal of the deed. That explains why, ever since then, sailors have no longer attacked dolphins. For indeed, dolphins give notice of a coming storm, and it would be unworthy to inflict pain on them, thanks to whom a warning is received of impending danger.[3]

Similarly they say that storks are human beings in remote parts of the world, and live among us in the semblance of birds.[4] What I judge remarkable in their regard is that in winter they immerse themselves in rivers, and sleep on the river-bed; sometimes they are dragged up from there by fishermen. And we have seen them, when they have been hauled out of deep water in such a way, grow warm by a fire as if they were being roused from a heavy sleep, and come back to life, although before they seemed as insensible as stones. So, too, swallows pass the winter asleep, clinging to hollow oaks.

64. *The Sirens of the British Sea*

As well as these creatures, sirens are seen in the sea off Britain, sitting on the rocks. They have a female head, long, shining hair, a woman's breasts, and all the limbs of the female form down to the navel; the

Europe, and has given rise to many stories: see Liebrecht, p. 157 f.; *Marvels of the East*, p. 27 f.; Wolf, *Beiträge zur Deutschen Mythologie*, p. 165 f.; A. Paupert, 'Le Conte de la cigogne dans les *Évangiles des Quenouilles*', *Métamorphose et bestiaire fantastique au Moyen Âge*, ed. L. Harf-Lancner (Paris, 1985), pp. 137–62; and for further bibliography, *MI* B775, D155. 1, and D624. 1. For transformations in general, see *Otia*, i. 15, n. 8.

piscem finiuntur. He cantu dulcissimo sic nautarum transeuntium corda penetrant quod, suaui aurium pruritu[b] admodum delectati, officii sui fiunt immemores, et incauti naufragium persepe patiuntur.[1]

lxv. *De sagacitate[a] animalium*

Licet etiam de quibusdam animalium naturis admirandum sit, tamen ea miranda tantum credimus que rarum habent conspectum, cum ipsa uidentium assuetudo admirationem tollat quam raritas intuentium inducebat.

Ecce miranda asperioli sagacitas, qui cum aquam transuadare propter sui modicitatem non sufficiat, frustulo ligni se superponit,[b] et erecta cauda uelum facit, quo duce a subueniente flatu flumen possit transcurrere.[1]

Sed et coturnices, cum ad yemandum insulas maris calidiores petunt, continuum uolandi laborem miro temperantie consilio adiuuant, dum unam ad instar ueli alam erigunt, et uicissim[c] permutatis alis sibi subueniunt.

Ad hec in Subalpina Gallia, inter altissimas rupes, camusii nascuntur, hyrcos sapientes et corio delicatiore prestantes; cuius[2] uenatio ex inconsideratis precipitiis pendet. Cum enim uenatorem presentiunt, uno ad collis apicem seruante custodiam, ut auditis compertisque uenatorum insidiis custos exsufflando sternuttat, grex totus exilit, rupes arduas occupat. Cum ergo uenator a collibus camusios elicit, unum ex consortibus suis inter arta semitarum ad latus montis constituit, ut transeuntem feram, a currendo transeundoque prepeditam, ad precipicium inter conuallium suspensa deducat. Verum ex insita cautela camusius, sollicito oculo, si quam modicam lucis intercapedinem inter montem et semite obstructorem

[b] pruriti *NI*

[a] sagacitate] diuersis naturis *CXQ*   [b] superponit *AC;* supponit *Nβ*   [c] uisissim *N*

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[1] The siren in classical mythology was half-bird and half-woman (e.g. Ovid, *Met.* v. 552). However, as early as the late seventh or early eighth century, she appears in mermaid form in the *Liber monstruorum* (see E. Faral, 'La Queue de poisson des sirènes', *Romania*, lxxiv (1953), 433–506). The idea of a beautiful woman with a fish's tail is already found in Horace, *Ars poetica*, v. 4 (quoted by Neckam, *De naturis rerum*, ii. 25). From the mid-twelfth century the fish-woman is well established, although the bird-woman is still found as well; see F. McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries* (Chapel Hill, 1960), pp. 166–9.

rest of their body tails off as a fish. With the immense sweetness of their singing these creatures so penetrate the hearts of passing sailors that they succumb utterly to the sensuous enticement of their ears; they become forgetful of their duty, and very often suffer shipwreck through carelessness.[1]

65. *The Resourcefulness of Animals*

Although a number of animals' natures are deserving of wonder, yet we believe that only those which are rarely seen cause wonder, since the very fact of seeing something regularly takes away the wonderment it could inspire when it had rarely been seen before.

Take the marvellous resourcefulness of the squirrel. When it is not able to ford a watercourse on account of its smallness, it ensconces itself on a little piece of wood and, raising its tail, makes a sail, by whose propulsion it can get across the stream with a helping breeze.[1]

And quails, when they are heading for the warmer islands of the sea to pass the winter there, ease the continuous effort of flying by a remarkable measure to conserve their energy: they raise one wing like a sail, and give themselves relief by alternating from one wing to the other.

To give another example, in Subalpine Gaul, among the highest peaks, chamois are found. They taste like goats, but are superior to them in having a finer hide. The hunting of this animal[2] is based on a strategy involving dangerous precipices. They know in advance when a hunter is on his way, for one of them keeps guard on top of a hill; when the sentry hears and notes the menacing approach of hunters, he snorts and brays, and then the whole herd starts up and occupies the high crags. So the hunter sets about luring the chamois down from the hills; meanwhile, he stations one of his companions on a narrow path on the mountain-side, in order that, when a beast comes that way, he may prevent it from running away or passing by, and drive it down to a precipice among the sheer drops of those valleys. But if the chamois, exercising its inbred alertness, sees with its watchful eye any small crack of light between the mountain and the man obstructing the path, it directs its attack there: lowering its

[1] Cf. Neckam, *De naturis rerum*, ii. 124.

[2] Leibniz changed *cuius* to *quorum* (p. 981), to avoid Gervase's abrupt change to the singular here.

uiderit, illuc impetum dirigit et, demissis cornibus, quemcumque obicem reperit aut precipitat aut cornu transfigit.[d]

Porro apud Polloniam[3] onagrorum frequens est uenatio, quorum eadem est fere natura que et asinorum: sunt enim asini siluestres, cornua habentes ad modum damarum, melancolice complexionis; dum siccitatem habent innatam, sitibunda sunt. Cum ergo uenatorum cornua intonantia presentiunt, ad fontes properant, aque inmenso haustu se saciant, ut siccitatem, ex calore currentis adauctam, sumpti potus humiditate temperent. Enimuero canibus urgentibus, paulatim gradum sistunt; et superuenientes tanta inundatione per nares inuoluunt[e] quod et excecatos diucius a sequendo retardant, et inter oculos obductos ad fugam citatam se accingunt. De hiis ad litteram in psalmo dicitur: 'Expectabunt[f] onagri in siti sua.'[4]

lxvi. *De monte Cathalonie*

Rem nouam atque insolitam sed salubri consilio plenam agredimur, et cautelam incautis facile prestantem. Est in Cathalonia, episcopatu Gerundensi, mons excelsus ualde, cui nomen Canagum[1] accole indiderunt. Huius ambitus arduus et pro magna parte inaccessibilis ad ascensum; in cuius summitate[a] lacus est, aquam continens subnigram et in fundo imperscrutabilem. Illic mansio fertur esse demonum, ad modum palacii dilatata et ianua clausa; facies tamen ipsius mansionis, sicut ipsorum demonum, uulgaribus est incognita ac inuisibilis. In lacum si quis aliquam lapideam aut alias solidam proiecit[b] materiam, statim[c] tamquam offensis demonibus tempestas erumpit.[2] Est in quadam apicis particula nix perpetua, glacies continua; cristalli illic copia, et nulla unquam solis presentia. Ad
f. 71v huius montis radicem fluuius est, | aureas habens harenas, unde ex eius arenis aurum quod uulgus *palleol*[3] nominant[d] elicitur. In huius

[d] transfigit *supplied by author N* [e] inuolunt *N* [f] expetabunt *N*

[a] submitate *N* [b] proiecerit *XI* [c] statinn *N* [d] nominat *CQ*

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[3] It is clear from Gervase's description of Poland in Book II that he had had a first-hand description of that country from a native of Poland (see ii. 7, n. 38); this information on the Polish onagers may have come from the same source.

[4] Ps. 103 (104): 11 (translation: D.V.). Gervase presumably took the Vulgate *expectabunt* to mean 'shall await [their hunters]'.

[1] Mont Canigou, in the French Pyrenees, north-west of the border town of La Junquera, would seem to be the mountain in question.

antlers, whatever impediment it meets it either hurls over the precipice or impales on an antler.

Further, in Poland[3] onagers are often hunted. These animals are virtually identical to asses in their nature: they are in fact wild asses, with antlers like deer, and of a melancholic constitution. Since they have an innate dryness, they are thirsty creatures. Consequently, when they hear the warning of hunters' horns being sounded, they rush to the springs and fill themselves with an enormous draught of water, so that when their dryness is increased by the heat of running, they may counterbalance it with the wetness of the drink they have taken. Then, with the dogs pressing hard upon them, they gradually slacken their pace; when the dogs overtake them, they overwhelm them with such a great deluge from their nostrils that they both hinder them from pursuing them for some time by blinding them, and give themselves the chance to run away quickly while the dogs' eyes are darkened. A psalm in its literal meaning says of these: 'The wild asses shall expect in their thirst.'[4]

66. *A Mountain in Catalonia*

We are coming to a matter which is strange and uncommon, but full of sound counsel, and a sure means of persuading the thoughtless to be more careful. There is in Catalonia, in the diocese of Gerona, a very high mountain, to which the people who live nearby have given the name Canigou.[1] This mountain is steep-sided all the way round, and its ascent is from most angles impossible. On its summit there is a lake containing blackish water, in which it is impossible to see the bottom. There is said to be an abode of demons there, a vast palatial establishment behind a closed door; however, the appearance even of the building, just like that of the demons themselves, cannot be seen or recognized by ordinary people. If anyone throws a block of stone or some other solid object into the lake, a storm immediately erupts, as if the demons were offended.[2] At one point on the summit there is permanent snow and continual ice; an abundance of crystal is found there, and the sun never reaches it. At the foot of this mountain there is a river with golden sand; gold-dust, which the people call *palleol*,[3] is montis consistentia et circuitu argentum foditur, et multiplex fertilitas erumpit. Ex opposito quoque, ad septem leucas, mons est Grim nomine, maris littori inherens.

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[2] See *Otia*, iii. 89, n. 2.

[3] The word *palleol*, meaning gold-dust, was formed from *palea* (chaff); see Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, s.v. *palea*.

Nunc quid in hiis locis nuper contigerit[e] lector attendat. Erat in coniuncta monti uilla, Iunchera nomine, uir agricola Petrus de Cabinam nuncupatus. Hic uno aliquo die, cum domi rebus domesticis intenderet et eiulatu filie paruule continuo et impacabili turbaretur, tandem, ut offensis mos est, filiam suam demonibus commendat. Commendationi incaute paratus receptator occurrit, et inuisibili raptu demonum turbo puellam abducit.

Completo iam ab hiis septennio, dum ad radicem montis indigena quidam iter arriperet, uidet hominem celeri cursu transeuntem, qui flebili uoce plangebat: 'Heu me', inquit, 'miserum! Quid agam, qui tanto pondere premor?' Requisitus ab alio[f] uiatore que sit tanti causa doloris, respondit se in monte Canagum iam septennium transegisse sub commendatione demonum, qui ipso cotidie pro uehiculo utebantur. Et ut auditor rei tam incredibili fidem adhiberet, argumentum certissimum iunxit, esse in seruili commendatione demonum in eodem monte puellam, filiam Petri de Cabinam, e uilla Iunchera horiundam; de puelle huius educatione tedium facientes demones, ipsam libenter commendatori suo restituerent, si modo pater eam in monte reposceret. Stupet auditor, incertus an sileat incredibilia an loquatur iniuncta. Eligit ut patri statum filie denunciet, et uillam memoratam intrans, patrem puelle repperit, de diutina filie amissione querelantem. Inquirit causam plangendi,[g] et audita rei fide, adicit se que premisimus ab illo quo uice uehiculi demones utebantur audisse, consultius dicens esse ut, ad loca designata ueniens, sub diuini[h] nominis attestatione ad restitutionem amisse filie demones adiuraret.

Auditis nuncii uerbis, pater obstupuit, et dum intra se cogitat quid deliberatius agat, eligit consilio nuncii fidelis se supponere. Montem ascendit, per loca lacus discurrit, demones ut commendatam filiam reddant adiurat, et tandem quasi repentino flatu filia prodit:[i] procera

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[e] contingerit *N* [f] illo *ACXQ* [g] planoendi *N* [h] diuini *supplied by author N* [i] prodit *ACβ;* prodiit *N*

sifted from its sand. Silver is mined within and around this mountain, and many different crops spring from the fertile soil. There is also a mountain called Grim opposite it, at a distance of seven leagues, cleaving to the sea-shore.

Now let the reader pay heed to what happened recently in these parts. In the village called La Junquera next to the mountain, there was a farmer whose name was Peter de Cabinam. One day when this man was attending to his domestic tasks at home, he was finding his little daughter's constant and unappeasable crying exasperating. In the end, as people often do when they are annoyed, he told his daughter to go to the devil. His unthinking commendation brought a quick response from a being who was ready to receive her, and a whirlwind of demons laid invisible hands on the girl and carried her off.

Seven years after these events, while a local man was making his way along the foot of the mountain, he saw someone passing by at a rapid pace; this person was bewailing his lot in a voice full of tears: 'Alas, woe is me!', he said, 'what am I to do, crushed as I am under such a heavy burden?' On being asked by the other traveller what was causing him such great grief, he replied that he had now spent seven years on Mont Canigou in the power of the demons, who used him every day as a vehicle. And in order that his hearer should attach credence to such an incredible thing, he added incontrovertible proof, telling him that there was a girl on that same mountain who was enslaved to the demons as the result of an oath: she was a native of the village of La Junquera, the daughter of Peter de Cabinam. The demons were tired of bringing this girl up, and would gladly restore her to him who had sent her to them, if only her father would ask for her back on the mountain. His hearer was amazed, and hesitated as to whether he should keep these incredible things to himself, or tell them as he had been charged to do. He decided to report to the father the state of his daughter, and on his arrival at the village in question, he found the girl's father, lamenting his long-lost daughter. He asked the reason for his weeping, and listened to his faithful account of what had happened; he then told him that he had heard the things we have related above, from the man whom the demons were using as a vehicle, saying that the father would be well-advised to go to the appointed place and adjure the demons, invoking the Divine Name, to restore his lost daughter.

When her father heard the messenger's words, he was dumbfounded; he engaged in an inward meditation as to what was the wiser course of action, and eventually decided to follow the advice of his reliable messenger. He climbed the mountain, and ran to and fro on the shores of the lake, adjuring the demons to restore the daughter he had sent to them. At last, as if on a sudden gust of wind, his daughter statura, arida, tetra, oculis uagis, ossibus et neruis et pelle uix herentibus, horrenda aspectu, ydiomate nullo intellecta, et uix aliquid humanum sapiens aut intelligens.

Receptam prolem pater admirans et dubius an alendam retineat, episcopum Gerundensem adit, euentum tristem pandit, quid agendum ei sit sollicitus exquirit. Episcopus, ut[j] uir religiosus ac exemplo bono commissum sibi gregem informans, puellam in omnium exponit aspectu, reique seriem pandens, predicando docuit subditos ne de cetero sua demonibus commendent, eo quod 'aduersarius noster dyabolus tanquam leo rugiens circuit,[k] querens quem deuoret,'[4] et quosdam ut datos mactat et sine spe reddendi incarceratos sibi peculiat, quosdam ut commendatos[l] macerat ad tempus et affligit.

Nec diu post, ille quo demones pro uehiculo utebantur, consimili patris obtestatione liberatus, in medium exit. Et quia cum raptus erat maioris perfectiorisque discretionis extiterat, fidelius ac intelligibilius que apud demones gerebantur exposuit. Asserebat[m] iuxta lacum in subterraneo specu palacium esse latum, in cuius aditu ianua est, et intra ianuam interior[n] quedam obscuritas, ad quam cum mutuo applausu demones, postquam orbis partes percurrerint, conueniunt, et quid egerint maioribus suis nunciant. Verum hanc palacii f. 72^{r} consistentiam nullus preter ipsos et eos qui perpetuo donationis[o] iugo | in demonum transierunt proprietatem intrauit,[p] hiis qui demonibus commendantur exteriorem ianuam obseruantibus.

Ex hiis informari possumus ne familiam demonibus commendemus, qui cautius insidiantur ut rapiant, rapiant[q] pauperem[r] dum attrahunt eum.[5] Estque ualidissimum dictorum argumentum quod inter montes memoratos perpetua uiget uentorum ex opposito sibi concertantium tempestas, et rara illic reperitur aut nulla unquam tranquillitas.[s][6]

[j] ut *om.* *XQ* [k] circuit *supplied by author* *N* [l] ut commendatos] incommendatos *N* [m] asserabat *N* [n] interiorum *XQ;* murorum *I* [o] donationis *supplied by author* *N* [p] intrauit *AX;* intrant *NQI;* intrat *C* [q] rapiant *om.* *XI* [r] paupem *N* [s] transquillitas *N*

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[4] Cf. 1 Pet. 5: 8.

[5] Cf. Ps. 9B (10): 9.

[6] This story apparently persisted in the area: a similar tale is recorded in Pujedo's *Cronaca de Cataluña* of 1609 (see Sébillot, *Folk-Lore*, ii. 410). The universal fear of being carried off by spirits can lend a sinister seriousness to execrations such as 'The devil take you'; cf. Chaucer's *Friar's Tale* (ed. F. N. Robinson (2nd edn. Oxford, 1974), p. 93). Liebrecht (pp. 137–9) cites similar beliefs among the Swedes, the Serbs, and the Russians, and adduces a tale from Roger de Hoveden's *Chronica* (vol. ii, pp. 302–3), which describes how a pregnant woman prayed to the devil; he attended to her, but then carried off her son. Further stories of people being snatched away by spirits are found in *Otia*, iii. 85 and 86; in the former a period of seven years is likewise mentioned, as the time for which a

appeared. She was elongated in stature, emaciated, hideous, with rolling eyes, her bones and sinews and skin hardly holding together, dreadful to behold; she had acquired no form of speech by which to communicate, and hardly understood or recognized anything human.

The father was shocked at the child he had regained, and being uncertain whether he ought to keep her in his care, he went to see the bishop of Gerona; he told him his sad story, and asked anxiously what he ought to do. The bishop, being a religious man, and eager to instruct the flock entrusted to him with a salutary warning, set the girl in the sight of all: unfolding the sequence of events, he taught his subjects in a sermon that they should never again tell their own to go to the devil, because 'our adversary the devil is going about as a roaring lion, seeking someone to devour.'[4] Some people, when they are freely given to him, he destroys and makes his own, imprisoning them with no hope of restoration; while others, who are simply sent to him, he torments and afflicts just for a time.

Not long afterwards, the man whom the spirits were using as a vehicle was released as a result of a similar appeal by the father, and came back into their midst. And because when he had been seized he had been of greater, more mature discernment, he was able to give a more reliable and intelligible description of what went on among the demons. He maintained that in a subterranean cave beside the lake there was a spacious palace: 'at its entrance there is a door, and beyond the door an inner darkness, in which the demons gather to greet each other after they have traversed the regions of the world, and report to their superiors what they have done. But no one apart from themselves, and those who have passed into the demons' possession in the everlasting bonds of a gift, has ever gone inside this palace; those who are only sent to the demons remain outside the door.'

We can be taught by these things not to commend anyone in our household to the demons; for they stealthily lie in wait to catch the poor, to catch him while they draw him to themselves.[5] And there is a very strong argument for the truth of these sayings, in that between the mountains of which I have spoken there rages a constant tempest of winds striving against each other, and tranquillity is rarely or never found there.[6]

woman might be obliged to serve the dracs as a nurse. Walter Scott reproduces Gervase's story (*Minstrelsy*, ii. 315–17), and comments with regard to the inhabited lake on top of a mountain that a similar superstition 'is common to almost every high hill in Scotland;' cf. Sébillot, loc. cit.

lxvii. *De Lirinensi monasterio*[a]

Est in regno Arelatensi, ad confinium episcopatus[b] [1] in maritima, insula maris angusto interuallo a terra communi distincta, quam Lirinensem nominant, ubi ab antiquissimis temporibus polluisse legimus monachorum religionem. In hanc maris insulam nullus unquam uermis ingreditur; quod nescio religioni tantorum sanctorum patrum debeatur, an ipsius soli complexioni atribuatur.[2]

lxviii. *De astucia uulpis*

Cum naturalem uulpecule astuciam audimus,[a] nihil aliud agimus nisi quod uitam nostram[b] ad prudentiam augendam informamus. Ecce quod uulpes, ut se[c] sentit pulicum pungentium amara lue grauari, aquam accedit, et retrogrado incessu caude summitatem aque immergit. Pulices igitur, ut humorem sentiunt, sicciorem partem corporis fugiendo occupant; sicque dum corpus a natibus[d] aque paulatim infigit, pulices ad ultimam rictus partem ascendere compelluntur. Cum ad labra deducta fuerit infelix turba, ut os totum humectat, stuppe uel alii cuiuis[e] molliori materie, quam paulo ante uulpes colectam in ore posuerat, pulices insiliunt; et cum sentit[f] astutum animal ipsas[g] triste mutasse asilum, stuppam ore proicit, et sic aqua exuit et peste nociua liberatur.[1]

lxix. *De Laikibrais*[a]

Est in Britannia maiori silua, multiplici uenationis genere copiosa, que Carleolensem respicit ciuitatem. In huius quasi medio uallis est

[a] Lirinensi monasterio] insula Lirinensi *Cβ* [b] e|episcopatus *N*

[a] audiuimus *AXI* [b] nostram *supplied by author N* [c] se *om.* *CXQ* [d] a natibus *supplied by author N* [e] cuiuis *supplied by author N* [f] cum sentit] consentit *N* [g] *sic MSS for* ipsos

[a] Laikibrais *corrected by author from* Laikibrait *N*

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[1] *Q* adds *Antipolitani qui nunc Grassensis* after *episcopatus*. The seat of this diocese was originally at Antibes; it was transferred to Grasse in 1244 (Gams, *Series episcoporum*, p. 554).

[2] The monastery of Lérins (a small island opposite Cannes) was originally founded by St Honoratus of Arles *c.*410. An important intellectual centre in the fifth century, it numbered Vincent of Lérins, St Caesarius of Arles, and St Hilary among its monks; in

67. *The Monastery of Lérins*

In the kingdom of Arles, near the boundary of the coastal diocese,[1] there is an island separated from the mainland by a narrow sea-channel: they call it the Isle of Lérins. We read that a community of monks has led a flourishing religious life there from earliest times. No snake ever comes onto this sea-girt island: I do not know whether this is due to the religious observance of such great and holy fathers, or whether it is to be attributed to the soil's own constitution.[2]

68. *The Fox's Cunning*

When we hear of the natural cunning of the little fox, it can only lead us to shape our own lives towards a growth in practical wisdom. Mark, then, that when a fox feels itself being tormented by the bites of a disagreeable plague of fleas, it goes to a river and, walking backwards, dips the tip of its tail into the water. The fleas, therefore, when they feel the wetness, run from the tail and take refuge in a drier part of the body; and so as it sinks its body little by little from the rump upwards into the water, the fleas are forced to climb up towards the very edge of its jaw. Once the unlucky band has been driven to its lips, it submerges its whole face: then the fleas leap into the tow or some other softish substance which the fox had picked up a little before and placed in its mouth. When the cunning animal feels that they have exchanged their uncomfortable refuge, it spits out the tow from its mouth, and thus comes up out of the water freed from the troublesome pest.[1]

69. *Laikibrais*

In Great Britain there is a forest, rich in many kinds of game, which looks down on the city of Carlisle. Roughly in the middle of this

Hilary's *Sermo de vita S. Honorati*, iii. 5 (*PL* l. 1237), he reports that with the arrival of St Honoratus the island was no longer troubled by snakes. The life of the monastery was interrupted by the Saracen occupation in *c.*732, but resumed in the late tenth century, and it once again became a flourishing community. See S. Pricoco, *L'Isola dei santi: Il cenobio di Lerino e le origini del monachesimo gallico* (Rome, 1978); F. Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich, 4.–8. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1988^{2}). For other islands which enjoyed a freedom from snakes, see *Otia*, ii. 10, n. 70.

[1] This ploy of the fox is known the world over: see *MI* K921.

montibus circumsepta iuxta stratam publicam. In hac, inquam, ualle cotidie ad horam unam diei auditur classicum campanarum dulce resonans; unde indigene loco illi deserto nomen imposuerunt in idiomate Wallico[b] Laikibrais.[1]

lxx. *De cornu sancti Symeonis*

Accedit miro mirabilius in eadem silua. Erat in eiusdem silue continentia uilla Pendred nomine, ex qua miles oriundus, cum in nemore semotus ab hominum strepitu uenaretur, subita tonitrui, fulguris, et corruscationis tempestate turbatur. Cum hinc inde fulmina[a] siluam succenderent, conspicit in conspectu tempestatis caniculam grandem pertransire, ex cuius faucibus fulminabat ignis. Territo tali ac tam stupenda uisione militi ex insperato occurrit miles, cornu uenatorium manu baiulans. Occurrenti miles timore plenus occurrit, et dum que sit causa timoris aperitur: 'Heus,' inquit superueniens consolator, 'pelle timorem! Ego sum sanctus Symeon, quem inter fulgura supplex inuocasti. Hoc tibi dono cornu ad perpetuam tui familieque tue munitionem, ut quocienscumque fulmina timueritis aut tonitrua, cornu intonetis, statimque omnis imminentis periculi formido euanescat, nec ulla sit fulminandi potestas intra[b] terminos cornualis exauditionis.' Ad hec inquirit sanctus Symeon si quid miles noster uiderit quod stuporem ei induxerit aut admirationem. Respondit interrogatus se caniculam uidisse ex oris rictibus fulminantem, quam cum insequeretur sanctus Symeon euanuit, cornu ad rei geste memoriam, et perpetuam familie tuitionem, apud militem derelicto; quod a multis uisum est et admiratum. Est enim procerum et more cornu uenatorii recuruum,

[b] Wallico *N* (*corrected by author from* Gallico), *A;* Gallico *Cβ*

[a] flumina *N*   [b] intra *supplied by author N*

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[1] R. C. Cox, in 'Tarn Wadling and Gervase of Tilbury's "Laikibrait"', (*Folk Lore*, lxxxv (1975), 128–31), identifies Laikibrais with the now-extinct body of water known as Tarn Wadling, once in the forest of Inglewood, a forest renowned as a medieval hunting ground (cf. *Otia*, iii. 71); the tarn lay close by the Roman road between Carlisle and Penrith (Gervase's *strata publica*?). A local tradition associated Tarn Wadling with a village which was submerged as a result of the wickedness of the inhabitants, and Cox shows that the name Laikibrais (also spelt Lay ki braic (*I*), Laiquibrame (*XQ*), etc.), resembles an Old French equivalent for 'lake that cries'; it may be, therefore, that the correction of *Gallico* to *Wallico* (see apparatus) was a mistake on the author's part. Cox remarks that 'the tradition of a body of water in which bells are engulfed and yet are heard to peal is a common folklore motif often associated with demonic forces or the punishment of some human impiety.' In support of the identification, he cites 'the claim of Adam de Felton, Prior of St Mary's Carlisle and his fellow canons to the tithe for fish caught "in lacu de Terwathelan qui dicitur Laykebrayt"', recorded in the Pleas of the Forest of Inglewood of 13 Edward I.

On bells in English folklore, see Thiselton-Dyer, *English Folk Lore*, pp. 263–9. See also Burne and Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, pp. 64–7 and 73–6, for a number of variants of the legend of wickedness punished by a flood and commemorated by sunken bells; cf. Sébillot, *Folk-Lore*, ii. 338–40 and 449–53.

forest there is a valley surrounded by hills near a public highway. In this valley, I say, every day at seven in the morning a gently-sounding peal of bells is heard; and so the locals have given that lonely place the name of Laikibrais in the Welsh tongue.[1]

70. *The Horn of St Simeon*

Here is something even more marvellous which occurred in the same forest. Within the confines of that forest there was a town called Penrith. A knight who hailed from there was hunting in the wood far from the din of human habitation, when he was thrown into confusion by a sudden storm accompanied by thunder and flashes of lightning. While thunderbolts were setting the forest ablaze on every side, in the eerie light of the storm he caught sight of a huge dog running along with fire darting from its jaws. The knight was quaking in terror at such a vision, so ghastly it was, when another knight came towards him out of the blue, carrying a hunting-horn in his hand. As he came nearer our knight ran to meet him, full of fear. He explained why he was afraid, whereupon the one who had joined him comforted him, saying: 'Well, banish your fear! I am St Simeon, whom you invoked in supplication amidst the lightning. I am giving you this horn to protect you and your household for ever, so that whenever you are frightened by thunder or lightning, you may sound the horn, and immediately all your dread of impending danger will vanish, and within ear-shot of the horn lightning will have no power to harm you.' After this St Simeon asked if our knight had seen anything which had aroused astonishment or wonder in him. To this question he replied that he had seen a dog with fire flashing from its gaping jaws, and St Simeon vanished in pursuit of it, leaving the horn with the knight as a memorial of the event, and as a permanent protection for his household; and it has been seen and admired by many. It is long, with the usual curved shape of a hunting-horn; it looks as if it

quasi de cornibus bubali sit consertum. Porro canicula de qua meminimus in eiusdem uille confinio domum sacerdotis ingressa, per opposita sibi hostia transitum faciens, domum cum minus legitime genita familia succendit.[1]

lxxi. *De feris silue de Carduil*[a]

Succedit in eadem silua Carleoli miranda nouitas, quin imo f. 72v admiranda | uetustas. Cum enim silua sit ceruorum infinita multitudine copiosa, frequenter euenit quod, ubi paulo ante innumera ferarum uisa fuit multitudo, post horas paucas, si tota fuerit perlustrata unicam feram non reddet, cum nec deperdite[b] multitudinis regressus cognosci possit aut egressus.[1]

lxxii. *De serpentibus*[a] [1]

Seleucia Babiloniam pergentibus subiacet regio in Sidonia, in qua serpentes nascuntur immensi atque horrendi, habentes bina capita,

[a] De . . . Carduil] De silua fatata per horas *CXQ* [b] depertite *N*

[a] De serpentibus] De onagris cornutis *CXQ*

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[1] The phantom dog in this chapter leads Liebrecht to connect it with the Wild Hunt (p. 140). On the English barguest, or barghast (i.e. a spectre usually seen in the form of a large black dog), cf. S. O. Addy, *Household Tales with Other Traditional Remains* (London, 1895), p. 137; E. S. Hartland, *English Fairy and Other Folk Tales* (London, 1890), pp. 234–44.

As Oman points out ('The English folklore', p. 14), 'the blowing of a horn as a protection during a thunderstorm is paralleled by the widespread medieval practice of ringing church bells at such times.' As to the identity of the saint, it seems unlikely (*contra* Duchesne) that the Simeon of Luke 2: 25–35 would be mistaken for a knight in an English forest; Oman suggests that: 'The choice seems to lie between two hermit saints of the name of Simeon who are commemorated at Mantua (26 July) and at Trier (1 June) respectively. The former, an Armenian, visited Britain in the course of an extensive tour in Western Europe and died in 1016. The latter . . . died in 1035, but is not known to have got nearer to this country than Normandy.' It may be, however, that we have here a local saint whose memory has not otherwise been preserved.

[1] As in the last two chapters, the forest in question is Inglewood, and as Cox points out ('Tarn Wadling and Gervase of Tilbury's "Laikibrait"', *Folklore*, lxxxv (1974), 129–30), its legendary significance as a place of wonder and as an area abundant in game is attested by the setting of King Arthur's hunting exploits there in the romances *The Weddynge of Syr Gawen and Dame Ragnell* and *The Awntyrs off Arthure at the Terne Wathelyn*.

[1] The text from here to iii. 81 is taken from the *Letter of Pharasmanes to Hadrian*. This

was fashioned from the horns of a wild ox. As for the dog which we mentioned, it entered the house of a priest on the outskirts of the same town, passing through the doors though they were shut against it, and it set fire to the house together with his unlawfully begotten family.[1]

71. *The Game in the Forest of Carlisle*

Next we have a wonderful novelty, or rather an old wonder, which occurs in the same forest of Carlisle. For although the forest is teeming with an endless supply of stags, it often happens that where, a little before, a countless host of animals was seen, a few hours later, even if the whole forest is scoured it will not yield a single one; but neither is it possible to perceive the retreat or departure of the vanished multitude.[1]

72. *Serpents*[1]

There is a region in Sidonia, on the route travelled by people on their way from Seleucia to Babylonia, in which huge and horrible serpents

letter, a fictional account of the marvels of Asia, must originally have been written in Greek (although no Greek version of it is known), for it draws exclusively on Greek sources, and distances are measured in stades. Pharasmanes, or Pharsman II, was the ruler of Iberia (now Georgia) in the time of Hadrian. The letter had been translated into Latin by the seventh century, when it was used as a source by Isidore of Seville (*c.*570–636). After that it was pillaged by many authors, and formed an important source for Alexander books; cf. *Otia*, i. 10, n. 9; i. 14, n. 4.

The letter survives in several Latin versions which differ considerably among themselves. Three of them (from the ninth- or tenth-century BN MS nouv. acq. lat. 1065, ed. Omont, 1913; from an edition by Graff, 1826–9, based on a lost eighth- or ninth-century MS once in Strasbourg; and from the eleventh-century BL MS Cotton Tiberius B V, ed. Cockayne, 1861), together with Gervase's version from Leibniz's edition, were printed with a study of their interrelationship by E. Faral in 'Une source latine de l'histoire d'Alexandre: la lettre sur les merveilles de l'Inde', *Romania*, xliii (1914), 199–215 and 353–70. Another Latin version, in the early twelfth-century MS Bodley 614 (a better copy of the version in MS Cotton Tiberius B V), was printed by M. R. James in *The Marvels of the East*, pp. 15–24, along with the versions from the Cottonian MS, the Paris MS, and the *Otia*. There are also extant two translations into Anglo-Saxon and one into French: see *Marvels of the East*, pp. 51ff.; Ross, *Alexander Historiatus*, pp. 32–3; S. Rypins, *Three Old English Prose Texts*, EETS (OS) clxi (1924); and for a synoptic edition of the Latin, Anglo-Saxon, and French versions, see C. Lecouteux, *De rebus in oriente mirabilibus* (*Lettre de Farasmanes*) (Meisenheim am Glan, 1979).

The fullest version of the letter, and the only one to retain the epistolary prologue and

[*See p. 696 for n. 1 cont.*]

quorum oculi lucent uelut lucerna.[b][2] Nascuntur et onagri cornuti et forma maximi.

Huic confinis Arabia iungitur, inculta propter serpentes cerastes[3] nuncupatos, cornua arietina habentes, quibus homines uulnerant et perimunt. Illic multitudo piperis nascitur, quod ibidem serpentes custodiunt. Verum homines, cum maturum piper comperiunt, loca incendunt et sic serpentes igne fugant; et ita, mutato colore[c] natiuo, piper nigrum fit ab incendio.[4]

lxxiii. *De equinocephalis*[a][1]

Seleucie a parte dextra euntibus ad mare Rubrum sunt uicinales diuisiones. Ibi nascuntur equinocefali, iubas[b][2] equorum habentes, ualidissimi, immensis dentibus, flammam spirantes.

Vicinali diuisione[3] coheret ciuitas hominibus plena.[c]

A dextra parte descenditur ad Egyptum. Hinc ad insulam in qua nascuntur nutrientes[d] barbam usque ad genua, qui nuncupantur idrofagi,[4] quia pisces crudos comedunt.

[b] *sic MSS for* lucerne [c] calore *N*

[a] equicenofalis *NAI* [b] id est comas *add. by author above* iubas *N* [c] *space left after* plena *NQ* [d] nutrites *N*

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epilogue, is found in the Paris MS, and it is to this that the text in the *Otia* is most closely related. It is noteworthy that, while the Strasbourg MS entitles the text: 'Epistola Premonis regis ad Trajanum imperatorem' (Hadrian is often called Trajan in ancient documents), and the other MSS do not present the text as a letter, the Paris version begins: 'Diuo Adriano: Fermes diuo Adriano salutem'. The rubricator of *N* twice wrote down the margin the words: 'Fermes ad Adrianum imperatorem.' The Paris MS is often corrupt; Gervase's text is generally better, but a fair number of the corruptions are common to both. It seems therefore that Gervase used a better copy of the version found in the Paris MS.

Gervase omits the first and last paragraphs of the letter, which contain the epistolary formulas, and he transposes the content of paragraphs ii to x (Faral's numeration) to the end (iii. 82). At two points (on the balsam-tree and the phoenix) he adds material from other sources. Otherwise the changes he makes generally have the aim of improving the style, cutting out uninteresting details such as statements of distances, abridging prolixity, and paraphrasing obscurity.

This chapter reproduces paragraphs xi and xii of the letter.

[2] For these serpents, called *amphisbaena* because of their two heads, cf. Pliny, *Hist. nat.* xxx. 35. 85; Solinus, *Collect.* xxvii. 29; Lucan, *Pharsalia*, ix. 719; and Isidore, *Etym.* xii. 4. 20. A phrase from the letter: 'cuius oculi lucent ueluti lucerne' ('lucerna' in Gervase and the Paris MS), appears in Isidore, but not in any previous Latin description. The serpents are mentioned in the *Historia de preliis* (ed. Zingerle, p. 256).

Gervase incorporated many of the marvels described in this letter in the geographical

are found: they have two heads, and their eyes shine like lamps.[2] Onagers are also found there, a horned variety, of huge dimensions.

Bordering on this land is its neighbour Arabia, uncultivated on account of the serpents called cerastes.[3] They have rams' horns, with which they gore and kill people. A great quantity of pepper grows there, over which the serpents in the region keep watch. But when people have established that the pepper is ripe, they set fire to the area, and thus get rid of the serpents by burning them out; and as a result the natural colour of the pepper changes, and it becomes black from the fire.[4]

73. *Equinocephali*[1]

To the right of Seleucia for those heading towards the Red Sea are some marches, where equinocephali are found: these creatures have horses' manes.[2] They are very strong, with huge teeth, and they breathe out flames.

A city full of people draws its life from this no man's land.[3]

To the right is the route down towards Egypt. From here one comes to an island in which people live who grow their beards down to their knees. They are called hydrophagi,[4] because they eat raw fish.

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section of the *Otia;* the two-headed serpents and the horned onagers are found in ii. 4, at n. 27.

[3] The name κεράστης means 'horned'; cf. Solinus, *Collect.* xxvii. 28; Isidore, *Etym.* xii. 4. 18.

[4] The description of how pepper turns black is found in Isidore (*Etym.* xvii. 8. 8); it does not appear in any earlier Latin text, apart from the letter. This legend also found a place in the *Historia de preliis* (ed. Zingerle, p. 254), and in the *Letter of Prester John* (ed. Zarncke, p. 912); cf. *Otia*, ii. 3, at n. 22.

[1] Gervase omits the statement of distance which forms paragraph xiii of the letter. This chapter starts at paragraph xiv and ends half-way through paragraph xvii of the Paris text. Gervase's *equinocephali* ('horse-headed', formed from a mixture of Latin and Greek) must be the result of an attempt to eliminate an earlier corruption: the creatures appear as *quinocoephali* in the Paris MS, but the original Greek would have been κυνοκέφαλοι ('dog-headed'). They figure in the *Historia de preliis* (ed. Zingerle, p. 254).

[2] The word *iubas* is the first of three words to be glossed by the author in this chapter, the other two being *centrios* and *sure* (see apparatus); the glosses do not appear in any of the other MSS.

[3] The MSS of Gervase and the Paris MS agree in the reading *diuisione;* the dative would have seemed easier, but the whole phrase is obscure.

[4] *Hydrophagi* ('water-eaters') is a corruption of the Greek ἰχθυοφάγοι ('fish-eaters'); again, the Paris MS is closer, though still corrupt, with *idtofagi.* These creatures appear in the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem* (ed. Boer, p. 32; cf. *Otia*, Appendix i. 21).

Est in eadem insula flumen Gargarum, trans quod nascuntur formice mirmidones,[e][5] magnitudine catulorum, habentes pedes senos, et centrios[f][6] quasi locuste marine; dentes canum habent, colore nigre, aurumque custodiunt, quod proferunt de subterraneis ad lucem. Cum uero hominem aut animal quodlibet attigerint, ad ossa deuorant. Suntque uelocissime,[g] ut magis uolare quam gradi censeantur. He sole oriente usque in horam quintam sub terra aurum fodiunt, et exinde in lucem producunt, quod ab artificibus ingeniose extrahitur. Ducunt enim camelos quam plures et camelas cum pullis suis, et cum ad ripam transeundi fluminis peruenerint, ad riparios cespites pullos alligant. Transito itaque flumine cum utriusque sexus camelis, camelabus aurum imponunt, que onuste et[h] amore pullorum allecte cursu festino transuadant. Comperientes igitur homines insequentium agmina formicarum, relictis ad fluuium et ad deuorandum expositis camelis masculis, celeri transitu flumen peragrant. Sane formice, predonum captura fraudate, obiectorum camelorum deuoratione retardantur, et fluuio contradicente prepedite, faciunt quod possunt dum deuorant camelos quos inueniunt. Sic fit ut aurum illud obrizum ad nos usque perueniat.

Inter has autem uias colonia est ex irrigatione Nili fertilis facta. Nilus enim implet Brisonem, Egypti fluuium, cuius beneficio terra inundata ad fertilitatam reuocatur. In his Brisonis fluuii confiniis elefantes nascuntur affluenter; homines quoque longa femora ad mensuram duodecim pedum habentes: reliquum corpus itidem duodecim pedum longitudine terminatur. Horum brachia candida usque ad humeros, sure[i] nigre, pedes rubei, capud rotundum, nasus procerus. Hii homines certis temporibus in ciconias transformantur, et apud nos quotannis fetum faciunt.[7]

[e] mirmidiones *N* [f] id est medias partes *add. by author alongside* centrios *N* [g] uelocissimi *Aβ* [h] et *supplied by author N* [i] sure *supplied by author* (*correcting* sine), id est crura *add. by author in margin N;* sine *β*

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[5] The word *mirmidones* comes from μυρμηδόνες, a Doric word for ants (see Hesychius, s.v.). On this tale of gold-guarding ants, see B. Laufer, 'Die Sage von den goldgrabenden Ameisen', *T'oung Pao*, Series 2, ix (1908), 429–52; G. C. Druce, 'An account of the Μυρμηκολέων or Ant-lion', *Antiquaries Journal*, iii (1923), 347–64; J. Needham *et al.*, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge, 1954–), v. 4. 33, 338–9; *MI* B756. This story, well known to the Greeks from its appearance in Herodotus (iii. 102–5), is found in Latin literature as early as Pomponius Mela (iii. 62). It reappears frequently in various forms in medieval literature: cf. Pseudo-Hugh of St Victor, *De bestiis et aliis rebus*, ii. 29 (*PL* clxxvii. 76), *The Letter of Prester John*, redaction D (ed. Zarncke, p. 911), and the *Historia de preliis* (ed. Zingerle, p. 255). The French explorer Michel Peissel has claimed that the 'ants' are in fact marmots, mountain rodents which still push gold-bearing sand to the surface from their burrows in the Himalayas; the marmot was known as a 'mountain ant' in ancient Persian (see *The Times*, 4 December 1996, p. 12).

On the same island is the river Gargarum, beyond which are found giant ants[5] as big as puppies, each with six feet, and a body[6] like a lobster's; they have dogs' fangs, and are black in colour. They hoard gold, which they bring up to the light from underground. If ever they catch a human being or any living creature, they gnaw them down to the bones. They are very fast-moving, so that they appear to fly rather than walk. From sunrise until eleven o'clock they mine gold underground, and from that time on they bring it out into the light. It is ingeniously extracted from them by tricksters. For people take as many camels as possible, together with their mates and their young, and when they reach the bank of the river that has to be crossed, they tie the baby camels to clumps of bushes on the bank. They then cross the river with the camels of both sexes, and load the gold onto the female ones. These, loaded down, but enticed by the love of their young, make rapid headway in crossing the water. Then the men, as soon as they perceive columns of ants coming after them, leave the male camels by the river as an easy prey to be devoured, and hastily cross to the other side of the water. And in fact the ants, cheated as they have been by the robbers' looting, are hindered by their consumption of the camels left in their way, and impeded by the obstacle of the river, so that all they can do is devour the camels which they find. It is by such means that that pure gold reaches us.

In the midst of these routes there is a settlement rendered fertile by the irrigation of the Nile. For the Nile swells the Briso, a river of Egypt, and the land, flooded by the beneficial action of this river, is reclaimed to fertility. In this basin of the river Briso elephants are found in great numbers. There are also human beings with thighs as much as twelve feet long, the rest of whose body does not exceed the same length of twelve feet. Their arms are white up to the shoulders, their calves are black, their feet red, their head round, and their nose long. These people turn into storks in certain seasons, and every year they produce their young in our midst.[7]

[6] James (*Marvels of the East*, p. 43 n.) takes *centrios* to mean 'stings', but Gervase's gloss (see apparatus) shows that he understood it to mean the body, or trunk, of the ant.

[7] This paragraph is very obscure in the letter (where it forms the beginning of section xvii), and Gervase does his best to make it intelligible. The river Briso has a long tradition: cf. *Geographi Graeci minores*, ed. C. Müller (Paris, 1855), i. 364. It is stated on Walckenaer's authority in de Xivrey's *Traditions tératologiques* (p. 315) to be the river Mareb in Abyssinia. On the stork people, cf. *Otia*, iii. 63, n. 4.

lxxiv. *De bestiis Brisonis*[a] [1]

In eisdem Brisonis fluuii partibus nascuntur bestie celeres ad instar equorum; pedes leonum habent, colla equina, longitudinem[b] pedum tricenorum, uastitatem pedum duodecim, edificio amplo. Si quis huiuscemodi bestias persequi uoluerit, sanguinem suum a quolibet seseque adimens fugit, et ab eis omnino non[c] nocetur; et yppofogi appellantur.

lxxv. *De hominibus*[a] *sine capite*[1]

Est et alia insula in Brisone fluuio, ubi nascuntur homines sine capite, habentes oculos et os in pectore; longitudo eorum pedum duodecim, latitudo et uastitas pedum septem, corporis color auro similis. Ibi quoque nascuntur dracones immensi, quorum longitudo centum pedum et quinquaginta latitudo, et grossisies ad quantitatem maximarum columpnarum.[b]

lxxvi. *De mulieribus barbatis*[1]

A parte dextra euntibus ad mare Rubrum[2] ciuitates due sunt, Fenix et Ioracia, ubi mansio est hominum plurimum locupletum, a quibus ad Indiam[a] et[b] Arabiam directiones[3] fiunt. Hi tenent Rubri maris imperium. Illic nascuntur margarite et maxime et optime forme.

f. 73^{v} Circa eadem loca sunt | mulieres horrende, barbate usque ad mamillas; caput habent planum, pellibus uestiuntur, uenatrices

[a] fluuii *add. after* Brisonis *CXQ* [b] longitudiem *N* [c] non *supplied by author N*

[a] natis *add. after* hominibus *CXQ* [b] columpniarum *N*

[a] Indiam *supplied by author N* [b] ad *add. after* et *XQ*

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[1] This chapter corresponds to section 4 of paragraph xvii in the letter; the monsters are named *yppofogi* (i.e. *hippophugi*, 'runaway horses') in both. The phrase 'celeres ad instar equorum' in Gervase's text seems more apt, in view of their name, than 'colores (*sic, for* colore) similes equorum' in the Paris MS. The second sentence is problematic, but it seems that 'a beast of this kind' must be the subject of the verbs *fugit* and *nocetur*, in spite of the plural *bestias;* it is thus the fact that they run away as fast as horses that is emphasized, so depriving any hunter of their blood (though the construction of *a* and the ablative with *adimo* is not normal). The Paris MS has the even more difficult: 'sanguinem suum a quolibet se sequi adimens sugit', apparently meaning that the hunter takes the blood of every beast and sucks it; other versions make the creatures run so fast at the sight of a pursuer that they sweat blood.

74. *The Beasts of the Briso*[1]

In the same regions of the river Briso there are beasts as swift as horses, which have lions' paws and horses' necks, and are thirty feet long, twelve feet broad, and heavily built. If anyone tries to hunt a beast of this kind, it runs away so fast that no hunter can catch it or take its life; it suffers no harm from hunters at all. These creatures are called hippophugi.

75. *People with No Head*[1]

There is also another island in the river Briso, where headless people are found, who have their eyes and mouth on their chest; they are twelve feet tall, and seven feet wide and deep, and the colour of their body is like gold. Huge serpents are also found there, a hundred feet long and fifty feet wide, and as thick as massive columns.

76. *Bearded Women*[1]

On the right-hand side on the way to the Red Sea[2] there are two cities, Phoenix and Joracia, where exceedingly wealthy people live. From them there are direct routes[3] to India and Arabia. These people hold sway over the Red Sea. Pearls are found there, both large and finely-formed.

In the same vicinity there are frightful women with beards down to their breasts; they have a flat head, and wear skins, for they are sunt, pro canibus bestias nutriunt ad uenandum, ad instar ac quantitatem leopardorum.[4]

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[1] Gervase here presents a neater but otherwise close reproduction of sections 5 and 6 of paragraph xvii. Headless people are common to all the accounts of monstrous races; in antiquity they were called *blemmyae* or *blemyes* (see e.g. Pomponius Mela, viii. 48; Pliny, *Hist. nat.* v. 8. 46; Solinus, *Collect.* xxxi. 5; Isidore, *Etym.* xi. 3. 17); cf. *Otia*, ii. 3, at n. 29.

[1] Gervase omits the brief and unremarkable paragraphs xviii and xix, and combines paragraphs xx and xxi in this chapter. Again, his version is close to that of the letter but is superior in its Latinity.

[2] i.e. the Indian Ocean; cf. *Otia*, ii. 3, n. 8.

[3] Gervase's *directiones* corresponds to *collationes* in the letter, both somewhat puzzling.

lxxvii. *De feminis*[a] *que habent dentes aprinos*[1]

Sunt et uicini montes in quibus[b] nascuntur mulieres[c] que dentes habent aprinos, capillos usque ad talos, et in lumbis caudas bouinas; alte sunt pedibus septem, corpus pilosum ut camelus.[2]

In hoc sane confinio colonia optime fertilis est, in qua manebat Darius,[3] rex Persarum, ubi plurima ubertate amenitateque fruebatur. In illa quoque uicinitate reges plurimi sunt ad occeanum, quorum nomina uel numerum[d][4] ignoramus. Verumptamen hoc testamur, quod ab inde redeuntes conspeximus plurimis ac pretiosis donariis remuneratos.[5]

lxxviii. *De Ethiopia et palaciis duobus*[a] [1]

Iuxta terminos memoratos sunt flumina ex quibus lapides preciosi eliciuntur, ubi gemme fiunt naturales. Gens autem illa Ethyopum nomine censetur.[2]

Iuxta hos quoque occeani fines nascuntur Soraci, qui aput alios Tritonides,[3] quasi diuini, appellantur, a quibus de omni interrogatione responsum accipitur.

[a] feminis] mulieribus *CXQ* [b] in quibus] ubi *XQ* [c] mulieres *supplied by author N* [d] numerum *supplied by author N; om. XQ*

[a] De . . . duobus] De palacio solis et lune *CXQ*

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[4] The rulers of the Red Sea and the bearded women also appear in *Otia*, ii. 4, at n. 115.

[1] Paragraphs xxii and xxiii are reproduced here, but omitting the second half of paragraph xxii, in which the epistolary form emerges.

[2] Cf. *Otia*, ii. 3, at n. 42.

[3] James remarks (*Marvels of the East*, p. 49) that this mention of Darius may derive from the Alexander-romance.

[4] It seems likely that *numerum* was omitted from or illegible in the author's copy of the letter. In *N*, the author supplied the missing word in a space left by the scribe, but β probably never received the word: hence its omission from *X* and *Q*, while *I*, as often, shows signs of conflation with *N* or one of its descendants.

[5] In the Paris MS the final sentence reads: 'Ad quos qui forte peruenerint remunerati dimittuntur.' Thus Gervase is basically drawing on the letter here; it is debatable whether his stronger affirmation in the first person is a literary device to lend conviction, or whether it was prompted by genuine encounters with people who had travelled in the east.

huntresses, and rear wild beasts of the shape and size of leopards to serve as hunting-dogs.[4]

77. *Women who have Boars' Teeth*[1]

There are also mountains nearby in which women are found who have boars' teeth, hair down to their ankles, and cows' tails at the base of their spine; they are seven feet tall, and their body is hairy like a camel.[2]

In this region there is an immensely fertile settlement. Darius,[3] king of the Persians, lived there, and delighted in the abundant richness and loveliness of the place. Also in that vicinity there are a great many kings towards the ocean, whose names and number[4] we do not know. However we are certain of this, that we have seen people returning from there rewarded with many precious gifts.[5]

78. *Ethiopia and the Two Palaces*[1]

Near the territories of which we have been speaking there are rivers containing precious stones which anyone can pick up; for natural gemstones are found there. The race which lives in those parts is known by the name of the Ethiopians.[2]

Also near these ocean-bounds live the Soraci, whom others call the Tritonides,[3] a name signifying their divinity. From them one receives a reply to any question.

[1] The first two paragraphs of this chapter comprise a slightly shorter version of paragraphs xxiv and xxv of the letter in the Paris MS. The third paragraph corresponds to paragraph xxvi of the letter, both versions containing corruptions. The rest reproduces paragraph xxvii, with some additional information interpolated.

[2] There is some confusion here; cf. the Paris MS: 'Sunt namque et alia flumina ubi pretiosi lapides nascuntur, unde gemme naturales sunt nigre: hoc genus Ethiopes appellantur,' while the Strasbourg MS reads: 'Sunt ibi serpentes in quibus lapides pretiosi nascuntur. Et illic sunt Ethiopes, nigri homines.' The blackness, either of the gems or of the Ethiopians, has been omitted from Gervase's text.

[3] In Greek mythology Triton was a merman, son of Poseidon and Amphitrite; in some legends the name is generic rather than personal. The letter reads *apud uos:* Gervase's *alios* is an example of the changes he introduced in order to suppress the epistolary format.

Sunt et circa eadem loca palacia[4] duo, unum solis, alterum lune. Illud solis die mediocriter calet et nocte feruet.[5] Illic nascuntur homines habentes sexdecim pedes in longitudine, septem uero in latitudine, caput magnum, auriculas quasi alas, corpus candidum; et cum homines uiderint, auriculas protendunt ita ut eos uolare credas.[6]

In hiis terminis colonia est solis, ad modum insule, in longitudine habens stadia ducenta et in latitudine totidem. Colonia ergo solis, muro cincta, Eliopolis nuncupatur, in structura erea ac ferrea opere alterato.[b] [7] Illic arbores sunt lauro et oliue consimiles, ex quibus thus et opobalsamum distillando nascuntur.

[8]Dicitur autem balsamus arbor, balsamum distillans humor, carpobalsamum[c] fructus, silobalsamum lignum quod inciditur, opobalsamum liquor quem in foramine concauitatis pendere cernimus, sic dictus ab *ope*, quod est concauitas (unde opida dicuntur a cumcauitate uallorum que de Ope, id est terra,[d] fiunt). Sane Diascorides dicit balsamum fruticem esse ad[e] quantitatem tantum duorum cubitorum, crescentem circa Babiloniam, in campo[9] in quo sunt septem fontes; si autem ad alium locum transfertur, nec florem nec fructum facit. In estate rami eius exciduntur aliquantulum, sicque gutta exit et[f] in suppositum uas uitreum stillat ad quadraginta libras.[8]

In eodem loco due sunt edes satis consimiles, ex auro quadrato[g] [10] et

[b] *sic MSS for* alternato [c] carpobalsamum *ed.*; corpobalsamum *NACQI*; caipobalsamum *X* [d] de *add. before* terra *β* [e] ad] et *N* [f] et *supplied by author N* [g] quadrato *Letter* (*Paris text*); quadrate *MSS*

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[4] Instead of *palacia*, or *latera* as the letter reads, *lacus* is required; the other versions are nearer with *laci* or *loci*. James comments: 'The paragraph can be traced back to the account of the springs in the Oasis of Zeus Ammon, of which Aristotle told, according to Antigonus, *Mirab.* 144. They are also in *Itin. Alexandri* 50' (*Marvels of the East*, p. 28).

[5] Here Gervase and the Paris MS both omit a phrase, which can be restored from the other versions; the Strasbourg text reads: 'nocte frigidus, die calidus est; qui uero lunae, nocte calidus et die est frigidus.' Gervase has attempted to make sense of his original by the insertion of *mediocriter*.

[6] 'The Panotii of the large ears are regular members of the band of marvels. They go back to Skylax at least and are called *'Ενωτοκοίται* and *'Ωτόκλινοι'* (*sic* for *'Ωτόλικνοι*) (*Marvels of the East*, p. 28). In the letter, their ears are described as being 'quasi vanno similes' ('like a winnowing fan'), instead of 'quasi alas'.

[7] The phrase 'opere alterato' appears only in Gervase, and may represent an attempt on his part to make sense of his source; the Paris text reads: 'In qua colonia est Solis, nomine Eliopolis, muro cincta in structura aerea et ferrea altercatos stadia .ccc.'

[8–8] Dicitur . . . ad quadraginta libras] This paragraph, supplying information on the balsam-tree (already described in *Otia*, iii. 51, q.v.), has been inserted by Gervase in the middle of paragraph xxvii of the letter. The first sentence (including the confusion of ὀπός, 'juice', with ὀπή, 'hole') is derived from Isidore (*Etym.* xvii. 8. 14). For the rest he names Dioscorides as his authority. Dioscorides describes the balsam-tree in *Περὶ ὕλης*, i. 19, but as Barrière remarks (*Contribution*, p. 76, n. 838), Gervase's account seems to be based on a

In the same region there are also two palaces,[4] one of the sun, the other of the moon. That of the sun is moderately warm by day and white-hot by night.[5] People live there who are sixteen feet tall and seven feet wide, with a large head, ears like wings, and a white body. When they catch sight of ordinary people they have a way of extending their ear-lobes so that you think they are flying.[6]

In this distant land is the sun's abode, in the form of an island, two hundred stades in length and the same in width. Surrounded by a wall, this abode of the sun is called Heliopolis; it is built of bronze and iron in alternating work.[7] There are trees there which resemble the laurel and the olive; these produce frankincense and balsam, which ooze from them in drops.

[8]Now *balsamus* is the name of the balsam-tree, and *balsamum* the name of the resin which exudes from it, while the fruit is called *carpobalsamum*, the wood in which the incision is made is called *xylobalsamum*, and the gum which we see dripping down in the hollowed-out fissure is called *opobalsamum*, from ὀπή, which means 'a hollow' (and so towns are called *oppida* from the hollowness of the entrenchments which are dug out of *Ops*, that is, the earth). Dioscorides says that the balsam-tree is a bush no more than two cubits high, which grows in the vicinity of Babylon, on a plain[9] on which there are seven springs; if it is transplanted to another site, it produces neither flower nor fruit. In summer a small incision is made in its branches, and from this a drop oozes out and falls into a glass vessel placed underneath; eventually forty pounds of gum is collected.[8]

In the same place there are two temples, very much alike; they are constructed of cinnamon and blocks[10] of gold. One temple is three

faulty Latin translation of the text. Dioscorides says that the balsam-tree grows only in Judaea and Egypt, and that the quantity of opobalsamum collected each summer does not exceed six or seven χόας; it seems that the translator mistook χόας for the accusative plural of χοή ('stream': hence the seven springs) rather than χοῦς (= *congius*, a liquid measure of nearly six pints). See Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, ed. M. Wellmann (Berlin, 1907), i. 24–6; 'Der Longobardische Dioskorides des Marcellus Virgilius', K. Hoffman and T. M. Auracher, *Romanische Forschungen*, i (1883), 65–6; H. Mihaescu, 'La versione latine di Dioscoride', *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, viii (1938), 298–348.

[9] The Babylon in question is the Egyptian city of that name; Annie Duchesne (*Livre*, p. 166, n. 202) identifies the plain as 'le champ de Matarieh', which attracted pilgrims because it was believed to have been traversed by the Holy Family at the time of the Flight into Egypt.

[10] The word order suggests that the reading *quadrato*, from the Paris MS, is preferable; however, *quadrate* gives a slightly easier meaning (*viz* 'square', referring to the temples).

cinamomo constructe. Longitudo unius edis et latitudo pedum trecentorum .lxv., parietes nouem. In hac est arula[h] ex margaritis et cilindris instructa, latitudine pedum septuaginta. Ibidem lectulus solis ex auro obrizo confectus et ebore, lapidibus preciosissimis interiectis, cuius fulgor radiat ad palacii interioris consistentiam.[11] Est in eadem ede uinea aurea, cuius uitis ex auro facta et confixa, et eius uitis pauimentum ex lapidibus preciosissimis et cilindris; in uitibus aureis pendent racemi ex margaritis et unionibus. Edes contigua domus est sacerdotis, ex auro strata. Sacerdos uero thure uescitur[i][12] et ex opobalsamo uiuit; sub uitibus in pauimento dormit. Extraneo nulli aditum pandit nisi qui apud Eliopolim commorabitur.[j][13]

lxxix. *De fenice*[1]

Ad confinium Eliopolis mons est Adans,[a] inascensibilis propter sui celsitudinem, in quo auis est caput habens aquile, pennas maximas similes luppe.[2]

f. 73^{v} In hoc quoque monte | auis est fenix, amplam habens uittam[b] in capite, cristam similem orbiculari caude pauonis. In hac aue delicie solis esse[c] referuntur: innumeris annis, ex sola, ut tradunt, diuinitate processit, ideoque amomo thureque uiuens, nido insidet ex margaritis ac unionibus conserto. Ex se nidoque combusto renascitur, unde semper uiuere predicatur,[3] secundum illud Ouidii:

[h] aurula *N* [i] uescitur *CQ;* uestitur *NAXI* [j] Hic inserendum capitulum de arboribus solis et lune *written by Peiresc at the end of this chapter in I; i.e. item 8 of the addenda was to be inserted here* (*see Appendix i. 8*)

[a] Adans *NAI;* Athlans *C;* ad *followed by a space XQ;* adamans *Letter* (*Paris MS*)
[b] id est peplam *add. by author above* uittam *N* [c] esse *supplied by author N*

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[11] The unusual word *consistentiam*, used by Gervase in a similar sense in iii. 66 (penultimate paragraph), does not occur in the letter; the Paris MS reads: 'quippe fulgur eius radiat pedes .xvi.'

[12] Frankincense and balsam also constituted the diet of the phoenix (cf. *Otia*, iii. 79); on the association of such a diet with long life, see J.-P. Albert, *Odeurs de sainteté: La mythologie chrétienne des aromates* (Paris, 1990), pp. 101–27.

[13] This description of Heliopolis is, as Faral remarks ('Une source latine', p. 364), closely related to the Alexander-texts. The temple with its altar of gold and precious stones is found in Pseudo-Callisthenes, iii. 28 (ed. Kroll, p. 129). James points out (*Marvels of the East*, p. 29) that the sun's couch and the golden vine appear in the Syriac version of

hundred and sixty-five feet broad and long, with walls nine feet high. Inside it there is an altar seventy feet wide, built of pearls and cylindrical stones. There too is the sun's couch, made of pure gold and ivory, inlaid with precious stones; its splendour irradiates the whole interior[11] of the palace. In the same temple there is a golden vineyard, in which a vine made of gold is fixed in place; its bed is made of precious cylindrical stones, and on the golden vine-branches there hang clusters of pearls, large and small. The temple next door is the dwelling-place of the priest; it is paved with gold. The priest lives on a diet[12] of frankincense and balsam; he sleeps on the jewelled floor under the vines. He opens the door to no stranger, unless the person is going to remain in Heliopolis.[13]

79. *The Phoenix*[1]

In the neighbourhood of Heliopolis is Mount Adans, unscalable on account of its height. On it lives a bird with an eagle's head and very large feathers like a hoopoe.[2]

Also found on this mountain is the phoenix, a bird with a wide fillet on its head, and a crest with a rounded spread like that of a peacock's tail. It is said that the sun takes delight in this bird: it lives for countless years, and sprang, so they say, from the Godhead alone; and so, living on amomum and frankincense, it sits in a nest which is studded with pearls, large and small. It is reborn from the combustion of itself and its nest, and for this reason it is said to live for ever,[3] in accordance with the lines of Ovid:

Alexander's *Letter to Aristotle*, and also in Meusel's text of Pseudo-Callisthenes (but not in the Latin version of the *Letter to Aristotle*, nor in other versions of Pseudo-Callisthenes); they also figure in the oldest redaction of the *Historia de preliis* (ed. F. Pfister (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 112). The Latin version of the *Letter to Aristotle* gives a similar account of the priest's manner of life (*Epistola*, ed. Boer, p. 49).

For the cylindrical stones of the altar, cf. Pliny, *Hist. nat.* xxxvii. 34. 113; Juvenal, *Sat.* ii. 61; and for other golden trees, see Liebrecht, pp. 140–2.

[1] This chapter corresponds to paragraph xxviii in the Paris MS.

[2] The word *luppa* or *lupa*, found in the Paris MS as well as in Gervase, appears to be a variant of *hupa* or *upupa*, a hoopoe; cf. F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* (Paris, 1881–1902), where *lupoge* is defined 'espèce de huppe'. Other versions of the letter name this bird as, of course, the griffin.

[3] Gervase's account of the phoenix is close to that of the letter but without its stylistic and grammatical faults. See also *Otia*, iii. 78, n. 12.

Vna est, que reparat seseque reseminat, ales:
Assirii[d] fenica uocant; non fruge, nec herbis,
Sed thuris lacrimis et succo uiuit amomi.[4]

lxxx. *De flammis solis orientis*[a, b] [1]

Sunt ad montis huius confinium alii montes, quos Olimpum et Smaragdon uulgo nominant.[c] Hii sole oriente flammas emittunt usque in horam quintam.

Circa montes hos mare feruet, quod coloniam Eliopolis tangit. Illud non dixerim transire, sed nec respicere humanus oculus aliquamdiu potest.

Porro in colonia Eliopolis homines sunt religiosi et deorum cultores in gente sua. Nec procul ab illis homines sunt deos spernentes, Egyptii quidem.

In eorum quoque confinio sunt homines caprarum cornua et pedes habentes, quos alii Gorgones, alii Gaulales nominant.[2]

lxxxi. *De hominibus qui pedes habent octenos et totidem oculos*[a] [1]

Si quis dimensionem terrarum perscrutari parauerit, attendat non omnia nos corporali uisione probasse que scripsimus, quin immo quedam ex alienis libris transumpta,[b] quedam ex uirorum proborum relatione congessimus, nihil mendacium linguis aut mimorum fallaciis contribuentes.

Vt ergo premisimus,[2] a finibus Antiochie, cui Dirus[c] fluuius

[d] Asserii *N*

[a] orientis *supplied by author N* [b] De . . . orientis] De montibus flammantibus in ortu solis *CXQ* [c] nominabant *XQ*

[a] De . . . oculos] De hominibus suniis (*X; simis CQ; for* simiis) et gallinis que comedentes urunt *CXQ* [b] transunpta (p *added by author*) *N* [c] Dirus] Farfar *CXQ*

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[4] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* xv. 392–4. These lines, already quoted in ii. 4 (p. 198), were added by Gervase to his source.

[1] Gervase here combines paragraphs xxix to xxxiii in one chapter, presenting an improved version of the text in the letter. The other versions all end at paragraph xxviii.

[2] The Gorgones and the Gaulales are mentioned by Isidore (*Etym.* xiv. 6. 9 and ix. 2. 124), but they are not the creatures described here. The letter reads (paragraph xxxiii) 'qui Gegotones appellantur'. It then reverts to the first person and epistolary form for the

One bird there is, which renews and regenerates itself:
The Assyrians call it the phoenix. It lives, not on seeds or green food,
But on drops of frankincense and the juice of amomum.[4]

80. *The Flames of the Rising Sun*[1]

There are other mountains near this one, which are commonly called Olympus and Smaragdon: these emit flames from sunrise until eleven o'clock.

Around these mountains the sea is boiling hot, because it touches the domain of Heliopolis. It is not possible for the human eye to look on that sea for any length of time, let alone for anyone to cross it.

Further, in the domain of Heliopolis there are people who are religious and worship gods in their own way. Not far from them are people who scorn the gods; these are the Egyptians.

Also in their vicinity there are people with goats' horns and hooves, whom some call the Gorgons, others the Gaulales.[2]

81. *People who have Eight Feet and as Many Eyes*[1]

If anyone is proposing to explore the extent of the world, let him take note that we have not examined with our own eyes all the things that we have written about, but we have included in our collection some things culled from other people's books, and some based on the report of honest men; we owe nothing, however, to the tongues of liars or the falsehoods of players.

And so, as we have said before,[2] from the boundaries of Antioch,

epilogue: Gervase therefore omits the second half of paragraph xxxiii and paragraphs xxxiv and xxxv.

[1] Here, after Gervase's introductory remarks, we find the content of paragraphs ii to v and vii to x of the letter; paragraph vi is omitted. The letter begins with many indications of distance, although the pretence that the work is a serious geographical treatise soon fades out; Gervase omits nearly all of the statistics, twice substituting 'mansiones plereque' for specific distances.

[2] Antioch is mentioned several times in *Otia*, ii. 4. On p. 200 the river Pharpar is (wrongly) said to flow past it; *CXQ* read *Farfar* for *Dirus* here. C. Lecouteux (*De rebus in oriente mirabilibus* (*Lettre de Farasmanes*) (Meisenheim am Glan, 1979), p. 59) suggests that the town referred to may be Antiocheia on the Douros, a tributary of the Tigris mentioned by Zosimus (cf. *RE* v. 320). However, it seems clear that Gervase took it to be Antioch in Syria, which is in fact on the Orontes. The geographical information in the letter bears only the most tenuous links with reality.

subiacet, deserta sanctis hominibus copiose[d] repleta spaciosa[e] patent.[3] A quibus usque ad Oliuiam[4] insulam, et usque ad fines Eufratis, mansiones plereque sunt. Hec insula multitudinem habet ouium. Et exinde colonia magna et negociatoribus exposita. Illic de uelleribus ouium ac caprarum tunice birrique[f][5] fiunt. Hinc transeuntibus ad merediem occurrit ciuitas oppulentissima quam Arcimediam dicunt. Illic terra[g] fertilis et in fructibus opulenta.[6]

Porro a Babilonia usque Mesopotamiam stadia sunt sexaginta, lacus piscosus.[7] Et exhinc usque[h] Damascum[8] mansiones plereque. A sinistra uero euntibus ciuitates occurrunt duodecim: Vallata, Melennio, Cleopatra,[i] Termasia, Marmuio,[j] Maragdom, Casia, Possidonia, Nidia, Amdan, Eleudiana, Flauius. Exhinc ad castellum Filonie transitus est, ubi galline sunt quales apud nos, colore similes, sed qui eas prandere uoluerit corpus suum comburet.[9] Sunt et illic homines quasi simii, qui ut sonum audierint fugiunt; pedes habent octenos totidemque oculos, cornua bina. Quos qui perimere uoluerit, diligenter se muniat armaturis.[10]

lxxxii. *De pratis que mouentur ad tactum pedum, et montibus Wallensibus*[a,b]

Licet terra solidum habeat fundamentum, sepe tamen euenit quod aquis superfertur, unde mobilitatem quandam trahit. Ecce in regno Arelatensi, prouincia Aquensi, est castrum Podii Michaelis, et ad castri confinium pratum quoddam occurrit quod, statim ut primo

[d] copiosa *N* [e] sapciosa *N* [f] birrique *ed.;* et birri *Letter* (*Paris MS*); bissique *CXQI*, *N* (*corrected from* bis sicque) [g] terra *supplied by author*(?) *N* [h] ad *add. after* usque *AXQ* [i] Elcopatra *X*, Eleopatra *Q* [j] Marmino *AXQ*

[a] Wallensibus *supplied by author N* [b] De . . . Wallensibus] De prato quod aquis superfertur et tremit, et de montibus Wallensibus *CXQ*

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[3] The phrase 'hic locus sanctus est' in the letter (ii) is interpreted by Gervase in terms of hermits in a desert.

[4] *Olinum* in the letter (iii). Lecouteux (loc. cit.), following Omont, suggests that this may be the island of Olabus in the Euphrates; but here again the fictional character of the letter should be borne in mind. 'An island full of sheep as big as oxen figures in the voyage of St Brandan as one of the first he came to' (*Marvels of the East*, p. 26).

[5] The letter (iv) has *birri* for Gervase's *bissi* (see apparatus), and '*birri* must be correct, *byssus* is not made of wool' (*Marvels of the East*, p. 42).

[6] After *opulenta* the scribe of *N* left the rest of the line blank, and the rubricator wrote in the space: 'Supra titulo de Caldea et Siria'. Babylonia and Mesopotamia (see below) feature

alongside which city the river Dirus flows, there stretches out a vast desert filled to overflowing with holy people.[3] From there to the island of Olivia,[4] and to the boundary formed by the Euphrates, it is many days' journey. This island has a great number of sheep. And then one comes to an important settlement on the traders' routes. There tunics and cloaks[5] are made from the fleeces of sheep and goats. On the journey from here to the south one comes across a very rich city which they call Arcimedia. There the land is fertile and rich in produce.[6]

Next, it is sixty stades from Babylonia to Mesopotamia. Here there is a lake full of fish.[7] And from here to Damascus[8] is many days' journey. To the left of the route twelve cities are passed: Vallata, Melennio, Cleopatra, Termasia, Marmuio, Maragdom, Casia, Possidonia, Nidia, Amdan, Eleudiana, and Flavius. From here a route leads across to the fort of Filonia, where there are hens which resemble the ones with which we are familiar, and are of a similar colour, but anyone who tries to eat them will burn his body.[9] There are also people there like apes, who run away as soon as they hear a sound; they each have eight feet and as many eyes, and a pair of horns. If anyone wants to kill them, he should protect himself carefully with armour.[10]

82. *Meadows which Move at the Touch of Feet, and the Welsh Mountains*

Although the earth has a solid foundation, nevertheless it often happens that it rests on water, whence it derives a certain instability. For instance, in the kingdom of Arles, in the province of Aix, is the town of Puimichel. On the edge of the town one comes upon a certain

in ii. 4, but in the section preceding *De Caldea, Arabia, et Siria;* Damascus is, however, mentioned in that section, as are a number of the marvels described in the letter.

[7] In paragraph vii the letter reads: 'locus honestus et plus quam locupletes (*sic for* locuples)'. 'Gervase has read *lacus* for *locus* and altered accordingly' (*Marvels of the East*, p. 42).

[8] *Damnas* in the letter (viii).

[9] These hens also appear in Pseudo-Callisthenes (ii. 36), and in Alexander's Letter to Olympias (ed. de Xivrey, *Traditions tératologiques*, p. 362). In most versions of Pseudo-Callisthenes (e.g. ed. C. Müller (Paris, 1877), p. 88), and in the other MSS of the letter (which read *prendere*, *comprendere*, or *apprehendere* for Gervase's *prandere*), the hens burnt anyone who touched, rather than ate, them; the *Letter to Olympias*, however, reads ἤσθιεν ('ate').

[10] For the ape-people, cf. *Historia de preliis* (ed. Zingerle, p. 256).

attentatur ingressu, totum ab extremis limitibus exurgit et contremiscit. Vnde hanc indigene cautelam contraxerunt quod, quociens predonum sentiunt insultum, omnia animalia prato illi imponunt, et cum superueniunt hostes et ad extrahendam predam accinguntur, statim terre motatione territi fugiunt.

f. 74^{r} Set et, quod plurimum | mirandum est, in terra Walensium intra terminos Britannie maioris, montes excelsi fundamenta sua in saxis durissimis statuerunt, et in cacumine tanta aquositate terra crustatur quod, ubi uix pedem fixeris, terram ad iactum lapidis moueri sensies. Vnde superuenientibus hostibus, Galenses, terram illam glutinosam sua transilientes agilitate, impetus hostiles aut eludunt aut cum dampno hostium constanter expectant.

lxxxiii. *De angelis percutientibus*[a] [1]

In Hyspania ex antiquissima consuetudine optinuit quod septenis annis solent angeli percucientes terre illius habitatores inuadere. Vnde nuper[b] contigit,[c] cum quidam de regno illustris[d] regis Aragonensis uir nobilis Petrus, Latro nominatus ex cognomine, miles equidem[e] strenuus et potens, cum commilitonibus suis in aula iaceret, singulis stratis suos dormientes capientibus, circa secundas noctis uigilias, aliis sompno datis, ipse solus oculis clausis uigilabat. Inter hec noctis conticinia[2] duo Mauri domum tacito gressu subintrant, accenso lumine, ut potentibus mos est in cameris inter sompnos perpetuum lumen habere. Mauri inter se conferunt, quolibet spiculum suum tenente. 'Heus,' inquit, 'quare dormientes non percutis?' At ille statim uibrato iaculo missili unum ex militibus sub pectore perfodit; et cum ut alterum percutiat inuitatur a socio, respondit se in illum nullam nocendi habere potestatem, eo quod die illo feniculum[3]

[a] De . . . percutientibus] De uirtute feniculi *CXQ* [b] nuper *om.* *XQ* [c] contingit *NX* [d] illuistris *N* [e] equidem] et quidem *N*

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[1] These destroying (lit. 'striking') angels may be compared with the angel of 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 24: 16 f. and 1 Chr. 21: 15 f., with the archer Apollo (e.g. Homer, *Iliad*, i. 55 ff.), and with other representations of death and sickness as the result of a visitation from a higher power (cf. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, pp. 1182–5). But, as Liebrecht points out (p. 142), the Arab presence was still strong in Spain at this time, and it seems likely that this story is related to the Arab belief in spirits armed with bows and arrows which were sent by God to inflict punishments; if the spirits were black, their wounds were mortal, if white, they were not. The spirits in this story are black: for the word *Maurus* used, like *Aethiops*, to denote an evil spirit, cf. *Legenda aurea*, c. 27 (ed. Graesse, pp. 127 and 129).

[2] Cf. *Otia*, ii. 12, n. 42.

meadow. As soon as one tries to take a single step onto this meadow, the whole thing heaves and quakes from its furthest boundaries. Consequently the locals have adopted this precautionary measure: whenever they are expecting an attack of robbers, they put all their livestock in that meadow; when the enemy arrive and are making ready to haul off their booty, the movement of the earth terrifies them, and they promptly run away.

Also—and this is exceedingly wonderful—in the land of the Welsh within the frontiers of Great Britain, the high mountains have their bases set firm on a very hard bedrock, but on their peaks the earth floats on such a quantity of water that, when you have hardly set foot on it, you will feel the ground shift a stone's throw. And so, when enemies come on the scene, the Welshmen go leaping over that squelchy ground with their native nimble-footedness, and either elude enemy attacks, or steadfastly await them to the enemy's loss.

83. *Destroying Angels*[1]

In Spain the custom has long held sway that regularly, every seven years, destroying angels attack the inhabitants of that land. In connection with this an incident occurred recently involving a certain nobleman, Peter, surnamed Latro, a subject of the renowned king of Aragon, and evidently a valiant and noble knight. He was lying in the hall with his comrades, after they had all settled down to sleep; it was about the second watch of the night, and the others were fast asleep: he alone was still awake, though his eyes were shut. At this silent hour of the night[2] two Moors stole into the room, with silent tread, by the light of the lamp (for it is customary for the nobility to keep a lamp burning in their rooms all the time they are asleep). The Moors conferred together, each with a spear in his hand. 'Hey,' said one, 'why don't you strike them while they're asleep?' And the other, promptly brandishing his spear, pierced one of the knights below his chest; but when he was urged by his companion to strike the second knight, he replied that he had no power to do him harm, because he had come into contact with fennel[3] that day. Hearing these things, the

[3] On the world-wide belief that certain herbs act as an antidote to spells and enchantments, see *MI* D1385.2; Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, pp. 119–22 and 214; Sébillot, *Folk-Lore*, iii. 480–3. Liebrecht remarks (pp. 142–3) that the belief in the power of fennel persisted in the region of the Pyrenees, and quotes de Nore's comment that in the Basque country 'le fenouil est la plante salutaire qui préserve de l'influence maligne des sorciers' (*Coutumes*, p. 128).

tetigerit. Hec audiens uir nobilis et, oculis apertis, illos intuens, sub immoderato timore noctis silentia transegit.

Cumque ad auroram percussus ex[f] graui sompno excitaretur, planctu ingenti uulneris inflicti dolorem in latere testificatur; cumque nihil preter liuorem in loculo inuenisset, et a Petro Latrone causam doloris audisset, aduocato sacerdote, post confessionem accepto uiatico, infra paucos dies positus est ad patres suos. Ex hiis apud Hyspanos et Cathalanos inoleuit quod cotidie feniculum in mane tangunt aut gustant, et tres nodulos feniculi equis suis ad frenum aut capistrum illigant, ne cuiusuis maliuoli fascinatione moriantur.

Nec miretur lector si uerborum tantam uim inesse dicimus ut fascinari lingua malorum possint subiecte bestie,[4] cum ad ianuam nobis sit in ciuitate uestra[g] Arelatensi, princeps sacratissime, ciuis de Burriano,[h] [5] cuius commendatio tam infectiua est quod, si quem equum aut aliud animal domesticum laudauerit, statim aut mortem aut mortis periculum incurrit. Cui consentit poeta cum dixit:

> Nescio quis teneros uerbis mihi fascinat agnos.[6]

Set et in ciuitate Arelatensi, cum ante non multos annos bone memorie illustris rex Aragonensis Ildefonsus[7] presens esset, multa copia militum stipatus, et, ut moris est Hyspanis et Prouincialibus, milites in equis faleratis arma gestarent, dum in medio stadii cursorii quidam miles uelocitate pennigera transiret, astans alius miles nobilis, girans faciem ad currentem, ad uerba subito dicta equum depulsum tanta celeritate corruere[i] fecit quod nec a casu resurgere nec aliquem membrorum motum liberum habere potuit. Respiciens ergo ascensor equi militem quem uulgus huiuscemodi facinationis sciebat artificem, coram positis nobilibus et dominabus orat ne[j] in hoc articulo suas ulciceretur iniurias de pridem contractis inimiciciis. Pietate motus nobilis, cui satis erat publicate uindicte habuisse testimonium, in

[f] ex *AX*, e *Q*; est *altered by author to* et *N* [g] nostra *CXQ*; *om. I* [h] *space left after* Burriano *NC* [i] corruerere *N* [j] nec *NQ*

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[4] The commonest form of *fascinatio* was to be 'overlooked' by someone with an 'evil eye', but verbal spells were also feared: 'Some men, by bespeaking (muttering a spell), can pull up a horse in full gallop, silence a watch-dog, stanch blood, keep fire from spreading' (Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 1814). Domestic animals, and especially horses, have always been thought to be in special danger (cf. F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye* (London, 1895, repr. New York, 1958), p. 10). At this date such magic spells were not necessarily associated with witchcraft, but from the eleventh century onwards they were increasingly regarded as the work of those who were in league with the devil; see the chapter 'Maleficium' in Hole, *Witchcraft* (pp. 54–69).

[5] A quarter of Arles; see Duprat, 'Légendes saintes de Provence', 1941, p. 91, n. 5.

nobleman opened his eyes, and seeing the Moors, he passed the silent hours of the night in a state of extreme fright.

At dawn, when the one who had been struck was roused from a deep slumber, he gave evidence of the pain of the wound he had received in his side with a loud groan. He found nothing but a bruise on the spot, but learned the cause of his pain from Peter Latro. A priest was therefore summoned, and after making his confession he received the last sacraments; within a few days he was laid to rest with his forefathers. As a result of this it has become the custom among the Spaniards and Catalans to touch or eat fennel every day in the morning, and to tie three bunches of fennel to their horses' bridle or halter, so as not to die from some ill-wisher's enchantment.

And the reader should not be surprised if we state that there is so much power in words that domestic animals can be bewitched by the speech of evil people.[4] For on our very doorstep, in your city of Arles, most worshipful Prince, there is a citizen of Borian[5] whose commendation is so noxious that if he praises any horse or other domestic animal, it immediately incurs either death or danger of death. With this the words of the poet accord:

> Someone is bewitching my tender lambs with his words.[6]

Also in the city of Arles, when Alfonso of good memory, the renowned king of Aragon,[7] was here a few years ago, attended by a great retinue of knights, and, as the custom is among the people of Spain and Provence, the knights were sporting their arms on richly-caparisoned horses, one knight was riding past in the middle of the race-course with the speed of a bird, when another noble knight standing by turned to face him as he galloped past, and suddenly speaking some words, made the horse stumble and fall. It had been going at such a pace that it was unable either to get back onto its feet or to gain any free movement in its limbs. Then the horse's rider saw the knight, who was widely known as a practitioner of this kind of enchantment, and in the presence of the assembled lords and ladies, he begged him not to avenge at this juncture the grievances he nursed from their long-standing enmity. Moved by a sense of justice, the nobleman, who was satisfied with having gained the testimony of

[6] The line in Virgil (*Eclogues*, iii. 103) refers to the evil *eye*: 'Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.'

[7] This was Alfonso II, king of Aragon and count of Barcelona 1162–96, also count of Provence from 1167 (see above, p. xxx). He was frequently present in Provence; cf. *Otia*, iii. 92, at n. 6.

alteram partem toto girato corpore, ad contraria uerba eadem facilitate equum restituit qua deiecerat; sicque equus, prehabito dolore totus |
f. 74^{v} in sudorem solutus, beneficio malefici[8] dietam suam currendo uictoriose perfecit.[9]

lxxxiv. *De aucipite*[a][1] *regis Scotorum*

Cum hec et hiis similia tue celsitudini, princeps serenissime, memoramus, nichil aliud agimus nisi quod tue sollicitudinis seria ociorum parentesi[b] temperamus, que licet uanitati linguose possint ascribi, sustinenda tamen sunt ex eo quod non modicam ad multa prestare possunt doctrinam aut cautelam.

Vidimus equidem illustrem sancte memorie regem Scottorum Guillelmum[2] (quem auus tuus,[c] excellentissimus rex Anglorum Henricus uetustus, rebellem uicit et captum diu tenuit, iterumque debite sue dicioni subiecit) quendam secum habuisse aucipitem,[d] qui solo uerborum laqueo grues aliasue quaslibet aereas aues capiebat, ad pronunciationem uerborum suorum prostratas.

lxxxv. *De lamiis et dracis et fantasiis*[a]

Accedit[b] circa mundi huius mirabilia questio de lamiis et dracis, ex quibus lamie[1] dicuntur esse mulieres que noctu domos momentaneo

[a] ancipite *CX, N?* [b] quedam figura *written by author alongside* parentesi *N*
[c] tuus *om. N* [d] ancipitem *CX, N?*

[a] fantasiis] nocturnis fantasmatibus *CXQ* [b] accidit *XQ*

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[8] The phrase 'beneficio malefici' contains a play on words ('by the good deed of the evil-doer') as well as meaning 'with the help of the enchanter.'

[9] The phenomenon which Kittredge calls 'paralyzing or adhesive magic' (*Witchcraft*, p. 202) occurs in popular tales the world over, especially in relation to horses: see *MI* D2072. 0. 2. 1; also Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, nn. 108–10 on pp. 515–16. It is a common feature of the stories that the enchanter lifts the spell when asked to; the sweat of the horse is also often mentioned (e.g. Mrs E. Gutch and M. Peacock, *Examples of Printed Folk-Lore Concerning Lincolnshire*, County Folk-Lore, v (London, 1908), p. 73; Hole, *Witchcraft*, p. 179; ead., *English Folklore* (London, 1940), p. 121). For another story concerning the enchantment of a horse, see *Otia*, iii. 28.

[1] Here and below the reading of *N* could be either *au-* or *an-* : *auceps* (= *aui–ceps*) is preferable, though both forms occur in medieval Latin; for *anceps* meaning 'falconer', see Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word List*, s.v. *accipiter*.

[2] William (I) the Lion, king of Scotland 1165–1214, joined the rebellion of Henry the Young King, Richard, Geoffrey, and their mother Eleanor against Henry II and John in

public revenge, turned his whole body round the other way, and speaking the opposite words, revived the horse as easily as he had overthrown it. And so the horse, which had broken out in a sweat all over from the pain it had suffered, with the help of the enchanter[8] completed its day's races, galloping to victory.[9]

84. *The King of Scotland's Fowler*[1]

When we relate these things and others like them to Your Highness, most serene Prince, all we are doing is lightening the burden of care which you have on your mind by means of a pause for relaxation. They may be dismissed as idle chatter, but they ought to be given a hearing, because they can provide no trifling instruction or warning with regard to many things.

We ourselves witnessed that the renowned king of Scots, William of blessed memory[2] (whom your grandfather, the excellent king of the English, Henry the Elder, conquered when he rebelled, held captive for a long time, and subjected once more to his rightful sway), kept a fowler with him, who used to catch cranes or any other birds of the air by a snare of words alone: at the mere utterance of his words, they fell to the ground.

85. *Lamias, Dracs, and Phantasms*

In a discussion of the marvels of this world, the subject of lamias and dracs also comes up for consideration. Of these, lamias[1] are said to be

1173–4. He was captured at Alnwick in July 1174, and from the treaty of Falaise, 8 December 1174 (ratified at York in August 1175), to King Richard's quit-claim of 5 December 1189, William acknowledged the king of England as overlord of Scotland (see *HBC*, p. 57). William died in 1214, the year of the Battle of Bouvines; at the time of the writing of this passage, therefore, Otto did indeed have a burden of care.

[1] In Greek mythology Lamia, a daughter of Belus and Libya, was loved by Zeus, and the jealous Hera stole her children; Lamia had no recourse against the gods, but her revenge was to take and kill other human children. In later belief lamias were usually thought to be shape-shifting creatures with a snake's body and a woman's head, combining the roles of succubus and vampire as well as stealing children; see Lea, *Materials*, pp. 109–11, and for further bibliography, *MI* B29. 1 and G262. 1. 2. The Hebrew Lilith, of Isaiah 34: 14, similarly a menace to children, was identified with the lamia in the Middle Ages (e.g. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum naturale*, xix. 65). The stealing of human beings, and of children in particular, came to be regarded as a common activity of supernatural creatures: see Liebrecht, pp. 135–6; cf. *Otia*, iii. 66 and 86.

Gervase seems to use the word lamia here to mean any kind of female nocturnal menace:

discursu penetrant: dolia relent,[2] cophinos, catinos, et olas perscrutantur,[c] infantes a cunis extrahunt, luminaria accendunt, et nonnumquam dormientes affligunt.[3]

Set et drachos[4] uulgus asserit formam hominum assumere, primosque in forum publicum aduentare sine cuiusuis agnitione. Hos perhibent in cauernis fluuiorum mansionem habere, et nunc in specie aureorum anulorum supernatantium aut ciphorum mulieres allicere ac pueros in ripis fluminum balneantes; nam dum uisa cupiunt consequi, subito raptu coguntur[d] ad intima delabi. Nec plus hoc contingere dicunt aliquibus quam feminis lactantibus, quas draci rapiunt ut prolem suam infelicem nutriant; et nonnumquam post exactum septennium remunerate ad hoc nostrum redeunt emisperium, que etiam narrant se in amplis palatiis cum dracis et eorum uxoribus in cauernis et ripis fluminum habitasse.

Vidimus equidem huiuscemodi feminam raptam dum in ripa[e] fluminis Rodani panniculos ablueret, cipho ligneo superenatante, quem dum ad comprehendendum sequeretur, ad altiora progressa, a draco introfertur; nutrixque facta filii sui sub aqua, illesa rediit, a uiro et amicis uix agnita, post septennium. Narrabat eque miranda, quod hominibus raptis draci uescebantur, et se in humanas species transformabant. Cumque uno aliquo die pastillum anguillarem pro parte dracus nutrici dedisset, ipsa, digitos[f] adype linitos[g] ad oculum unum et unam faciem casu ducens, meruit limpidissimum sub aqua ac subtilissimum habere intuitum. Completo ergo sue uicis termino, cum ad propria rediisset, in foro Bellicadri summo mane dracum obuium habuit, quem agnitum salutauit, de statu domine ac alumpni sui questionem faciens. Ad hec dracus 'Heus,' inquit, 'quonam oculo mei cepisti agnitionem?' At illa oculum uisionis indicat, quem adipe pastilli pridem perunxerat; quo comperto, dracus

[c] perscrustantur *N* [d] cogantur *XQ* [e] ripam *CXQ* [f] pastilli *add. after* digitos *XQ* [g] linitos] perunctos *XQ*

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she is an ancestress of the witch, but we do not find here the idea, essential to the later notion of witchcraft, of a pact with Satan. In the next chapter Gervase identifies lamias with *striae* and *mascae* (see *Otia*, iii. 86, n. 1).

[2] Du Cange (s.v. *relere*) accepted the emendation of *relent* to *vel et* proposed by Leibniz (p. 987). However, Priscian knew the word *releo* (*Institutiones grammaticae*, v. 57, ed. M. Hertz (Leipzig, 1855–9), i. 178), and it would seem to be an alternative form of the present of the rare verb *relino* (unseal), used in the perfect by Terence in the line: 'Releui dolia omnia, omnis serias' (*Heauton Timorumenos*, iii. 1. 51).

[3] The lamia is here credited with the characteristics of the nightmare, a terrible hag or demon which presses people in their dreams; sometimes it acts as an incubus or succubus, and sometimes it rides horses or people until they are exhausted or dead; see L. Laistner,

women who steal into houses by night for a brief raid: they unseal[2] barrels, pry into baskets, pots, and pans, snatch babies from their cradles, light the lamps, and sometimes molest people in their sleep.[3]

As for dracs,[4] the common folk claim that they put on human form, and that their leaders come to a crowded market-place without anyone recognizing them. They say that they make their home in the depths of rivers, and at times, in the semblance of gold rings or goblets floating on the surface, they lure women and children bathing on river-banks into their clutches; for in the act of trying to catch the objects they have seen, they are suddenly seized and dragged down to the bottom. They say that this happens to nursing-mothers more than anyone else, for the dracs carry them off to nurse their own wretched progeny. Sometimes after seven years have passed the women are given some remuneration and return to this world of ours. They then describe how they have lived in spacious palaces with the dracs and their wives in the hollows and banks of rivers.

We ourselves have seen a woman of this kind who was carried off while she was washing clothes on the bank of the river Rhône. A wooden goblet was floating on the water, and she went after it, hoping to lay hold of it; but when she waded out into deeper water, she was pulled down by a drac. She became his son's nurse under the water, but returned unharmed, though scarcely recognized by her husband and friends, after seven years. She likewise reported remarkable things, claiming that the dracs used to feed on human beings whom they had seized, and turn themselves into human shape. One day, when a drac had given the nurse an eel pasty as her portion, she chanced to put her fingers smeared with fat up to one eye and one side of her face, and as a result came to have very clear and keen underwater vision. Then, when her term of duty was completed and she had gone back to her own life, very early one morning she met this drac in the market-place of Beaucaire; recognizing him, she greeted him, and inquired after the well-being of her mistress and her young charge. At this the drac said: 'Hey! with which eye were you able to recognize me?' She indicated the eye with which she saw him, the one which she had once smeared with the fat of the pasty. Having

Das Rätsel der Sphinx (Berlin, 1889); E. Jones, *Der Alptraum* (Leipzig and Vienna, 1912); Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, pp. 218–21 and 525–6.

[4] On dracs, see Du Cange (s.v. *dracus*), who cites the expression 'fa le drac' for 'faire le diable'. A belief in creatures called dracs has persisted in Languedoc, though they are no longer the powerful spirits of medieval belief, but rather mischievous kobolds (see Liebrecht, p. 135; de Nore, *Coutumes*, p. 84; Sébillot, *Folk-Lore*, ii. 343).

digitum oculo mulieris infixit, sicque de cetero non uisus aut agnoscibilis diuertit.[5]

Sed et[h] in Rodani ripa, sub continentia domus milicie[6] ad portam borealem ciuitatis Arelatensis, quedam fluminis abyssus est, sicut sub rupe castri Tarasconensis[i] ubi, tempore beate Marthe (Christi hospite, Lazari ac Magdalene[7] sororis), tarascus,[8] serpens de genere pessimi illius Leuiathan occeanalis anguis, occultabatur, ut homines per Rodanum sibi incorporaret. In his ergo locis profundissimis affirmant drachos sepissime de nocte lucida in specie humana uideri. Vnde paucis annis exactis, uox ex ipso Rodani profundo prodiens per continuum triduum publice audiebatur, in loco extra portam ciuitatis quam diximus, quasi specie hominis per ripam discurrente: 'Hora preterit[j] et homo non uenit!' Die igitur tercia, cum circa horam nonam acrius hominis illa species uocem memoratam exaggeraret, festino cursu iuuenis quidam ad ripam adueniens totus imbibitur; et ita uox illa de
f. 75^{r} cetero audita non fuit.[9] |

[h] et *om.* *Cβ* [i] Transconensis *N* [j] preteriit *CXQ*

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[5] For a bibliography of this type of story, which is of very frequent occurrence, see *MI* F235. 4. 1; also Baughman, *MI* F235. 4. 1(a), where this type is treated in all its details, though not all the examples cited follow the pattern exactly; cf. *MI* F420. 5. 4. 1 and F420. 5. 2. 2; F372 and F372. 1. E. S. Hartland in 'Peeping Tom and Lady Godiva' (*Folk Lore*, i (1890), 207–26, reproduced as 'Fairy births and human midwives' in *The Science of Fairy Tales*, pp. 59–92) names Gervase as the earliest writer to record a story of this type, and suggests a connection with stories of the blinding of people who have seen something they ought not to have seen, as in the tale of Peeping Tom. Sébillot (*Folk-Lore*, ii. 344) also reproduces Gervase's story, with the comment: 'Cet épisode se retrouve dans les récits contemporains, mais les fées des houles et les Margot-la-Fée, au lieu de toucher l'oeil devenu clairvoyant par l'onction d'une pommade magique, le crèvent, l'arrachent, ou même rendent aveugle l'indiscret en lui crachant à la figure.'

[6] i.e. 'la maison des Chevaliers du Temple' (E. Fassin, 'Gervais de Tilbury, maréchal du royaume d'Arles', *Le Musée, Revue Arlésienne, historique et littéraire*, 2nd series, xxii (1875), 172).

[7] From the time of Gregory the Great, Martha's sister, Mary of Bethany, was commonly identified with Mary Magdalene (*XL Homiliae in Evangelia*, xxv. 1 and 10 and xxxiii. 1, *PL* lxxvi. 1189, 1196, and 1239). She was already traditionally associated with the repentant woman of Luke 7: 36–50 (Tertullian, *De pudicitia*, xi. 1, ed. E. Dekkers, *CCSL* ii (1954), 1301). This confusion of identities was limited to the Latin West. For the legend of the coming of Mary, Martha, and Lazarus to Provence, see *Otia*, ii. 10, n. 29.

[8] La Tarasque was an amphibious monster which lived in and about the Rhône; it used to sink ships, and devour the inhabitants of the district. The *Vita S. Marthae* of Pseudo-

established which it was, the drac thrust his finger into the woman's eye, and so from then on he went about without being seen or recognized.[5]

Again on the bank of the Rhône, in the vicinity of the knights' palace[6] near the north gate of the city of Arles, there is a very deep stretch in the river, just as there is underneath the precipice of the town of Tarascon, where, in the time of the blessed Martha (who gave hospitality to Christ, the sister of Lazarus and the Magdalene[7]), 'la Tarasque',[8] a monster of the breed of the evil sea-serpent Leviathan, hid itself in order to fill its stomach with human beings passing by the Rhône. Well, they claim that on a clear night dracs are often seen in human form in these deep places. What is more, a few years ago for three days in a row a voice crying: 'The hour has passed and the man has not come!' was heard by many people, issuing from the very depths of the Rhône, in the place outside the city-gate which we have described, while what looked like a human figure was seen running to and fro on the bank. Then on the third day, when at about three o'clock that human figure was screaming the same words with even greater urgency, a young man came running hotfoot to the bank and was completely swallowed up; and so that cry was heard no more.[9]

Marcella (written around the turn of the thirteenth century) narrated how Martha subdued the monster with holy water and a cross so that she could bind it with her girdle, and then the people killed it (ed. Mombritius, p. 235). Pseudo-Marcella's story is reproduced by Vincent of Beauvais (*Speculum historiale*, ix. 99) and Jacobus de Voragine (*Legenda aurea*, c. 105); another (later) version is found in the *Vita beatae Mariae Magdalenae et sororis ejus Marthae*, falsely attributed to Rabanus Maurus. All these texts are presented, with a discussion of the legend, by L. Dumont in *La Tarasque: Essai de description d'un fait local d'un point de vue ethnographique* (Paris, 1951); see especially pp. 150–4 and 164–8. The cult of St Martha did much to promote the rising importance of Tarascon as a political and religious centre; following the 'discovery' of her relics in 1187, a new church was dedicated to her there in 1197 by Imbert d'Aiguières, archbishop of Arles; see above, p. xxix, n. 26; Dumont, op. cit., pp. 147–8; Duprat, 'Légendes saintes de Provence', 1940, pp. 127–8; 1941, pp. 101–2.

[9] This story of a mysterious voice issuing from a river also occurs elsewhere: see Liebrecht, p. 136; Sébillot, *Folk-Lore*, ii. 344; and *MI* D1311. 11. 1. The story features in the Scottish ballad 'The Water-Kelpie', recorded by Walter Scott (*Minstrelsy*, iv. 334–50). Scott comments (pp. 345–6): 'A very common tale in Scotland is here alluded to by the poet . . . the original story is found in Gervase of Tilbury.—In the parish of Castleton, the same story is told, with this variation, that the bystanders prevented, by force, the predestined individual from entering the river, and shut him up in the church, where he was next morning found suffocated, with his face lying immersed in the baptismal font.'

lxxxvi. *De lamiis et nocturnis laruis*[a]

Lamias, quas uulgo mascas aut, in Gallica lingua,[b] strias[1] nominant, fisici dicunt nocturnas esse ymaginationes, que ex grossitie humorum animas dormientium turbant et pondus faciunt.

Verum Augustinus ipsas ex dictis auctorum[c] ponit demones esse, qui ex animabus male meritis corpora aerea[d] implent.[2] Dicuntur autem lamie, uel pocius lanie, a laniando, quia laniant[e] infantes.[3] Larue[4] uero quasi larium[5] exemplaria fantastica, que ymagines et figuras hominum representant,[f] cum non sint homines, sed[g] diuina quadam et secreta permissione hominum illusiones. Sicut enim circa corpus, ita circa animum uel animam hominum, demones nihil nisi ex diuina possunt permissione operari.[6]

Vt autem moribus ac auribus hominum satisfaciamus,[7] constituamus hec esse feminarum ac uirorum quorundam infortunia,[h] quod de nocte celerrimo uolatu regiones transcurrunt,[8] domos intrant, dormientes opprimunt, ingerunt sompnia grauia, quibus planctus

[a] De . . . laruis] De fantasmatibus quas (que *C*) strias nominant (uocant *C*) *CXQ*
[b] lingua *supplied by author N* [c] actorum *N* [d] aera *N* [e] lanient *N*
[f] representent *N* [g] sed *supplied by author N* [h] in fortuna *N*

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[1] For *masca* and *stria* or *striga*, see Du Cange, s.vv. There is considerable confusion in the medieval terminology for hags and demons and the differentiation of each kind, for notions varied greatly from place to place and time to time: see Liebrecht, pp. 143–6; Lea, *Materials*, pp. 108–98; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 1082; MacCulloch, *Medieval Faith and Fable*, p. 24. In Provence the word *masca* apparently designated male or female nocturnal spirits: the scribe of *Q* wrote in the margin at the beginning of iii. 93: 'De nocte discurrentibus quos et quas nos prouinciales *mascas* appellamus.' The words *masca* and *stria* seem to have been more or less interchangeable: the *Leges Rothari*, for example, have 'strigam quod est masca' (197), and 'strigam quae dicitur masca' (377) (*MGH Leges in folio*, iv (1868), 342 and 394). The terms *lamia*, *masca*, and *stria* all frequently denoted demons or witches particularly associated with the stealing or devouring of children: see Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, pp. 224–5, and 531, n. 103; cf. *Otia*, iii. 85, n. 1.

[2] In this chapter Gervase draws extensively on Augustine's *De civitate Dei*. The idea that human souls become *lares* if they have been good, *lemures* or *laruae* if bad, and *di manes* if their deserts are doubtful, was put forward by Apuleius (*De deo Socratis*, 15), and vigorously attacked by Augustine (*Civ.* ix. 11, *CSEL* xl (1). 423 = *PL* xli. 265). Gervase here confuses lamias and larvas.

[3] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* viii. 11. 102.

[4] In general in the Middle Ages larvas were thought to be house-spirits which might frighten children but were not necessarily malicious. Sometimes the classical idea that the larva was the soul of an evil human being is reproduced (e.g. Isidore, *Etym.* viii. 11. 101), but 'medieval glosses explain *larva* as *wicht* or *schrat*, names of the rough, hairy kobold, or brownie' (MacCulloch, *Medieval Faith and Fable*, p. 41; cf. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 915).

[5] In Roman religion the *lares* were originally beneficent household spirits, but later

86. *Lamias and Nocturnal Larvas*

Physicians maintain that lamias, which are popularly known as *masks* or, in the French language, *stries*,[1] are simply nocturnal hallucinations which, as a result of a thickening of the humours, disturb people's spirits in their sleep and cause heaviness.

Augustine, on the other hand, cites an opinion expressed by earlier authors, that they are demons which were once ill-deserving souls and now occupy airy bodies.[2] They are called lamias, or rather lanias, from *laniare* (to mangle), because they mangle babies.[3] Larvas,[4] on the other hand, are the spectral manifestations as it were of *lares* (household spirits):[5] they present themselves in the likeness and shape of human beings, although they are not human, but merely appear so by some mysterious divine permission. For with respect to the human body, and likewise the human mind or soul, demons can do nothing except by divine permission.[6]

But to gratify popular belief and my listeners' ears,[7] let us allow that it is the wretched lot of some men and women to cover great distances in a swift nocturnal flight;[8] they enter houses, torment people in their sleep, and inflict distressing dreams on them, so

tended to be identified with the spirits of the dead, as in Apuleius; Gervase, however, says that they are not human, and regards them as household demons.

[6] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* ii. 23, vii. 35, x. 21, and xviii. 18 (*CSEL* xl (1). 96–7, 352–3, and 481, and xl (2). 289 = *PL* xli. 71, 224, 298 and 574).

[7] Having put forward the ideas that lamias and larvas are hallucinations, or dead people's souls, or supernatural beings, Gervase now records the folk-belief that certain human beings turn into these creatures at night. As he admits, he has the entertainment of his audience as much at heart as their instruction.

[8] According to a very old pagan tradition, bands of people, usually women, used to fly through the air at night, in the train of a goddess, variously named as Diana, Herodias, Dame Holda, Perahta, etc. Liebrecht (pp. 173–211) argues that this superstition belongs to the cycle of the Wild Hunt. The belief was condemned as a diabolically-inspired delusion in the canon *Episcopi*, issued by Regino of Prum *c.*906, but falsely presented as a canon of the Council of Ancyra of 314 (*PL* cxxxii. 352); it was also condemned in the anonymous penitential known as the *Corrector*, incorporated, as was the canon *Episcopi*, in the *Decreta* of Burchard of Worms in *c.*1025 (*Decreta*, xix. 5, *PL* cxl. 962 and 963–4); the *Corrector* has also been published separately in a critical edition by J. H. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren* (Düsseldorf, 1898), ii. 403–67; these condemnations are reproduced by Hansen, *Quellen*, pp. 38–42. The idea of night-riders is mentioned by a number of subsequent writers, most of whom discredit it (see Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, pp. 1050–61); but it persisted, and came to take on the sinister connotations of the witches' sabbath (see Lea, *Materials*, pp. 170–98). Eventually the witch-hunters bypassed the condemnation of belief in night-riders by asserting that devil-worshipping had not existed when the canon *Episcopi* was promulgated, but had since come into being; thus by the fourteenth century the Inquisition had the power to punish such nocturnal jaunts.

excitant. Sed et comedere uidentur et lucernas accendere, ossa hominum dissoluere, dissolutaque nonnumquam cum ordinis turbatione compaginare, sanguinem humanum bibere, et infantes de loco ad locum mutare.

Audiuimus quippe a uiro nobili et per omnia christianissimo, domino Ymberto, Arelatensi archiepiscopo,[9] affini nostro, sancte probateque[i] fidei presule et uite perfectioris, quod cum lactens esset, multaque parentum diligentia custoditus, et christianissima matre editus, nocte una in cunis positus et fasciatus ante lectum parentum, circa medie noctis crepondias[j] [10] flere auditur. Subita expergefactione excitata mater ad cunas manus apponit, nec inuenit infantem quem apprehendat. Tacite rem considerans, et loqui timet et silencia diutina non sustinet. Accensa candela, dum infantem per deuia quesitat, ipsum in uolutabro aque que de ablutione pedum serotina effusa fuerat reperit, uolutantem sine ploratu, fasciatum, et ad lumen matri parumper arridentem. Quid ultra? Nutrici et marito rem ad oculum monstrat, et hoc ab alio quam a nocturnis fantasmatibus actum nemo cogitabat. Nam et ubi huiusmodi fantasmatum solet esse discursus, a multis compertum habetur infantes in mane, ianuis clausis, extra domos et cunabula in plateis esse repertos.

Sed et dolia uino plena in ipso cellario nostro uidimus nonnumquam, extracta clepsedra, uinum nullum effundere, nulloque conatu aliud preter aerem in ipsis inueniri; uerum post oram ita reperiebantur[k] obpleta quod nichil deerat ad perfectionem.[11]

Si queritur quid sibi uelint hec audita sepissime ac miranda, respondeo quod ait beatissimus omnium questionum inuestigator Augustinus, id totum diuini iudicii secretis attribuendum, quia:[l] 'Facit angelos suos spiritus et ministros suos ut flammam ignis.'[12]

[i] sancteque probate *ACXI* [j] crepundias *Aβ* [k] inueniebantur *XQ*
[l] quia *supplied by author* (?) (*correcting* qua) *N;* qua *AI;* qui *CQ;* quam *X*

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[9] Imbert d'Aiguières, archbishop of Arles 1190–1202; see above, p. xxix, n. 26. A somewhat similar story is told by Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, ii. 14.

[10] In classical Latin *crepundia* (neuter plural, not feminine, as here) generally means a child's rattle; in medieval Latin the word in various forms means a cradle, or cradle-songs (see Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, s.v. 2 *crepita*). Here the word may have taken on the sense of *creperum* or *crepusculum*, to convey the idea of darkness (cf. 'noctis creperum', Symmachus, *Epistolae*, i. 7).

[11] The larva is here a mischievous house-spirit; cf. MacCulloch, *Medieval Faith and Fable*, p. 41; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 500.

[12] Ps. 103 (104): 4; cf. Aug. *Civ.* xv. 23 (*CSEL* xl (2). 109 = *PL* xli. 468), and n. 6 above. Augustine quotes the verse of the psalm, which begins: 'Qui facis . . .', in an

causing them to cry out. Apparently they also eat, and light lamps, take people's bones apart, and sometimes, when they have dismembered them, put them back together again in the wrong order; they drink human blood, and move babies from place to place.

Here is a story which we heard from a man of noble birth, who was a very good Christian in every respect, the lord Imbert, archbishop of Arles;[9] a relation of ours by marriage, he was a prelate of holy and proven faith, and led a life of great perfection. When he was a newborn baby, watched over with great solicitude by his parents (and he was the son of a truly Christian mother), he was lying in his cradle one night, wrapped in swathing bands, at the foot of his parents' bed, when in the dark hours[10] of the middle of the night he was heard to cry. His mother, roused by the sudden stir, stretched out her hands to the cradle, and found no baby there to pick up. She pondered the matter, saying nothing: she was afraid to speak, but at the same time could not bear the continuing silence. So she lit a candle, and in the course of searching high and low for her baby, she found him in a puddle of water; it was the water which had been poured away the previous evening after being used for the washing of feet. He was wallowing there without crying, wrapped in his swathing bands, and presently smiling at his mother in the light. What more is there to tell? She brought her nurse and her husband to see what had happened, and no one imagined that anyone but nocturnal spectres was responsible for this act. And indeed it is known from many people's experience that it is quite usual, when a raid of spectres of this kind occurs, for children to be found in the morning out in the streets, removed from their houses and their cradles even though the doors were locked.

Also, we have seen barrels full of wine in our own cellar from which on occasions no wine could be drawn when the tap was released, and for all our efforts nothing but air could be found inside them; but an hour later they were found to be so full that there were no grounds for complaint.[11]

If anyone asks the meaning of these wonders of which one so often hears, I reply with the words of Augustine, that most blessed investigator of all questions; he says that the whole matter should be referred to the mysteries of divine justice, because: 'He makes his angels spirits and his ministers a burning fire.'[12] Just as he endows the

adapted form, beginning: 'Qui facit . . .'; Gervase dispensed with the relative pronoun, but the memory of it destabilized the reading of his preceding 'quia' (see apparatus).

Sicut enim bonos angelos aereis corporibus induit ad ministerium suum familiarius excercendum, ita et demones corporum formis[m] fantasticis et laruatis, quasi larium, hoc est domorum, familiaritatem in figura tenentibus indui sustinet, ut quod mandatum in bonis operatur ad bonum, hoc eius pacientia mali operentur ad nostre infirmitatis illusionem ac penam.

Si queris cuius nature sint ista fantasmata, respondeo quod ait Apuleius Platonicus, inter philosophos summus: [13]breuiter enim diffiniens inquit demones esse genere animalia, animo passiua, mente rationabilia, corpore aerea, tempore eterna. Porro, ut ait Augustinus, quod genere sunt animalia non est magnum, nam et hec pecora sunt; quod mente sunt rationabilia,[n] non est supra nos, f. 75^{v} nam et nos id | sumus; quod tempore eterna, quid boni est, cum non sint beata? Quippe melior est temporalis felicitas quam misera eternitas. Quod animo sunt passiua, hoc nostre miserie signum nobiscum commune[o] habent; quod corpore aerea, quanti estimandum est, cum omni corpore[p] preferatur anima qualiscumque nature? Et ideo religionis cultus qui debetur ex animo nequaquam debetur ei rei que inferior est animo.[13]

[14]Sane de moribus demonum loquens, idem Platonicus dixit eos eisdem quibus homines animi perturbationibus agitari, irritari iniuriis, obsequiis donisque placari, gaudere honoribus, diuersis sacrorum ritibus oblectari, et in eis[q] si quid neglectum fuerit commoueri. Inter cetera etiam dicit ad eos pertinere diuinationes augurum, aruspicum,[r] uatum, atque sompniorum; ab his quoque esse miracula magorum;[14] mediosque in aere inter Deum et homines constitutos, ut uota hominum longa distancia locorum suspensa Deo representent. Enimuero, ut elegantissime concludit Augustinus, [15]frustra Appuleius et quicumque ita sentiunt hos demonibus detulerunt honores, sic eos medios inter celum ethereum terramque constituentes[s] ut, quia ‘nullus’[t] deus miscetur homini,’[16] ut Platonem

[m] formis *supplied by author N* [n] rationabalia *N* [o] commune *supplied by author N* [p] *sic MSS for* corpori [q] eis *I, Augustine;* eos *NACXQ* [r] aurispicum *N* [s] constituentes *supplied by author N* [t] ullus *N*

[13–13] breuiter . . . inferior est animo] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* viii. 16 (*CSEL* xl (1). 381–2 = *PL* xli. 241); see also ibid. ix. 8 and ix. 12 (*CSEL* xl (1). 419–20 and 424–5 = *PL* xli. 263–4 and 265–6); Apuleius, *De deo Socratis,* 13.

[14–14] Sane . . . esse miracula magorum] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* viii. 16 (*CSEL* xl (1). 381 = *PL* xli. 241); Apuleius, *De deo Socratis,* 12–14, 6.

[15–15] frustra . . . concessa qui apportent (p. 728)] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* viii. 18 (*CSEL* xl (1). 384 = *PL* xli. 242–3); Apuleius, *De deo Socratis,* 4, 6.

[16] Cf. Plato, *Symposium,* 203A.

good angels with airy bodies to enable them to fulfil their ministry in closer communion with us, so too he allows demons to put on illusory and spectral (*laruatae*) bodily shapes, the shapes as it were of *lares,* that is, of household spirits, so that they present a familiar appearance. This means that the mandate which works for good in good spirits, evil spirits use by his leave to mock and punish our weakness.

If you ask what the nature of these spectres is, I answer with the words of Apuleius the Platonist, a giant among philosophers: [13]in a brief definition he says that demons are animals by species, subject to passions by disposition, rational in mind, airy in body, eternal in life-span. But then, as Augustine says, it is no great thing that they are animals by species, for so are the beasts; it is not a mark of superiority over us that they are rational in mind, for we are that too; and what good is it that they are eternal in life-span, since they are not blessed? Assuredly, temporal happiness is better than an eternity of wretchedness. That they are subject to passions by disposition is something they have in common with us, and it is a sign of our wretchedness; and what is the value of their airy body, when a soul of whatever kind is worth more than any body? It is for this reason that religious worship, which should be paid by the spirit, is by no means due to something which is lower than the spirit.[13]

[14]This same Platonist, speaking of the character of demons, said that they suffer the same emotional disturbances as human beings. They are annoyed by affronts, they are placated by flattery and gifts, they enjoy receiving honours, they take pleasure in the various rituals of worship, and they get upset if anything is overlooked in them. Among the activities that belong to them he includes divination by means of augurs, soothsayers, prophets, and dreams; he also says that they are responsible for the miracles performed by magicians.[14] He locates them in the air as mediators between God and humankind, with the office of presenting to God the prayers of human beings, which would otherwise be unable to negotiate the long reaches of space. But in fact, as Augustine concludes most judiciously, [15]Apuleius and all those who hold such opinions have made fools of themselves in conferring these honours upon demons, setting them in an intermediate realm between the ethereal heaven and the earth, so that they may convey the prayers of human beings to the gods in return for being offered sacrifices, and similarly bring back to human beings the favours for which they seek; all this because ‘no god has direct contact with a human being,’[16] as they claim that Plato said.

dixisse perhibent, isti ad deos preces perferant hominum dum sacrificia recipiunt, et itidem ad homines referant impetrata que poscunt. Indignum enim putauerunt qui hec tradiderunt miscere[u] homines diis et deos hominibus, dignum autem misceri demones diis et hominibus, hinc petita qui[v][17] allegent, inde concessa qui[w] apportent.[x][15]

[18]'At enim urgens[y] et artissima causa cogit demones medios inter deos et homines agere, ut ab hominibus deferant desiderata et a diis referant impetrata.'[z] Preclara igitur sanctitas Dei, que[a] non miscetur homini supplicanti, et miscetur demoni arroganti; non miscetur homini confugienti ad diuinitatem, et miscetur demoni fugienti[b] diuinitatem; non miscetur homini petenti ueniam, et miscetur demoni suadenti nequiciam![18]

Cum de huiuscemodi demonum aut angelorum malorum corporibus queritur, respondeo me cum Augustino dubitare [19]an, secundum illud propheticum: 'Qui facit[c] angelos suos spiritus et ministros suos ut flamam ardentem,'[20] ignee sint corporeeque nature, an mistice hoc de bonis tantum sit intelligendum, quia spirituali igne caritatis debent feruere. Apparuisse tamen angelos in talibus corporibus ut non solum uideri, sed etiam tangi possint, eadem scriptura uerissima, ut ait Augustinus, testatur.[21] Et exinde fama creberrima: multi enim experti sunt, et ab expertis audierunt certissime, quibus est fides adhibenda, se uidisse Siluanos et Panes,[d][22] quos incubos[23] nominant, Galli uero Dusios[e][24] dicunt. Non hinc audeo aliquid definire,[f] utrum aliqui

[u] *sic MSS for* misceri [v] qui *Augustine;* que *MSS* [w] qui *Augustine;* que *MSS* [x] apportent *Augustine;* appetant *NAβ*, appetent *C* [y] urgens *supplied by author N* [z] et . . . impetrata] *supplied by author N* [a] que *MSS;* qui *Augustine* [b] fugienti *MSS;* fingenti *Augustine* [c] fa | facit *N* [d] Panes *Augustine;* peanes *NCQI*, peanos *A*, panos *X* [e] dulxios *N* [f] definire *N*, *Augustine;* diffinire *ACβ*

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[17] Here and in the following phrase, instead of Augustine's 'qui' (antecedent: 'demones'), the MSS of Gervase have 'que'; the mistake doubtless arose from the proximity of the neuter participles 'petita' and 'concessa', which in fact supply the objects of the relative purpose clauses.

[18–18] At enim . . . demoni suadenti nequiciam!] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* viii. 20 (*CSEL* xl (1). 387 = *PL* xli. 244). After the first sentence of this paragraph, the Platonist with whom Augustine is arguing repeats the assertion: 'nullus deus miscetur homini,' as being the reason why demons have to act as mediators; Gervase's omission of this obscures the train of thought here.

[19–19] an, secundum . . . corporis tactuque sentitur (p. 730)] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* xv. 23 (*CSEL* xl (2). 109–10 = *PL* xli. 468).

[20] Cf. Ps. 103 (104): 4.

[21] Cf. e.g. Gen. 19: 1–22; Judg. 6: 12–22.

[22] Supernatural lovers were frequently regarded as rustic spirits: cf. the *Corrector* (*PL*

Those responsible for this idea thought it improper for human beings to mix with gods and gods with human beings, but quite proper for demons to mix with both gods and human beings, so as[17] to present humankind's petitions, and bring back the answers of the gods.[15]

[18]'But an urgent and compelling reason requires demons to act as mediators between the gods and humankind, to convey requests from human beings and to bring back favours from the gods.' God's holiness is indeed a remarkable thing! It has no dealings with a suppliant human being, but it does have dealings with an arrogant demon; it will have nothing to do with a human being seeking refuge in his divinity, but it does treat with a demon fleeing from his divinity; it has no dealings with a human being seeking pardon, but it does treat with a demon urging iniquity![18]

When the question of the bodies of demons and bad angels of this kind arises, I answer that, like Augustine, I am not sure [19]whether those words of the prophet: 'Who makes his angels spirits and his ministers a burning fire',[20] mean that the nature they possess is one of corporeal fire, or whether this is to be interpreted in a mystical sense, referring to the good angels alone, and meaning that they should burn with the spiritual fire of love. Yet the same infallible scripture testifies, as Augustine points out, that angels have appeared in bodies of such a kind that they could not only be seen, but also touched.[21] And there is, too, a widespread folk-belief in a phenomenon which many people have experienced themselves, or have heard reliably described by others with first-hand experience, whose word is trustworthy: these people claim to have seen Silvani and Pans,[22] which are the creatures people call incubi;[23] the French word for them is *duses*.[24] I do not presume to make a definitive statement on

cxl. 971; Hansen, *Quellen*, p. 41), where succubi are referred to as 'agrestes feminae, quas sylvaticas vocant'. Silvanus was an agricultural deity; the Greek pastoral god, Pan, was identified with the Italian Faunus (some of the MSS of Augustine read *Faunos* here).

[23] In the Middle Ages, under the influence of the Church, the universal folk-belief in unions between mortals and supernatural creatures shaded into the idea of demon incubi and succubi (see MacCulloch, *Medieval Faith and Fable*, pp. 45–7; Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, pp. 115–23; Lea, *Materials*, pp. 145–62; Loomis, *White Magic*, p. 77 and notes; *MI* F471. 2 and F471. 2. 1; Brednich, *Enzyklopädie*, iv. 793–80 and 954–64). Gervase records two stories of such unions in the *Otia* (i. 15 and iii. 57).

Perhaps largely as a result of Augustine's scepticism in the passage on which Gervase is drawing here, the belief in incubi was slow to become established. The *Corrector* (loc. cit.) condemns such a belief as a delusion. But by *c.*1100 it had become accepted, based partly on popular tradition and partly on the traditional interpretation of Gen. 6: 1–4 (see n. 26 below). Supernatural lovers came to be seen as visitations from the devil: see e.g. the stories reported in the early thirteenth century by Caesarius of Heisterbach (*Dialogus miraculorum*, iii. 6–12 and v. 46).

[24] The Gallic *Dusii* mentioned by Augustine (cf. Isidore, *Etym.* viii. 11. 103) are said by

spiritus elemento aereo corporati possint hanc agere[g] uel[h] pati libidinem, ut quoquomodo feminis se inmisceant aut ab hominibus talia paciantur. Nam hoc etiam elementum, cum agitatur[i] flabellum,[j] sensu corporis tactuque sentitur.[19]

Hoc equidem a uiris omni exceptione maioribus cotidie scimus probatum, quod quosdam huiusmodi laruarum, quas fadas nominant, amatores audiuimus, et cum ad aliarum feminarum matrimonia se transtulerunt, ante mortuos quam cum superinductis carnali se[k] copula immiscuerint; plerosque in summa temporali felicitate uidimus stetisse, qui, cum ab huiuscemodi fadarum se abstraxerunt amplexibus aut illas publicauerunt eloquio, non tantum temporales successus sed etiam misere uite solatium amisserunt.

Quid sibi hec uelint nescio, et querentibus id solum respondeo: 'Iuditia Dei abissus multa.'[25] Vnum tamen scio, quod [26]angeli Dei f. 76^{r} nullo tempore sic labi potue|runt, dicente apostolo Petro: 'Si[l] enim Deus angelis pecantibus non pepercit, sed carceribus caliginis infere[m] retrudens tradidit in iudicio puniendos reseruari;'[26] uerum hi qui cum diabolo minus superbierunt ad huiusmodi illusiones reseruati sunt[n] ad hominum penam.

lxxxvii. *De stagno piscoso cum nulli prohibetur*[a]

In Anglia stagnum est quod uulgo Wulferesmere, quasi mare Wulferi regis,[1] nominatur. Quod cum omnibus piscantibus passim exponitur,

[g] agi *XQ* [h] agere uel *om. Augustine* [i] agitatur *Augustine, N* (*corrected by author from* agitur)*;* agitur *XQ* [j] flabellum *MSS;* flabello *Augustine* [k] se *supplied by author N* [l] sic *XQ* [m] inferi *Augustine* [n] sunt *supplied by author N*

[a] cum . . . prohibetur] et eius mirabili *CXQ*

Hincmar of Rheims to be spirits which trick women into having intercourse with them by putting on the appearance of the men they love (*De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae, MGH, Concilia*, iv, Supplement 1, p. 206 = *PL* cxxv. 717); later he applies the word to demons putting on either sex (p. 213 = col. 725). For the thirteenth-century Dominican, Thomas of Cantimpré, they are wood- or mountain-spirits (*De apibus*, ii. 57. 17 and 23). For the origin and history of the word (which survives in English in the expression 'What the deuce'), see Lecouteux, *Les Nains et les elfes*, pp. 169–74.

[25] Cf. Ps. 35 (36): 7 (6).

[26–26] angeli . . . iudicio puniendos reseruari] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* xv. 23 and xi. 33 (*CSEL* xl (2). 110 and xl (1). 562 = *PL* xli. 468 and 346); 2 Pet. 2: 4 (where the Vulgate reads: '. . . sed rudentibus inferni detractos in tartarum tradidit cruciandos, in iudicium reservari'). The 'filii Dei' of Gen. 6: 1–4, who took wives from among the 'filias hominum',

this basis as to whether some spirits with bodies made from the element of air can arouse or experience lust, so that somehow or other they mate with women or undergo the like from men. But certainly, even this element is perceived by the bodily sensation of touch when a fan is set in motion.[19]

But here is something we do know, confirmed daily as it is by men who are above all reproach: we have heard that some men have become the lovers of larvas of this kind, which they call fays, and when they have transferred their affections with a view to marrying other women, they have died before they could enjoy carnal union with their new partners. And we have seen many men who had attained the summit of worldly happiness, but then, as soon as they renounced the embraces of fays of this kind, or spoke about them in public, they lost not only their worldly prosperity, but even the solace of a wretched life.

I do not know what these things mean, and if anyone asks me, my only answer is this: 'The judgments of God are a great deep.'[25] But one thing I know, that [26]the angels of God could never have fallen like the ones of whom the apostle Peter says: 'For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but thrust them down to the dungeons of nether darkness and delivered them to be reserved for punishment at the judgment;'[26] it must be, then, that those who sided with the devil but whose pride was less grievous were reserved to provide phantoms of this nature to punish humankind.

87. *A Lake which is Full of Fish when it is Prohibited to No One*

There is a lake in England which is known locally as Wulfheresmere, that is, the mere of King Wulfhere.[1] When access is provided on all

were rendered as ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ in the LXX. The myth that the angels lusted after human women formed the traditional rabbinical interpretation of this passage, first presented fully in the apocryphal book of Enoch, 6: 2 ff. (see Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii. 191). It was the oldest interpretation of Jude 6 as well as of 2 Pet. 2: 4. Augustine refuses to accept that the good angels could have acted in this way; he refers 2 Peter 2: 4 to the angels who fell with Satan, and takes the 'filii Dei' of Gen. 6 to be the sons of Seth. Gervase concludes that some of the fallen angels were not imprisoned in hell, but were allowed to torment human beings.

[1] Probably Wulfhere, the second of the four sons of Penda, and king of the Mercians from 658 until his death in 675 (cf. *HBC*, p. 16).

piscibus habundat; cum homines ab eius piscatione artantur, aut rarus in eo aut nullus[b] piscis inuenitur. Est autem locus in confinio Gallie.[c] [2]

lxxxviii. *De alio stagno*[a]

Est et in eadem regione Haueringemere,[b] quod si quis nauigans dum transit[c] proclamauerit: 'Phrut[d] Haueringemere[e] and alle thophe[f] ouer the fere!', statim correptus subita tempestate submergitur cum nauigio. Sonant autem hec in Latina linga obprobrium, ac si dicatur stagno illi, quod uocatur Haueringemere[g] (id est mare Haueringi:[h] Angli siquidem, ut Ebrei, omnem aquarum concursum mare dicunt, unde mare Tyberiadis dicitur):[1] 'Phrut tibi, mare, et omnibus qui te transfretant!'[2] Et satis mirandum quod aque huiusmodi concipiunt[i] indignationes.[3]

lxxxix. *De fonte qui pluere facit*[a]

Est in prouincia regni Arelatensis[1] fons quidam[b] perlucidus, in quem si lapidem uel lignum aut huiuscemodi materiam proieceris, statim de fonte pluuia ascendit, que prohicientem totum humectat.[2]

[b] ullus *N* [c] Guallie *AI*

[a] De . . . stagno] De mari Aueringo *CXQ* [b] Haueringemre (m *add. by author*) *N* [c] transit *supplied by author N* [d] *sic X;* prhut *N* [e] Haverigemere *N* [f] thophe *NQI*, tho ye *A*, thope *CX*, *for* tho the [g] Hauarigemere *N* [h] Hauaringi *N* [i] concepiunt *N*

[a] De . . . facit] De fontis aspergine *CXQ* [b] quidem *NAQ*

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[2] As Burne and Jackson point out (*Shropshire Folk-Lore*, p. 72), this is one of several tales reflecting 'some ancient notion that the waters and their produce ought to be free to all comers'. They suggest (pp. 69–72) that this lake may be identified with Ellesmere, the subject of many legends, most of which have the notion of wickedness punished by a flood as their theme, which wickedness always consists in restricting the use of the water.

[1] Cf. Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 40 (*PL* cxcviii. 1560); *Otia*, iii. 52, n. 7.

[2] On the French and English expletive *phrut*, Oman ('The English folklore', n. 26) refers to the notes in H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London and London Life* (London, 1868), p. 27, and T. Wright, *Political Songs of England*, Camden Society Publications, vi (London, 1839), 381–2. Gervase's translation of the insulting formula is correct, but the form of the English was distorted in the MSS; it should read: 'and alle þo þe over

sides to anyone who wants to fish in this lake, it teems with fish; but when people are prohibited from fishing there, few, if any, fish are found in it. This place is in the Welsh marches.[2]

88. *Another Lake*

Haveringemere is also in this region. If anyone who is sailing on this lake shouts out while he is crossing it: 'Phrut Haveringemere and alle þo þe over þe fere!', he is immediately caught in a sudden storm, and sinks along with his boat. For in the Latin language these words convey an insult, as if it were being said to that lake, which is called Haveringemere (that is, the Sea of Havering: for the English, like the Hebrews, call any concourse of water a sea (*mare*), as in the case of the Sea of Tiberias):[1] 'Phrut to you, sea, and to all who sail over you!'[2] Quite remarkable it is, for water to take offence in this way.[3]

89. *A Spring which Produces Rain*

In the province of the kingdom of Arles[1] there is a very clear spring. If you throw a stone or stick or any object of this kind into it, rain immediately gushes up from the spring, and completely drenches the person who threw something in.[2]

þe fere.' The OE and ME thorn is often written as th, or else confused with p, by Anglo-Norman scribes copying from English texts. *Fere* derives ultimately from the OE verb *faran*, to go.

[3] Burne and Jackson (*Shropshire Folk-Lore*, p. 72) tentatively identify this lake with Newton Mere, near Ellesmere, while Oman ('The English folklore', p. 14) suggests Hanmer, Co. Flint. The marvel echoes the common belief in spirits which dwell in water and are not to be offended (cf. *Otia*, iii. 66, at n. 2, and iii. 89). It is also a very old and widespread belief that the weather can be influenced by acts performed on or near certain bodies of water. For further examples, see Liebrecht, pp. 146–9; Sébillot, *Folk-lore*, ii. 223–30 and 464–5; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, pp. 596–99 and 1086–8.

[1] i.e. in the province of Arles, which formed part of the kingdom of which Arles was the capital.

[2] This brief account is related to the widespread stories of waters whose spirits take offence if something is thrown into them, and raise a storm: cf. *Otia*, iii. 66, at n. 2; Sébillot, *Folk-lore*, ii. 225; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 597; G. Milin, 'Geoffroi de Monmouth et les merveilles du lac de Linligwan: l'émergence d'un nouvel imaginaire culturel', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, xxxviii (1995), 173–83, at p. 178.

xc. *De cimiterio Elisii Campi*[1] *et illuc aduectis*[a]

Insigne mirum ac ex diuina uirtute miraculum audi, princeps sacratissime. Caput[b] regni Burgundionum, quod Arelatense dicitur, ciuitas[c] est Arelas, antiquisimis dotata priuilegiis. Hanc ordinatus ab apostolis Petro et Paulo Trofimus,[2] Iesu Christi discipulus,[d] comitante eum apostolo Paulo cum transsiret in Yspanias, ad fidem Christi conuertit. Et post pauca, associatis sibi Lazaro Marsiliensi episcopo (quem Deus suscitauerat),[e][3] Maximino Aquensi, Eutropio Aurasicensi, Georgio Vellaicensi,[f] Saturnino Tholosano,[g] Marciale Limouicensi,[h] Sergio Paulo Narbonensi, Frontone Petragoricensi,[4] sanctissimis episcopis et Iesu Christi ex septuaginta duo discipulis,[5] deliberauit cimiterium sollempne ad meridianam urbis partem constituere, in quo omnium ortodoxorum corpora sepulture traderentur,[i] ut sicut ab Arelatensi ecclesia tota Gallia fidei sumpsit exordium, ita et mortui in Christo undecumque aduecti sepulture communis haberent benefitium. Facta itaque consecratione sollempni per manus sanctissimorum antistitum, ad orientalem partem, ubi nunc est ecclesia ab ipsis in honore Beate Virginis consecrata,[6] illis Christus, pridem in carne familiariter agnitus, apparuit, opus

[a] et illuc (illud *I*) aduectis *NI; om. ACXQ*
[b] caput *supplied by author N*
[c] ciuitas *supplied by author N*
[d] discispulus *N*
[e] Lazaro . . . suscitauerat] *om. ACβ; in N, marked at four points with the sign // above line; in margin:* de rubro incausto fuerunt illa uocabula (*author's hand: then two words crossed out*) lineata per medium (*also author's hand*(?), *but different ink*)
[f] Georgio Vellaicensi *marked // above line in N; om. ACβ*
[g] Tholosano *written in red N*
[h] *sic XI;* Limozinensi *N*
[i] traderentur *A, corrected by author*(?) *from* traduntur *N;* traduntur *Cβ*

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[1] i.e. 'the Elysian Field': Gervase was the first to render 'Les Aliscamps' thus into Latin; it was subsequently adopted as the regular Latin form of the name (Duprat, 'Légendes saintes de Provence', 1941, p. 127). This famous cemetery was founded in Roman times, but had been taken over by the Christians by the fourth century. The name of *Aliscamps* or *Aliscans* only came to be associated with it after the mid-eleventh century, when a cemetery of that name, whose locality was left vague, was celebrated in a *chanson de geste* (*Aliscans* or *Alescans*); the earliest texts in which the cemetery at Arles is given this name (the *Liber de miraculis Sancti Jacobi,* and Pseudo-Turpin's *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*) date from the mid-twelfth century. A body of legend was then engendered, centring on the story of Christ's appearance as it is repeated here, as a result of which Les Aliscamps became perhaps the most renowned of all medieval cemeteries. See Duprat, 'Légendes saintes de Provence', 1940, p. 197; 1941, p. 88.

[2] On St Trophimus, see *Otia*, ii. 10, n. 32.

[3] Cf. John 11. Lazarus of Marseilles and George of Velay appear only in *N* (see apparatus), where they may have been added to bring the list into line with the one given in the account of the consecration of Notre-Dame de la Mer (cf. *Otia*, ii. 10, n. 29); they are not included in what is otherwise an identical list in the *Vita S. Marthae* of Pseudo-Marcella (ed. Mombritius, p. 340; ed. C. Chabaneau, *Revue des Langues Romanes*, xxxiii

90. *The Cemetery of Les Aliscamps*[1] *and the Dead Brought There*

Hear a remarkable wonder, most worshipful Prince, a miracle indeed, caused by divine power. The capital of the kingdom of Burgundy, known as the Arelate, is Arles, a city endowed with ancient privileges. It was Trophimus,[2] a disciple of Jesus Christ, ordained by the apostles Peter and Paul, who converted it to faith in Christ, in the company of Paul the apostle, who was then on his way to Spain. A short time later, in collaboration with the holy bishops Lazarus of Marseilles (whom God had raised from the dead),[3] Maximinus of Aix, Eutropius of Orange, George of Velay, Saturninus of Toulouse, Martial of Limoges, Sergius Paulus of Narbonne, and Fronto of Périgueux,[4] all of whom were among the seventy-two disciples of Jesus Christ,[5] he decided to found a sacred burial ground on the south side of the city, where the bodies of all the faithful might be given burial. His idea was that, just as the evangelization of all Gaul had started from the church of Arles, so too those who died in Christ should be brought there from all around and have the comfort of being buried together. Accordingly a solemn consecration was performed at the hands of the holy bishops, whereupon Christ, already well-known to them in the flesh, appeared to them on the eastern side, where the church still stands which was consecrated by these same bishops in honour of the Blessed Virgin.[6] He blessed their work, and bestowed this gift on the cemetery and those who would be

(1889), 101–3, at p. 102). Although Gervase makes no mention of Martha here, he is clearly indebted to Pseudo-Marcella for his account of the consecration of the cemetery and the special blessing bestowed on it by Christ; Pseudo-Marcella in turn was drawing on Pseudo-Turpin or the *Liber de miraculis Sancti Jacobi,* both of which contain an identical list of bishops, except that Eutropius is designated bishop of Saintes ('Xanctonensis') rather than Orange (Pseudo-Turpin, c. 28, ed. Meredith-Jones, pp. 212–13; *Le Guide du pèlerin de Saint Jacques de Compostelle,* ed. J. Vielliard (Macon, 1938); cf. Duprat, 'Légendes saintes de Provence', 1940, pp. 193–5; 1941, p. 106).

[4] These bishops were all reputed to have been the first incumbents of their respective sees. According to Gregory of Tours (*HF* i. 30, ed. Krusch and Levison, pp. 47–8), Saturninus, Martialis, and Paulus, as well as Trophimus, were among the seven bishops sent to preach among the Gauls in the mid-third century. By Gervase's time all these bishops were said to have been among the seventy-two disciples, and to have reached Provence in the boat which brought the saints of Bethany (cf. *Otia*, ii. 10, n. 29).

[5] Luke 10: 1 (Vulgate; seventy in A.V.).

[6] The cemetery had as many as thirty churches in the Middle Ages. The chapel dedicated to the Mother of God annexed to the church of Saint-Honorat is named as the site of Christ's appearance in a spurious circular of Michel de Mouriez, archbishop of Arles 1202–17 (*Gallia Christiana novissima*, iii (Arles, 1900), 310–12; Duprat, 'Légendes saintes de Provence', 1941, p. 110).

eorum sua beneditione perfondens, dato cimiterio ac illis sepeliendis munere, ut quicumque inibi sepelirentur, nullas in cadaueribus suis diabolicas paterentur illusiones, secundum quod in euangelio legitur quosdam demones habitare in sepulcris; unde dicitur: 'Exeunte Iesu de naui, occurrit de monumentis homo in spiritu inmundo, qui domicilium habebat in monumentis.'[7]

Ex huiusmodi ergo dominice benedictionis munere, necnon propter sacratissimorum uirorum consecrationes, apud omnes maioris auctoritatis Galliarum principes ac clericos inoleuit quod maxima potentum pars que in Galliis, aut circa Pireneos montes aut Alpes Penninas, in pugnis paganorum moriebantur,[8] illic[j] sepulturam habent; et quidam in plaustris, alii in curribus, nonnulli in equis, f. 76^{v} plurimi per de|pendulum fluentis Rodani ad cimiterium Campi Elisii deferebantur, ubi Vivianus et comes Bertrannus et Astulfus[k] et innumeri proceres requiescunt.[9]

Est ergo omni[l] admiratione dignissimum quod nullus in thecis positus mortuus ultimos ciuitatis Arelatensis terminos (quos Rochettam nominant) potest quantalibet ui uentorum aut tempestate conpulsus preterire, sed infra semper subsistens in aqua rotatur, donec applicet aut ad ripam fluminis ductus cimiterio sacro inferatur.[10]

Mirandis magis miranda succedunt, que oculis conspeximus, sub innumera utriusque sexus hominum multitudine. Solent, ut premisimus, mortui in doleis bituminatis ac in thecis[m] corpora mortuorum a longinquis regionibus per aquam fluminis Rodani dimitti, cum pecunia sigillata, que cimiterio tam sacro, nomine elemosine, confertur.[11] Vno ergo aliquo die, nundum decennio delapso, dolium cum mortuo suo descendit inter illud angustum quod ex alternis[n] ripis[o] castrum Tarasconense et castrum Belliquadri prospetat. Exilientes[p] adolescentes Belliquadri dolium ad terram trahunt et, relicto mortuo,

[j] illic *XQ;* illuc *NACI* [k] Adstulfus *N* [l] omni *supplied by author N*
[m] in thecis *Liebrecht;* entecis *MSS* [n] alterius *NXQ* [o] ripis *altered to* rupis, parte *inserted after it by author N* [p] et castrum . . . Exilientes] *supplied by author N*

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[7] Mark 5: 2–3. [8] Note the plural verb with a singular subject.

[9] The words *Gesta Caroli* are written in the margin of *N* at this point. This may be a reference to the chronicle of Pseudo-Turpin, which bears this title in some MSS; in c. 29 (ed. Meredith-Jones, pp. 216–17) a list is given of those among the dead at Roncevaux who were buried at Les Aliscamps. Liebrecht (pp. 153–4) suggests that the three names mentioned by Gervase are variants of Ivorius, Bernardus de Nublis, and Estultus of Langres, from Pseudo-Turpin's list. But *Vivianus* must surely be Vivien, the nephew of William of Orange, whose death in a battle at 'Aliscans' was celebrated in the *chansons de geste Le Covenant Vivien* and *Aliscans;* Vivien's supposed tomb at Les Aliscamps was a

buried in it: no diabolical apparitions would have any power over the bodies of the people buried there. For one reads in the gospel that certain evil spirits live among tombs, as in the passage: 'When Jesus came out of the ship, there met him out of the tombs a man with an unclean spirit, who had his dwelling among the tombs.'[7]

Consequently, since the Lord had conferred such a blessing on it, and also on account of its having been consecrated by such holy men, it became the burial-place favoured by all the more important secular rulers and clergy of Gaul; as a result, the great majority of the nobles who died[8] fighting the pagans in Gaul, in the region of the Pyrenees or the Pennine Alps, are buried there. They were conveyed, some in wagons, others in chariots, a few on horseback, and many floating down the current of the Rhône, to this cemetery called Les Aliscamps: Vivien, Count Bertrand, Aistulf, and countless other famous men rest there.[9]

Now it is an utterly remarkable fact that no corpse laid in a coffin can pass the furthest suburb of the city of Arles (which they call La Roquette), no matter how great be the force of winds or storm driving it, but it goes round in circles in the water, staying all the time within the boundary, until it comes to land or is hauled to the river-bank and taken into the holy cemetery.[10]

To add to this marvel, here is something even more marvellous which we saw with our own eyes, in the presence of a numberless multitude of men and women. As we have said, it is customary for the bodies of the dead to be sent down from distant regions on the water of the river Rhône, in tarred casks or coffins, with some money sealed inside, intended as an alms for this most holy cemetery.[11] One day, then, less than ten years ago, a cask with its body inside floated down through the narrow stretch which is overlooked by the town of Tarascon on one bank and the town of Beaucaire on the other. Some youths from Beaucaire leapt out and dragged the cask to land. They

place of pilgrimage. William of Orange had another nephew named Bertrand, who is presumably Gervase's *comes Bertrannus; Astulfus* is probably the count of Langres. On this cycle of legends, see J. Bédier, *Les Légendes épiques* (Paris, 1908), i. 365–85; L. Stouff, *Arles à la fin du Moyen-Age* (Paris, 1986), pp. 75–6.

[10] Corpses were indeed sent down the Rhône for burial at Les Aliscamps, and the legend that they stopped automatically by the cemetery was well-known. For related folk-material, cf. Liebrecht, pp. 149–53; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, pp. 830–5; Sébillot, *Folk-Lore*, ii. 148–55. This episode is discussed briefly by Schmitt, *Les Revenants*, p. 106.

[11] The alms-payments fell to the abbeys of Saint-Césaire at Arles and Saint-Victor at Marseilles. This was a cause of grief to the cathedral chapter of Arles; for the part Gervase played in bringing the conflict to an end, see above, p. xxxiii.

pecuniam reconditam rapiunt. Repulsum dolium inter impetuosi amnis[q] fluctus subsistit, et nec ui fluminis precipitis nec iuuenum impulsibus potuit descendere, uerum rotans et in se reuoluens, eosdem circinabat[r] fluminis fluctus. Iam ipsius celati facti signa prodierunt in publicum, et comitis Tolosani in castro baiulus diuina mente concepit aliquid iniurie mortuo ab incolis castri fuisse inflictum. Perquirit solicitus, inuestigatores mittit, et secretos sceleris huius exploratores conducit. Tandem 'qui scrutatur corda et renes, Deus,'[12] ante cuius oculos nichil latere potest, factum publicat; statimque[s] uicarius[t] comitis pecuniam reponi iubet cum mortuo, delinquentesque pena graui affligit. Restituto censu, confestim mortuus sine omni inpellentis adiutorio[u] uiam aggreditur, et infra modicam oram apud ciuitatem Arelatem applicans, sepulture honorifice traditur.

xci. *De nuce que sex aut septem facit nucleos*[a]

Est in regno Arelatensi, episcopatu Aquensi, castro Ponteues, nux quedam quam a cornice plantatam ferunt, sicut mos est auibus nucleos nunnumquam proicere uel leuatos deperdere. Nux hec in arborem grandem excreuit, et cum alie eius generis arbores fructificant, hec globum[b] facit ad instar pomi uel pinee; quo fracto, sex aut septem aut decem quandoque nuclei eliciuntur.

xcii. *De equo Giraldi de Cabreriis*[1]

Sunt qui fantastica non credunt, et quorum causam nesciunt, materiam non mirantur. Diximus[2] laruarum usum ac lamiarum[a] frequentem esse; nunc ergo iocumdum quid, et circa hec diuulgatum

[q] annis *N* [r] circuibat *CXQ* [s] statiimque *N* [t] uicarius *supplied by author N* [u] adiutorio *supplied by author N*

[a] sex . . . nucleos] facit decem nucleos (nucleos esse decem *C*) in testa *CXQ* [b] glolium *N*

[a] usum ac lamiarum *supplied by author N*

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[12] Ps. 7: 10 (9); cf. Rev. 2: 23.

[1] Probably the famous Guiraut or Guerau III Ponç de Cabrera, one of the first Catalan troubadours known to us by name: see Bezzola, *Origines*, iii. 341; M. de Riquer, *Història de la literatura catalana* (Barcelona, 1964), i. 63 f. If Guiraut died, as is thought, in 1170, the

left the corpse, but stole the money which had been stowed away with it. Then they pushed the cask back. However, it stood still in the midstream of the fast-flowing river, and neither the force of the rushing torrent nor the shoving of the youths could make it float on down; instead, rotating and spinning round on itself, it circled the same patch of river. By now, although the deed had been accomplished in secret, signs of it had become publicly manifest. The count of Toulouse's bailiff in the castle sensed by divine inspiration that some injury had been inflicted on the dead man by inhabitants of the town. He made diligent enquiries, sent out investigators, and hired secret spies to uncover this crime. At length 'he that searches the hearts and reins, God,'[12] from whose eyes nothing can be hidden, made the deed known. The count's bailiff immediately ordered the money to be put back in with the corpse, and inflicted a severe punishment on the transgressors. Once its property had been restored, without further delay the corpse went on its way, needing no helping push, and within a short time came to land at the city of Arles and was given honourable burial.

91. *The Nut-tree which Produces Six or Seven Kernels*

In the kingdom of Arles, in the diocese of Aix, and the village of Pontevès, there is a nut-tree which they say was planted by a crow, in the way birds have of sometimes throwing nuts down or dropping ones they are carrying. This nut grew into a huge tree, and when other trees of its kind bear fruit, this one produces a globe like an apple or a pine-cone; if this is broken open, six or seven or sometimes ten kernels are got out of it.

92. *The Horse of Guiraut de Cabrera*[1]

There are some people who do not believe in anything supernatural, and even if they do not know the reason for things, they do not marvel at their existence. We have said[2] that people frequently encounter larvas and lamias; now therefore let us interpose a pleasing story: it is

events described here probably took place in 1167, when Alfonso II was in Arles; Gervase presumably heard the story from his wife's family.

[2] *Otia*, iii. 85 and 86.

ac pene toti orbi cognitum, interseramus. Erat temporibus nostris in Cathalonia miles nobilissimis[b] ortus natalibus, milicia strenuus, elegantia gratiosus, cui nomen Giraldus de Cabreriis. Hic equum habebat in bonitate singularem, uelocitate inuincibilem et, quod sine exemplo mirandum fuit, in omnibus angustiis consiliosum.[3] Huic nobilis nomen indidit ut Bonus Amicus uocaretur;[4] solo pane triticeo in conca uescebatur argentea, et culcitra de pluma pro substernio utebatur. Quociens artissimo quoquam negotio uir nobilis urgebatur, tamquam ad cuiusuis dissertissimi consilium, ad equum confugiebat. Verumtamen quibus uerbis quibusue signis aut motibus ad intellectum responsa formabat, hominibus[c] preter dominum suum erat incognitum. Sed hoc apud omnes probatissimum fuit, etiam apud hostes capitales, quod nullius preter equum usus consilio, in omnibus prospere agebat; omnes eludens et a nullo f. 77^{r} elusus, a nemine uictus, et a multis persequentibus fugiebat | dum[d] uolebat, et inter crebros ictus fugabat quos eligebat ad pugnam. Erat miles in iuuentute sua, iocundus, hylaris, musicis instrumentis plurimum instructus, a dominabus inuidiose desideratus. In palatio nostro (quod ex uestri munere uestraque gratia ad nos rediit per sententiam curie imperialis, princeps[e] excellentissime, propter ius patrimoniale uxoris nostre),[5] in presentia pie memorie Ildefonsi, illustris regis quondam Aragonensis,[6] et socrus nostre,[7] que singulari laude precellebat inter dominas sui confinii, necnon in conspectu multorum procerum, miles sepe dictus uiolam[8] trahebat, domine chorum ducebant, et ad tactum cordarum equus incomparabilibus[f] circumflexionibus saltabat.

Quid plura? Quid dicam nescio. Si uerus equs fuit, unde in eo consilium, intelligentia, fidesque etiam in disertissimo admiranda?[g] Si fadus erat, ut homines asserunt, aut genus quoddam mixtum demonibus, qualiter comedebat? Et ad ultimum, perempto domino

[b] nobilissimis *CXQ;* nobilissimus *AI,* -isimus *N* [c] hominibus] omnibus *XQ* [d] dun *N* [e] principes *N* [f] incomparabilis *XQ* [g] adniranda *N*

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[3] On wise horses in folklore, see Liebrecht, p. 154; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, pp. 392 and 655–64; Howey, *The Horse in Magic and Myth*, p. 156.

[4] The name *Bonus Amicus* is reminiscent of the names of other beneficent beings, e.g. Robin Goodfellow; for further examples, see Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, pp. 266, 283, and 500. The horse as the hero's loyal friend may be compared with Achilles' Xanthus (*Iliad*, xix. 400–21), and Alexander's Bucephalus (Pliny, *Hist. nat.* viii. 64. 154).

[5] See above, pp. xxix–xxx.

[6] Cf. above, p. xxx, and *Otia*, iii. 83, n. 7. Alfonso's itinerant court was often to be found in Provence. Provençal influence is evident in the flowering of Catalan literature in his time; indeed Alfonso himself performed as a troubadour.

well-known in these parts, and news of it has reached practically the whole world. There was a knight in Catalonia in our times, of very high birth, dashing in warfare, and gracious in manners, whose name was Guiraut de Cabrera. This man had a horse of outstanding quality, unrivalled in speed and—an unprecedented marvel—full of sound advice in any distress.[3] The nobleman gave this horse the name of Good Friend.[4] It fed only on wheat-bread from a silver bowl, and it had a feather-mattress to lie on. Whenever the noble gentleman was hard-pressed in any difficult situation, he would have recourse to his horse, just as if he was asking the advice of a particularly discerning person. However, the words, signs, or motions by which it made its answers understood remained unknown to people other than its master. This, though, was abundantly clear to all, even to his mortal enemies: acting on the advice of no one apart from his horse, he prospered in all his affairs. He could trick everyone and was himself tricked by none; no one could get the better of him, and he could either escape, when he wished, from a host of pursuers, or, amidst a rain of blows, put to flight those with whom he chose to do battle. This knight was in the prime of life, charming, lively, highly skilled on musical instruments, and madly desired by the ladies. In our palace (which was restored to our possession by right of our wife's inheritance through your generosity and kindness, most excellent Prince, by a ruling of the imperial court),[5] in the presence of Alfonso of pious memory, the late renowned king of Aragon,[6] and of our[7] mother-in-law, who excelled among the ladies of her connection in her matchless repute, and in the sight of many other illustrious people, the knight of whom I have been speaking used to play the fiddle:[8] the ladies led the dance, and at a touch of the strings the horse would join in with extraordinary capers.

Why go on? I do not know what to say. If it was a real horse, where did it get its sound judgment from, its intelligence, and its loyalty, which would have been remarkable qualities even in the wisest person? If it was a fay, as people say, or if the demons had a part in its nature, how did it eat? Well, in the end its master was killed by

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[7] Leibniz and Liebrecht read *vestrae* here, but the reading of *N*, and also of β, is *nostre*. It was therefore Gervase's mother-in-law, not Otto's, who was present, which fits with the conjectured date of 1167.

[8] The most prestigious stringed instrument in Europe before *c.*1300; played with a bow and built in many sizes and shapes. See C. Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages* (London, 1987), pp. 7–8, 53–74, and 177–9.

suo ab armigero suo, precio per Maximinum[h] corrupto—eo quod, ipso flebotomato, alium equum ascenderat—numquam post hec cibum sumpsit, sed ceruice ad parietem[i] colisa, mirabiliter ac miserabiliter interiit.

xciii. *De fantasiis nocturnis opiniones*[a]

Sunt qui dicant[b] huiusmodi fantasias ex animi[c] timiditate et melancolia[d] hominibus apparere[e] uideri, sicut in freneticis et laborantibus maioribus emitriteis solet euenire. Alios asserunt tales[f] ymaginationes uidere in sompniis tam expresse quod sibi ipsis uigilare uidentur,[g] ut quibusdam id confessis contigisse Augustinus in libro *De ciuitate Dei* refert.[1]

Sed contra hec mouet me quod mulieres agnosco, uicinas nostras, que processerant in diebus suis,[2] que mihi proponebant se de nocte uidisse clientulas et clientulos[3] discoopertos cum uerecundia; que etiam referebant ea que de nocte gerebantur a nobis in longe remotis partibus. Nonnumquam non uisas flagellationes nocturnas in paruulis nostris curabant;[4] asserebantque se, dormientibus uiris[h] suis, cum cetu lamiarum celeri penna mare transire, mundum percurrere, et si quis aut si qua illarum in tali discursu Christum nominauerit, statim, in quocumque loco et quantumuis periculoso[i] fuerit, corruit.[5] Vidimus equidem in regno Arelatensi mulierem e castro Belliquadri oriundam ex consimili causa[j] inter medias Rodani undas cecidisse,[k] et usque ad umbilicum humectatam, de nocte media absque uite periculo, sed non sine timore, euasisse. Scimus quasdam in forma gattarum a furtiue uigilantibus de nocte uisas ac uulneratas, in crastino uulnera truncationesque membrorum ostendisse.[6]

[h] proprium nomen *written by author above* Maximinum *N* [i] parientem *N*

[a] De . . . opiniones] De uisionibus fantasticis et orationibus *CXQ* [b] dicunt *ACβ* [c] animi *supplied by author* (?) *N* [d] melencolia *N* [e] apparare *N* [f] tales *supplied by author N* [g] uideatur *N* [h] uris *N* [i] periculosum *QI* [j] causas *N* [k] concidisse *XQ*

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[1] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* xviii. 18 (*CSEL* xl (2). 289–92 = *PL* xli. 574–6. For an exhaustive treatment of visions by Augustine, see *De Genesi ad litteram*, xii. 12–31 (*CSEL* xxviii (1). 395–426 = *PL* xxxiv. 463–80).

[2] Liebrecht (p. 154) compares this expression to *provectae aetate*. These nocturnal visitors are often described as *uetulae:* cf. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 1060.

[3] These terms are suggestive of the bands of night-riders who formed the retinue of a goddess such as Diana; cf. *Otia*, iii. 86, n. 8.

his squire, who had been bribed by Maximinus—the squire was able to kill him because he had mounted another horse, while this one was having its blood let—and from then on it never took food, but died an awesome and wretched death by dashing its neck against the wall.

93. *Opinions concerning Nocturnal Phantasms*

Some people maintain that an anxious and melancholic temperament can make people think they are seeing phantasms of this kind; the same thing often happens with people who are delirious and suffering a violent attack of fever. And they claim that others see hallucinations like these in their dreams with such vividness that they believe they are awake: Augustine, in his book *City of God*, reports how some people admitted that this had happened to them.[1]

But there are other opinions which I cannot dismiss, since I know women, neighbours of ours, well-advanced in years,[2] who used to tell me that they had seen in the night-time troops of men and women,[3] stripped naked, to their shame; they also reported what we were doing at night in far distant places. Sometimes they tended wounds which our children had sustained from unseen nocturnal whippings.[4] They maintained that, while their husbands were asleep, they crossed the sea and travelled round the world in a swift flight with a band of lamias; if any man or woman among them spoke the name of Christ on such an excursion, he or she immediately fell to the ground wherever they were, no matter how dangerous it was.[5] We ourselves saw, in the kingdom of Arles, a woman from the town of Beaucaire who fell into the midst of the waters of the Rhône for this very reason. She was soaked up to her waist, but escaped in the middle of the night without danger to her life, though not without a fright. We know that some women have been seen and wounded in the form of cats by people keeping a secret watch by night, and the next day they have exhibited wounds and missing limbs.[6]

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[4] Nakedness and whippings feature in similar accounts given by old women, recorded in the thirteenth century; e.g. Étienne de Bourbon, *Anecdotes*, pp. 323–4 (no. 368), reproduced by Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum morale*, iii. 27.

[5] Night-riding is regarded here as clearly unchristian, but there is as yet no mention of devil-worshipping.

[6] The belief that anyone but God could change a creature's shape was condemned along with the belief in night-riding in the canon *Episcopi* (Hansen, *Quellen*, p. 39) and again in the *Corrector* (Hansen, *Quellen*, pp. 40–1); but it persisted, and came to be associated particularly with witches (Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, pp. 174–84 and 491–503). The form the

Si hec ita non esse crederet Ambrosius, frustra in ymnis[l] notasset:

> Procul recedant sompnia
> Et noctium fantasmata,[7]

et iterum:

> Gallo canente spes redit,
> Egris salus refunditur,
> Mucro latronis conditur,
> Lapsis fides reuertitur.
> Hoc excitato[m] Lucifer
> Soluit polum caligine,
> Hoc omnis errorum chorus
> Viam nocendi deserit.[8]

Et quia de spinis uuas colligere bonum esset, et de tribulis ficus[9] dulce, licet inusitatum, audiat lector urbanum contra nocturnas pollutiones et ymaginationes, timores ac[n] lamias, antidotum: cum cubas, orationem cum uersiculo sancti Iohannis Baptiste, et orationem sancti Iohannis Euangeliste cum uersiculo, et orationem sancti Antonii cum uersiculo ad ultima uerba dicas, et, ut a uiris religiosissimis[o] audiui uerissimo experimento compertum, nulla hoc obseruantem ymaginatio polluet, nulla polutio maculabit, nullus hostis uersuti timor concutiet.

Sunt autem hi uersiculi: 'Fuit homo missus a Deo,' etc.[10] Oratio: f. 77^{v} 'Perpetuis[p] nos, Domine, beati Iohannis | Baptiste[q] tuere presidiis, et quanto fragiliores sumus, tanto magis necessariis attolle subsidiis.'[11] Item uersiculus in honore sancti Iohannis Euangeliste: 'Valde honorandus[r] est beatus Iohannes,' etc.[12] Oratio: 'Ecclesiam tuam quesumus Domine Deus benignus illustra, ut apostoli tui Iohannis et euangeliste

[l] ymnis *supplied by author N* [m] excitatus *Ambrose* [n] ac *supplied by author N* [o] religiosissimus *N* [p] perpetuis *ACβ, corrected in red to* Petrus *N* [q] Baptiste *supplied by author N* [r] honorandus] homo *N*

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witch put on most often was that of the cat, and she was frequently to be recognized by her lack, in human form, of a limb which she had lost in cat-form. In fact, such wounds were accepted in evidence at witch-trials as scientific proof of shape-shifting (MacCulloch, *Medieval Faith and Fable*, p. 79). For a bibliography, see *MI* D702. 1. 1 and G252; and for the same idea in relation to werewolves, see *Otia*, iii. 120, n. 5.

[7] From the famous evening hymn 'Te lucis ante terminum', falsely attributed to Ambrose (*PL* xvii. 1185, no. 24 = Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns*, p. 299).

[8] From the hymn 'Aeterne rerum conditor' by Ambrose (*PL* xvi. 1409, no. 1 = Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns*, pp. 30–4). The first two lines quoted also occur in a hymn to be sung at Lauds on the Fourth Sunday of Lent, beginning: 'Noctis tempus iam praeterit', found in the *Breviarium Gothicum* (*PL* lxxxvi. 446).

[9] Cf. Matt. 7: 16; Luke 6: 44.

If Ambrose had not believed that these things happened, it would have been pointless for him to have written in his hymns:

> May dreams and nightly phantasms
> Keep far away from us,[7]

and again:

> At cockcrow hope returns once more,
> The sick regain their ebbing strength,
> The robber's sword is sheathed again,
> And faith returns to cheer the lapsed.
> At this awakening Lucifer
> Sets free the sky from dark and gloom,
> At this all companies of sin
> Desert the way of evil deeds.[8]

And because it would be good to gather grapes from thorns, and it would be pleasing, though unusual, to gather figs from thistles,[9] let me give you, reader, an excellent antidote for nocturnal contaminations and hallucinations, terrors and lamias: when you go to bed, say the prayer of St John the Baptist with its versicle, and the prayer of St John the Evangelist with its versicle, and the prayer of St Antony with its versicle, right through to the end. For I have heard from truly religious men that it has been established from reliable experience that no hallucination will disturb anyone who adopts this custom, no contamination will defile him, and no fear of our crafty Enemy will assail him.

Now these are the versicles: 'There was a man sent from God,' etc.;[10] then the prayer: 'Defend us, Lord, with the perpetual protection of St John the Baptist, and sustain us with the aid that is the more needful according as we are frail.'[11] Next the versicle in honour of St John the Evangelist: 'Worthy of great honour is the blessed John,' etc.;[12] and the prayer: 'Lord God, we beseech you, in your kindness enlighten your Church, in order that, illumined by the

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[10] From the office for the Nativity of John the Baptist (24 June) (*CAO*, i. 250–3, ii. 470–4, iii. 231, iv. 189 and 487).

[11] One of the most ancient prayers of the western church. It appears in the Verona MS known as the Leonine Sacramentary, where it is associated with Sts Hippolytus and Pontianus (*Sacramentarium Veronense*, ed. L. C. Mohlberg (Rome, 1956), p. 100, no. 795); but it is usually a collect for the Beheading of John the Baptist (29 August), as, for instance, in the Gelasian Sacramentary (*Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae Ordinis anni circuli*, ed. L. C. Mohlberg (Rome, 1950), p. 156, no. 1010).

[12] From the office of St John the Evangelist (27 December) (*CAO*, i. 44–7, ii. 76–9, iii. 526, iv. 446 and 503).

illuminata doctrinis,[s] ad dona perueniat sempiterna, et ab omnibus muniatur[t] aduersis.'[13] Item uersiculus de beato Antonio cum antiphona: 'Vox sonat: Antoni, quia fortis ad arma fuisti, extollam toto nomen in orbe tuum. Ora pro nobis, beate Antoni,' etc.[14] Oratio: 'Deus qui beato Antonio confessori tuo, per uiam uirtutum incedenti, lumen tue uisitationis[u] ostendisti, concede propicius ut ipsum pro nobis intercessorem senciamus in celis, cuius uite exemplo irradiamur in terris.'

Si causam queris quare istorum sanctorum memoria tanti circa talia sit meriti, respondeo contraria contrariis curari: et ita uirginitas labis nescia pollutionem fugit et fugat. In Antonio quis dubitat tantam fuisse sancte perfectionis constantiam quod a Deo speciale donum meruerit super demonibus agnoscendis et expellendis, ut ait beatissimus[v] Atanasius in *Vita beati Antonii?*[15] Ad hec a uiro sancto accepi[w] optimum esse post ista remedium atque solatium ymnum qui apud Anglos in quadragisimali tempore cantatur ad completorium: 'Cultor Dei, memento'.[16]

xciv. *De arbore que siliquas facit*

In regno Arelatensi, ad confinium urbis Massiliensis, arbor est que fructum facit ad modum fabarum, et in ipsa siliqua nichil preter lapides inuenies.

xcv. *De coruo de Claireuo*[a][1]

De brutis animalibus tacere non possumus, quibus nonnumquam superuenire uidemus humane cuiusdam sapientie uigilantiam. Ecce

[s] doctrina *N* [t] muniatur *corrected by author from* muniamur *N;* muniamur *AXQ*
[u] uisitatonis *N* [v] beatissimus *supplied by author N* [w] accepit *N*

[a] de Claireuo] *om. I;* et eius sagacitate *CXQ*

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[13] A collect for 27 December, also found (in a slightly different version) in the Leonine Sacramentary (ed. Mohlberg, p. 164, no. 1283), and in most subsequent mainstream sacramentaries. The final phrase ('et ab omnibus muniatur aduersis') seems to be peculiar to Gervase's version.

[14] This versicle and the following prayer are not to be found in any of the standard liturgies, and may represent a local observance; St Antony enjoyed great popularity in the Middle Ages. The reference in the prayer is presumably to the Lord's appearance to him

teachings of your apostle and evangelist John, it may attain to everlasting gifts, and be fortified against all adversities.'[13] And then the versicle of St Antony with the antiphon: 'A voice proclaims: Antony, because you have been strong in the fight, I shall extol your name in all the earth. Pray for us, blessed Antony,' etc.;[14] and the prayer: 'God, who showed the light of your presence to your confessor the blessed Antony, who walked in the way of virtue, mercifully grant that we may know him as our intercessor in heaven, by the example of whose life we are enlightened on earth.'

If you want to know why the commemoration of these saints is so effective in such matters, my answer is that opposites are cured by opposites: and so virginity which knows no stain both flees from and puts to flight defilement. Who can doubt that Antony was so steadfast in holy perfection that he earned the special gift from God of being able to recognize and drive out evil spirits, as the most blessed Athanasius says in his *Life of St Antony*?[15] In addition, I have it from a holy man that, after these observances, the best remedy and comfort is the hymn which is sung by the English at compline during Lent: 'Remember, worshipper of God'.[16]

94. *A Tree which Produces Pods*

In the kingdom of Arles, near the city of Marseilles, there is a tree which produces fruit like beans, and inside the pod you will find nothing but pebbles.

95. *The Raven of Clairevum*[1]

We cannot pass over in silence the fact that we sometimes see a concern for human wisdom of some kind manifesting itself in brute

in a ray of light, putting to flight the demons which were tormenting him (Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, c. 10, ed. Hoppenbrouwers, p. 90 = *PG* xxvi. 860).

[15] In his biography of St Antony, Athanasius presented him above all as victorious over the devil and his ministers; in chapters 35–43 Antony teaches on the recognition and driving out of demons (ed. Hoppenbrouwers, pp. 125–35 = *PG* xxvi. 893–908).

[16] This hymn, by no means limited to English use, consists of the last 7 of the 38 stanzas of Prudentius' *Cathemerinon* vi (Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns*, p. 130; Prudentius, *Carmina*, *CCSL* cxxvi (1966), pp. 33–4).

[1] Perhaps Claviers, near Draguignan, or Clavans, near Grenoble.

enim in regno Arelatensi coruus erat,[b] qui tantam habebat discretionem quod ostiles insidias explorabat et, transcursis montibus et castri[c] terminis, si quid erat repentinum aut insidiosum, loquebatur. Ad aleas pecuniam mutuabat, quam inter rupes ocultauerat. Hic cum dominam castri nimis familiarem cuidam[d] comperisset, post multas domine denuntiationes factas, ad ultimum adulterium domino prodidit, sicque factum est ut, ab adultero ictu[e] sagitte percussus,[f] periret.[2]

xcvi. *De iudicio cignorum*

Quanta matrimonio legitimo fides debeatur, leges humane que castitati ac pudicitie fauent sua monstrant censura. Nec solum id legibus que constringunt hominum[a] uitam conuincitur esse puniendum quod contra fidem thori committitur, sed quod mirabilius est, etiam aues zelant compares suas, et suo stimuli naturalis iudicio puniunt illas que[b] adulterantur. Ecce quod in regno Anglorum, episcopatu Londoniensi et comitatu Essexe,[c] est castrum Angra nuncupatum, quod bone memorie Ricardus de Luci,[1] domini aui uestri illustris regis Anglorum in Anglia[d] quondam iusticiarius, construxit. Vno aliquo die cum ad exedras palacii milites se misissent ad prospiciendum, ecce multitudo cignorum in prato domibus subiecto conuenit, et cum quasi concilio[e] facto ad inuicem diu uocibus suis contulissent, unus e[f] medio, sicut mos est accusatori uel eius patrono, longo garritu querelam deponit, et cum ad unam partem | f. 78r quidam tanquam iudices se facerent, tandem produci mandant cignam. Duo igitur missi a iudicibus ream in medio constituunt, et post factas hinc inde garritiones uice allegationum, tandem iudices diffiniunt causam, ream adulterii[g] toti gregi exponentes. Insultat

[b] erat *supplied by author N* [c] *space left after* castri *NQ* [d] cuidem *N*
[e] ictus *N* [f] pecussus *N*

[a] homini *AXQ* [b] illasque *N* [c] *sic QI;* Essexi *altered by author from* Essexe *N* [d] in Anglia *om. XQ* [e] consilio *ACβ* [f] e *supplied by author N* [g] adultii *N*

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[2] Birds are often credited with a concern for human doings, acting as messengers or informers. The story of Coronis, whose infidelity was betrayed to Apollo by a raven, was well-known from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (ii. 542–632); it forms the matter of Chaucer's *Manciple's Tale.* In his article, 'Ovide, Gervais de Tilbury, et les "fresques" de Sorgue' (*Revue Archéologique*, xxi (1944), 187–9), C. Picard suggested that both this chapter of the *Otia* and some frescoes dating from *c.*1400 from Sorgue, near Avignon, were directly

beasts. For instance, in the kingdom of Arles there was a raven, which possessed such great discernment that it used to seek out enemy ambushes and, flying over the mountains and the boundaries of the local castle, it would report anything unlooked for or treacherous. It used to gamble at dice, using money which it had hidden away among the rocks. This bird discovered that the chatelaine was being too familiar with a certain man. After issuing many warnings to the lady, it finally reported the adultery to her husband; and so it happened that the bird was struck down, shot with an arrow by the lady's lover, and died.[2]

96. *The Swans' Court of Justice*

The human laws which promote chastity and purity show by their severity what total fidelity is owed to lawful matrimony. But not only is any act which violates the fidelity of the marriage-bed proved to be a punishable offence by the laws which govern human life, but, what is more remarkable, the birds too are jealous of their mates, and by their own jurisdiction, born of a natural instinct, they punish female birds which commit adultery. Here is an example: in the kingdom of England, in the diocese of London and the county of Essex, there is a castle called Ongar, built by Richard de Luci[1] of good memory, at one time justiciar in England for my lord your grandfather, the renowned king of the English. One day when the knights had gone to look at the aviaries of the house, there before them a large number of swans assembled in the meadow beneath the castle, and formed a kind of council. After they had conferred noisily together for a long time, one of them stood out in their midst and made a long squawking accusation, acting just like a plaintiff or his advocate. Some swans on one side were posing as judges, and eventually they ordered the female in question to be brought forward. Two of them, sent by the judges, set the accused in the middle. After much hooting on all sides in the way of allegations, in the end the judges decided the case, and exposed the one found guilty of adultery to the whole flock. The

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inspired by Ovid's story. Certainly Gervase was well-acquainted with the *Metamorphoses*, but this chapter has all the appearance of a local legend.

[1] Ongar was a castle in western Essex, not far from Tilbury. Richard de Luci may not have been the first builder; he did, however, own the castle from at least 1157, until he was deprived of it in 1176; see *HBC*, p. 71; *VCH*, Essex, i. 297 and ii. 211; Türk, '*Nugae curialium*', pp. 32–5.

cignorum cetus, deplumat dampnatam, et sic frigori expositam mortis addicunt[h] supplicio.[2]

xcvii. *De ouo coruino supposito ciconie*[a]

Mira loquar et uniuerso ciuitatis nostre Arelatensis notissima populo. Ex antiquisimis diebus in usu habent ciconie in muris ac turribus urbis nidificare. Cum ergo oua expedissent ad pullos, quidam leuitate animi ductus[b] ouum coruinum ouis ciconie supposuit; et sic, excitatum calore ouum inter cetera,[c] pullum fecit secundum nature debitum coruinum. Coruus prodit, et intuitus ciconius pullum a suo genere plurimum dissimilem, proclamationem facit ad sui numeri cetum. Congregantur ciconie, producitur rea delata, instituitur uice accusationis rostrorum strepitus, et ostensus ille pullus, nature debite inconueniens, pro testimonio presumptiuo[d] recipitur, et sufficit ad condempnationem[e] matris suppositiue. Nudati ergo mater et pulus putatiuus pluma naturali, simul ad iudicium precipitati de turre excellenti, mortem inciderunt.[1]

Intuere, felix Auguste, quantam doctrinam ex auium garritu licet sumere, dum a cignis sententia formatur ex reatus euidentia, et a ciconiis[f] presumptio uiolenta iudicium extorquet, utrisque ad castitatem seruandam et incestum puniendum studentibus. Quid igitur infelicitas nostri temporis merebitur supplicii, ubi lasciuia pro laude suscipitur, adulterium argumentosum probitatis indicium effertur, furtiuos habuisse dominarum aut uirginum amplexus milicie insignis est incitamentum? Videant, inquam, et intelligant milites nostri mirandum auium iudicium, et a brutis addiscant que obseruent. 'Nocet empta furore uoluptas',[2] ubi laus criminosa sordescit et uirtus libidinis habet titulum.[3] Tanto hec arcius uitanda iudico,[g]

[h] adiciunt *CXQ*

[a] *Chapter om. XQ* [b] ductus *supplied by author N* [c] cetera *supplied by author N* [d] presuptiuo *N* [e] conde(a *written above* e, *but* e *not expunged*)mpnationem *N* [f] cicomiis *N* [g] iudicio *ACI*

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[2] Many other medieval stories tell of the punishment of adultery by animals or birds, most often storks: see the next chapter, and cf. Neckam, *De naturis rerum*, i. 64; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum naturale*, xvi. 48; Jacques de Vitry, *Exempla*, 234 (ed. Crane, pp. 97–8); Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, x. 60; *Gesta Romanorum*, cc. 82 and 181. In all these stories it is the female bird which is punished.

[1] Storks are the subject of many legends: cf. *Otia*, iii. 63, n. 4. For another account of an

assembly of swans sprang at the condemned creature, stripped her of her feathers, and having thus exposed her to the cold, delivered her up to the punishment of death.[2]

97. *The Raven's Egg which was Put in a Stork's Nest*

I am going to tell of a strange happening, very well known to the entire population of our city of Arles. From times long past storks have made a habit of building their nests in the walls and turrets of the city. Once, when they had laid their eggs and were awaiting the emergence of their chicks, someone, in a fit of high spirits, placed a raven's egg among the eggs of a stork; and so, when the stork's warmth caused the egg to hatch along with the others, it produced a raven's chick, following the law of nature. The raven emerged; and when the male stork saw a chick quite different from his own kind, he gave vent to loud cries, summoning an assembly of his fellow-storks. The storks gathered, the defendant was produced, and a clattering of beaks took the place of an accusation. When the chick which failed to conform to its expected nature was displayed, it was accepted as presumptive evidence, and sufficed for the condemnation of its supposed mother. Then the mother and her putative offspring were stripped of their natural plumage, and the two of them, for their punishment, were hurled from a high tower, and thus met their death.[1]

Mark, happy Augustus, what an important lesson one may draw from the chattering of birds, when sentence is passed by swans on the evidence of guilt, and a hot-headed assumption elicits a judgment from storks, the birds in both cases being concerned to preserve chastity and to punish impurity. What punishment, therefore, will the wretched state of affairs of our time deserve, when licentiousness is held up for praise, adultery is exalted as a sure sign of worth, and it is a spur to distinguished knighthood to have known the clandestine embraces of married women or young girls? Let our knights, I say, see and understand the remarkable jurisdiction of birds, and learn from brute beasts what to honour. 'Pleasure bought with passion does harm',[2] where honour is defiled by guilt and lust calls itself virtue.[3]

assembly of storks attacking one of their number, see Pliny, *Hist. nat.* x. 31. 62; cf. Wolf, *Beiträge zur Deutschen Mythologie*, p. 166.

[2] Cf. Horace, *Epist.* i. 2. 55. The line in Horace reads: 'Sperne uoluptates; nocet empta dolore uoluptas.'

[3] Lit. 'virtue has the title of lust'.

quanto publicatius[4] aguntur, et[h] ab omnium cognitore Domino secretius puniuntur.

xcviii. *De caseo putrefacto*[a]

Considera, semper felix Auguste, quante labis sit crimen adulterii. Quicumque nocte se adulterino coitu polluerit, in crastino si ex lactis coagulo caseum fecerit, sine salis beneficio, nec per unum diem seruare poterit quod operatus est a uermibus incorruptum. Si queris tanti miraculi auctoritatem, respondeo cotidianam rerum euidentiam pro[b] probatione sufficere.

xcix. *De mortuo qui occidit uxorem quondam suam*[a]

Nec tantum a uiuis, sed etiam a mortuis zelum immaculati thori seruatum nouimus. Erat enim in regno uestro Arelatensi et prouincia ac comitatu Aquensi, uir nobilis, genere illustris, moribus f. 78v insignis, | militia priuilegiatus: Guillelmus de Mustiers. Vxorem duxerat pereque illustrem et apud homines graciosam, cautam, et castam, ex qua susceptis liberis, diem clausit extremum. Hic cum suppremam ordinaret uoluntatem, uxori sub fide coniugali iniunxit ne cuidam secundo nuberet, quem inimicum capitalem habuerat, adiciens si cum illo contraheret, eam mortario salsorio quod ad oculum erat se ipsam interfecturum. Paruit indicte uiduitati domina, pre instancia doloris animo turbato, omnem conuentionem gratanter suscipiens.

Quid plura? Defuncto uiro, post decursos aliquot annos superstes uxor, amicorum inducta consilio, nubit militi, capitali mariti prioris hosti, cuius ei nuptias interdixerat. Non oblita fidei promisse nec comminationis adiuncte, sed diu renitens,[b] compulsa est nubere inuito animo; proponentique minas defuncti, ab amicis respondebatur cum mortuis non esse potestatem nocendi. Nupsit domina, et ab

[h] et *ACI; expunged N*

[a] *Chapter om. XQ* [b] pro *CI; expunged N, om. A*

[a] De . . . suam] De ictu uiri mortui in uxorem suam *XQ* [b] renitens *supplied by author N*

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[4] A comparative adverb is here formed from the past participle of *publico:* an example of the freedom with which medieval authors adapted the language to their needs.

These things ought in my opinion to be shunned the more rigorously, the more openly[4] they are done, and the more secretly they are punished by the Lord who knows all.

98. *Rotten Cheese*

Consider, ever happy Augustus, what great defilement comes from the crime of adultery. If anyone has contaminated himself in the night with adulterous intercourse, and makes cheese the next morning from curdled milk, without using salt, he will not be able to preserve what he has made from the corruption of worms even for a single day. If you ask for confirmation of such a great miracle, my answer is that the daily evidence of experience is proof enough.

99. *The Dead Man who Killed his Former Wife*

We know that a jealous concern for an undefiled marriage-bed is nursed not only by the living but also by the dead. In your kingdom of Arles, in the province and county of Aix, there was a nobleman of illustrious family, distinguished character, and high military rank: William de Moustiers. He had married an equally illustrious wife, who was gracious in society, prudent, and chaste. He had children by her, and then the time came for him to die. When expressing his last wish, he enjoined on his wife by her conjugal fidelity that she should not take as a second husband a man whom he had accounted his mortal enemy, adding that if she were to contract a marriage with that man, he would kill her with a salt mortar on which his glance fell. The lady submitted to the life of widowhood he was imposing on her, for her mind was in turmoil with the intensity of her grief, and she was ready to agree to anything.

To cut a long story short, the husband died, and after several years had elapsed, the surviving wife was persuaded, on her friends' advice, to marry the knight who had been her former husband's mortal enemy, whom he had forbidden her to marry. She had not forgotten her promise of fidelity nor the threat which had accompanied it, but after putting up a lengthy resistance, she was pushed into the marriage against her will. When she put forward the threats of the deceased as an objection, her friends replied that the dead have no

ecclesia, contracto matrimonio, domum reducta, ut paulisper cum dominabus consederat, subito clamore prorumpit in hec uerba: 'Heu me miseram, que fidem thori promissam uiolare presumo! Ecce uir meus astat, mortario me perempturus.' Statim in publico tam sollempnis multitudinis conspectu, mortuus mortario erecto dominam excerebrat, et licet erigi uiderent omnes mortarium, a quo tamen erigeretur non est qui agnosceret. Sufficiebant ad percussoris agnitionem uxoris ipsum proclamantis testimonium et mors subsecutiua.[1]

c. *De hospitalitate cuiusdam*[a]

Quicumque uult attendere quantis meritis hospitalitas sit prosequenda, audiat miram rem[b] ac mirandam, uel pocius miraculosam. Erat in regno uestri imperii miles strenuus, hospitalis et largus, ad omnes cum hospitalitate recipiendos expositus, circa familiam bene procurandam curiosus. Cum ad initium ieiunii quadragesimalis, quod uulgus carnipriuium[1] nominant, uentum esset, nec haberet in substantia extenuatus miles quod die saturationis apponeret tante crapulationi sollempniter debitum, secretario[c] suo occulto suasit consilio ut equum[2] optimum quem habebat secreta manu mactaret, et per frustra[d][3] concissum coqueret loco carnis vaccine. Imperatis assecretis[e][4] paruit, et cum in crastino armiger, ex aliunde rediens, equum uellet abstergere ac ut moris est depuluerare, a domino, timente ne proderetur factum esternum, quanto diucius potuit ab ingressu stabuli est quesitis extrinsecis occasionibus prepeditus. Tandem armiger equum audit hynnientem, et accedens, in publicum producit incolumem.[5]

[a] De . . . cuiusdam] De carnipriuio et equo militis *CXQ* [b] rem *supplied by author N* [c] sercetario *N* [d] frusta *I* [e] a secretis *Aβ*

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[1] The fear of ghosts and revenants has given rise to numerous stories of the dead exacting revenge for wrongs done to them by the living: see *MI* E221 and E230. This chapter is discussed briefly by Schmitt, *Les Revenants*, p. 107.

[1] The word *carnipriuium* denotes either (as here) the last day or days of eating meat immediately before Lent, or sometimes the first days of Lent itself.

[2] The eating of horse-flesh was taboo among all the Aryan peoples, and still tends to be regarded with repugnance: see S. Reinach, 'Pourquoi Vercingétorix a renvoyé sa cavalerie d'Alésia', *Revue Celtique*, xxvii (1906), 1–15. Such a taboo underlies the present anecdote, which may be compared with a story from the life of St Moling: the saint was given horse-meat to eat, but transformed it into mutton (J. Vendryes, 'L'épisode du chien ressuscité dans l'hagiographie irlandaise', *Revue Celtique*, xxxv (1914), 360).

power to harm. The lady was married. After the ceremony she was escorted home from the church, and when she had sat for a little while with her ladies, with a sudden scream she broke out in these words: 'Woe is me, who dare to violate the conjugal fidelity I promised! Look, my husband is here, and he is going to kill me with the mortar.' Straightaway, in full view of such a festive company, the dead man raised the mortar and smashed the lady's skull. Although everyone saw the mortar being raised, no one could see who was raising it. But the testimony of his wife's cry and her subsequent death were sufficient to identify her assailant.[1]

100. *A Certain Person's Hospitality*

If anyone wishes to learn what great rewards are to be gained from the practice of hospitality, let him pay heed to a strange and marvellous, or rather miraculous, occurrence. In this kingdom of your empire there was a gallant knight, hospitable and open-handed, ready to welcome all comers as his guests, and careful to provide well for his household. When it came to the beginning of the Lenten fast, the day which people call Mardi Gras,[1] the knight had reduced his store and did not have anything to serve on that day of rich fare, such as is customarily required for so great a feast. So he persuaded his steward in a secret consultation to slaughter the best horse[2] he had, concealing the deed, and to cut it in pieces[3] and cook it in the place of beef. The steward[4] carried out his instructions. Then the next day his squire came back from a journey, and wanted to dry his horse and rub it down, as the custom is. His lord, fearing that the deed of the day before would become known, hindered him for as long as he could from going into the stable, searching for pretexts to keep him outside. After a while, however, the squire heard the horse neighing. He went in to it, and led it out unharmed for all to see.[5]

[3] See *Otia*, ii. 21, n. 30. [4] On the word *assecretis*, see *Otia*, ii. 21, n. 41.

[5] The folklore of every nation abounds in stories of resuscitation: see e.g. Liebrecht, p. 158; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, pp. 184–5 n.; R. Köhler, 'Zu F. Wolf's Proben portugiesischer und catalanischer Volksromanzen', *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, iii (1861), 58–63 and 67–8; F. J. Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Boston, 1882–98), i. 233–42 and 505–6; W. A. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions* (Edinburgh and London, 1887), ii. 407–12 and 497–9; J. A. MacCulloch, *The Childhood of Fiction* (London, 1905), p. 84, n. 2, and p. 101, n. 2; H. Günter, *Die christliche Legend des Abendlandes* (Heidelberg, 1910), p. 83; and Loomis, *White Magic*, pp. 68, 70, and 84–5. The resuscitation is often a reward for hospitality. The present chapter may be compared

Miraculo tanto iungamus urbanum exemplar. Miles quidam in carnipriuio familie sue equam suam dedit loco carnis bouine. Ignorans rem taciti consilii, familia cibatur et saturatur opulentissime. Set et alter miles, eodem usus consilio, die sancto Pasche consimili cibo familiam refecit. Vtrumque post tempora effluxa ad maioris f. 79^{r} domini peruenit | noticiam, nec mora, utroque uocato, dominus solum illum qui in carnipriuio[f] equum coxerat noui equi largitione remunerat; illi qui paschalem sollempnitatem consimili exenio honorauerat, clausit manus. Requisitus dominus quo iudicio pocius remunerasset unum quam alterum, respondit remuneratum instantia tanta coactum ex temporum condicione, quod in crastino[g] nullum habebat locum consilii, uerum qui die paschali equum coxerat, in crastino potuit precedentis diei supplere defectum.

ci. *De baculo putrefacto ex contactu ueneni*[a]

Quecumque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt, ut ex hiis que non uidemus cautiores simus ad ea que uidebimus, aut ex[b] insidiis fortune incidere poterimus. Erat in regno Arelatensi et castro Tarasconensi[c] (ubi Christi hospita Martha,[1] soror Marie et Lazari, requiescit) bubulcus. Hic, cum sulcaret terram aratro, ut moris est, uirgam aculei decorticatam in manu gestabat, et post horam meridianam serpentem inuenit tortuosum et curtum. Suo motu animal ueneniferum multiplicatis ictibus cum baculo seu uirga peremit; statimque uirga nigerrimam contrahit infectionem, et cum infectione putredo baculum occupat, qua iam ad manum per uirgam ascendente, baculus proicitur, statimque totus in[d] putredinem dissolutus confringitur.

[f] carinipriuio *N*   [g] crastinum *β*

[a] De . . . ueneni (ex . . . ueneni *om. I*)] De potentia ueneni *CXQ*   [b] ex *om. XQ*
[c] Terasconensi *NX*   [d] im *N*

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with a popular story of the rewarding of hospitality shown to a saint, which occurs first in Nennius (*Historia Brittonum*, xxxii; cf. *Alphabet of Tales*, ed. M. M. Banks, EETS (OS) cxxvi (1904), 254–5; Plummer, *Bethada Náem n-Érenn*, ii. 125, 145, and 157; *Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore*, ed. W. Stokes (Oxford, 1890), pp. 197 and 228). Similar stories were told in antiquity concerning hospitality offered to gods, e.g. the tale of Baucis and Philemon (Ovid, *Met.* viii. 611–724; see A. S. Hollis's note on this tale in his edition of *Met.* viii (Oxford, 1970), pp. 106–8).

Let us follow such a great miracle with an elegant variation. A certain knight gave his household his own mare instead of beef for Mardi Gras. The household, not realizing what he had done, since he had made the decision without telling anyone, ate and were richly satisfied. Now another knight, resorting to the same expedient, fed his household with like fare on the holy day of Easter. With the passage of time both deeds came to the knowledge of their overlord, and without delay they were both summoned. Their lord compensated with the gift of a new horse only the one who had cooked his horse on Mardi Gras; to the other, who had honoured the feast of Easter with the same offering, he closed his hands. When asked on what criterion he had compensated the one rather than the other, the lord replied that he had compensated the one who had been caught in such an emergency by the circumstances of the season, because he had no need to be provided for the following day; whereas the one who had cooked his horse on Easter Day could have supplied the lack of the preceding day on the day after.

101. *The Staff which Rotted from Contact with Poison*

All that has been written has been written for our instruction, in order that we may learn from things which we do not see to be more prudent with regard to things which we shall see, or shall be liable to be confronted with by the snares of fortune. In the kingdom of Arles, and the town of Tarascon (which is the resting-place of Martha,[1] the sister of Mary and Lazarus, who received Christ in her home), there was a ploughman. Once when this man was furrowing the ground with his plough, he was carrying a peeled switch in his hand, as the custom is, to serve as a goad, and after the midday hour he came upon a short, twisty snake. On impulse he killed the poisonous creature, raining blows on it with his staff or switch. At once the switch contracted a black infection, and along with the infection rottenness permeated the staff. It was already rising through the switch up to his hand, when he threw the staff down; it immediately rotted away completely and disintegrated.

[1] See *Otia*, ii. 10, n. 29, and iii. 85, n. 8.

cii. *De racemis de Rocamaura*[a]

Est in Rodano[b] castrum Rocamaure,[1] cuius corpus[2] ad imperium iure fluuii, territorium ad regnum Francorum iure limitum pertinere arbitrantur.[c] In huius castri territorio sunt botri quos brumestas[d][3] uulgus nominat, grossiores acinos[e] habentes. Hi botri florent ut uinee, producunt racemos, et spem sui cultoris eludunt: cum enim ad festum sancti Iohannis Baptiste peruentum fuerit, omni fructu euanescente, nichil in illis quod ad fructum faciat reperitur.

ciii. *De mortuo qui apparet uirgini et mira dicit et annunciat*[a][1]

Multociens et a multis[b] insultatur, cum penas infernales ante oculos ponimus, quod ea que de altero seculo proponimus friuola sunt, adicientes[2] hec adinuenticia esse. Non ergo credunt quod scriptum legitur, nisi audierint ab aliquo qui uel resurrexerit a mortuis[c] uel uiuentibus appareat post mortem: qualiter enim sciunt qui hec nec uiderunt nec probauerunt? Ad hec respondeo nostri temporis defectum non sustinere ut quadriduani[3] resurgant et annuncient que fiunt f. 79^{v} aput mortuos. Sed et non omnibus mortuis, quibus datur | ut ad nos in apparentia redeant, permittitur prodere que uident, cum et Paulus, in tertium celum raptus, uiderit archana Dei 'que non licet homini loqui'.[4] Sed et Lazarus 'proditor inferni' dicitur, eo quod multa de

[a] De . . . Rocamaura] De botris qui non fructificant *CXQ* [b] Rodano] ripa Rodani *XQ* [c] arbitrantur *ACβ;* arbitratur (*altered from* arbitntur) *N* [d] brumestes *XQ* [e] id est grana *written in margin by author N*

[a] De . . . annunciat] Miracula de uisione mortui et eius responsionibus *CXQ* [b] mltis *N* [c] a mortuis] mortuus *NI*

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[1] The castle of Roquemaure, north of Avignon, was built on a limestone ridge in the middle of the Rhône (Duchesne, *Livre,* p. 169, n. 264).

[2] The expression *corpus castri* denotes the castle alone, as distinct from its external appurtenances (*Dict. of Med. Latin from British Sources,* s.v. *corpus* 9b).

[3] In the *Dict. of Med. Latin from British Sources,* Gervase's *brumesta* is included s.v. *bumasta,* which seems to denote a vine distinguished by the largeness of its grapes; but in none of the other contexts cited are the grapes said to disappear.

[1] This chapter is an important text for the history of the notion of purgatory. It has formed the subject of articles by H. Bresc ('Culture folklorique et théologie: Le revenant de Beaucaire (1211)', *Razo,* viii (1988), 65–74), and P. Cherchi ('Gervase of Tilbury and the Birth of Purgatory', *Medioevo Romanzo,* xiv (1989), 97–110); see also Schmitt, *Les Revenants,* pp. 107–14. In other chapters (i. 17 and ii. 13), Gervase, or his source, seems

102. *The Clusters of Grapes of Roquemaure*

In the Rhône stands the castle of Roquemaure.[1] They judge that the castle itself[2] belongs to the empire, which has rights over the river, while its estate belongs to the kingdom of France, which owns the land-rights. On the estate of this castle there are vines which the people call *brumestae,*[3] producing good fat grapes. These vines flower and produce clusters of grapes as ordinary vines do, but then they cheat their husbandman's expectation: for when it comes to the feast of St John the Baptist, all the fruit vanishes, and nothing which might even grow into fruit is found on them.

103. *The Dead Man who Appeared to a Girl and Spoke to her, Relating Wondrous Things*[1]

It is a common experience with us that, when we paint a picture of the torments of hell, many people pour scorn on us; for they regard what we say about the other world as mere nonsense, even claiming[2] that we have made it all up. This shows that they do not believe what they read in the scriptures, unless they have heard it confirmed by someone who has either risen from the dead or who appears to the living after his death: for how, they say, can people know these things, when they have neither seen them nor had experience of them? My answer to this is that the spiritual weakness of our time does not allow people to rise from the grave after four days[3] and relate the things that happen among the dead. And anyway, not all the dead who are allowed to return to us in a vision are given permission to make known the things they see. Paul, for instance, when he was caught up to the third heaven, saw the secrets of God 'which it is not granted to man to utter'.[4] On the other hand Lazarus is called 'the unveiler of

not to know of purgatory as a distinct realm; here, however, he gives a remarkably long and detailed description of it. Le Goff, in *La Naissance du Purgatoire,* argues that the idea of an autonomous purgatory was 'born' in the second half of the twelfth century; certainly the early thirteenth century was a crucial time for its official acceptance by the Church.

[2] An anacoluthon: the participle *adicientes* is used as if the construction had been 'multi insultant' rather than 'a multis insultatur'.

[3] Cf. John 11: 17; the revenant in the story that follows here returned after 'three or five days'.

[4] Cf. 2 Cor. 12: 2–4. An apocryphal apocalypse, the *Visio sancti Pauli,* written in Greek in the third century, purports to record Paul's experiences when he was 'caught up to the third heaven'. It made its appearance in Latin in the last years of the fourth century, and

statu inferorum scripserit, quamuis aut liber hic non habeatur aut inter apocrifos censeatur.[5] Dicitur ergo 'proditor inferni' non quod omnia que uidit in inferno prodiderit, sed quia ex multis aliqua prodidit,[d] quatenus diuina potentia dispensatiue permisit. Vt autem[e] incredulis et quasi impossibilitate huc post mortem redeundi excusantibus suam non ignoranciam sed contumaciam satisfaciam, rem nouam et inter nos nuper publicatam edisseram; in cuius nouitate mirentur corda, stupeant animi, membra contremiscant!

Erat anno Domini .mccxi., mense Iulii, anno autem pontificatus domini Innocentii tercii tercio decimo, imperii autem uestri anno secundo, in regno Arelatensi, prouincia ac diocesi Arelatensi, castro Belliquadri, puella uirgoque undennis, ciuibus orta probis et copiosis, fidelibus et industriis. Huic consanguineus erat, ex Aptensi ciuitate oriundus, iuuenis in prima adolescentia, inberbis, strenuus, amabilis; et pro quibusdam etatis sue lubrice excessibus exul a patrio solo factus, Belliquadrum ueniens, non sua culpa set alieno infortunio uulneratur ad mortem. Aspiciens mortem, remisit illatam iniuriam, dimisit occisori, et cum sufficiente contritione et confessione sumpto uiatico, diem functus sepultus est.

Post tres aut quinque dies, de nocte lucente lucerna uigilanti puelle, quam admodum in uita dilexerat, apparuit; a qua salutatur et non sine timore, tum propter facilis[f] etatis pusillanimitatem, tum propter id quod naturaliter mortalibus cordibus insitum est, ut mortuos abhorreant et cum trepidatione mentis expectent. Verum sicut mos est hiis qui diuino nutu mouentur, timorem uirginis consolatur, uerbum blande loquens.[g] Ait enim: 'Consanguinea, ne timeas. Nimia enim et pristina ductus affectione ex diuina permis-
f. 80^{r} sione ad te uenio, nec | a me in aliquo noceri posse tibi existimes. Tibi

[d] sed . . . prodidit] *supplied by author N* [e] aut *N* [f] facilis *om.* β
[g] loquens *CI;* loquentis *NAXQ*

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was also translated into Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic. Though largely based on the earlier visions of Peter, Elijah, and Zechariah, by the later Middle Ages it had overtaken all others in popularity: at least ten abbreviated Latin redactions were produced, along with many vernacular versions. It exercised a profound influence over the medieval notions of heaven and hell, and some later visions were directly modelled on it, including the Anglo-Irish *St Patrick's Purgatory* (see T. Wright, *St Patrick's Purgatory* (London, 1844)). For the Latin text, edited in several recensions by T. Silverstein, see *Studies and Documents*, ed. K. and S. Lake, iv (London, 1935); for an English translation, see James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 525–55.

[5] The *Visio Lazari* was perhaps the latest of the apocryphal apocalypses, and it owed much to the *Visio Pauli*. It described what Lazarus saw in hell as narrated by him at the

hell' because he wrote a great deal about the condition of the dead, though this work is either not accepted or is counted among the apocryphal books.[5] He is called 'the unveiler of hell', not because he revealed all the things which he saw in hell, but because out of the many things he saw he revealed some, in so far as the all-powerful divinity granted him permission. But now, with the aim of convincing the incredulous and those who excuse, not their ignorance, but their stubbornness by maintaining the impossibility of returning here after death, I shall relate a strange matter which has recently been made known among us: let hearts be awed, minds be amazed, and limbs tremble at the wonder of it!

It happened in the year of our Lord 1211, in the month of July—the thirteenth year, that is, of the pontificate of the lord Innocent III, and the second year of your imperial rule. In the kingdom of Arles and the province and diocese of Arles, in the town of Beaucaire, there was a young girl of eleven, still a virgin, the daughter of honest and prosperous citizens, who were loyal to the Church, and hard-working. This girl had a cousin who came from the city of Apt, a lad in his first youth, still beardless, a dashing and amiable fellow. He had been exiled from his place of birth for certain transgressions which he had committed in the folly of his youth, and he was on his way to Beaucaire when he was mortally wounded, through no fault of his own, but as a result of a mishap for which he was not responsible. In the face of death, he forgave the injury that had been done him, and sent the man who had killed him on his way; in a proper spirit of repentance he made his confession and received the viaticum, and then died and was buried.

Three or five days later, he appeared in the night to the girl, whom he had loved deeply in life, while she was keeping vigil by the light of a lamp. She greeted him with a certain trepidation, partly because of the timidity of her tender age, and partly because there is an instinct, implanted by nature in the hearts of mortals, to shrink from the dead and respond to their visits in a confused state of mind. But, in the usual way of those who come back by divine consent, he allayed the girl's fear, speaking in gentle tones. He said: 'Cousin, do not be afraid. For I come to you by divine permission, drawn by my old abundant affection for you, and you must not suppose that you can be harmed

house of Simon the Pharisee (cf. John 12: 2), prompted by Simon's doubting of his resurrection. See Max Voigt, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Visionenliteratur im Mittelalter*, Palaestra, cxlvi (Leipzig, 1924), i.

soli mihi[h] loqui permissum est, et per te ad alios responsa mea transfundere.'

Ad hec uirgo loquentem alloquitur: inquirit qualiter,[i] cum mortuus sit, huc aut quo pacto redeat. At ille, statim ut audit nomen mortui, stupet, gemit, et uelut uulneratus a uerbo mortis et attonitus, inquit: 'O dulcissima, numquam uerbum hoc ab ore tuo exeat! Tanta enim est mortis et tam incomparabilis asperitas quod qui semel mortem gustauit nec ipsam uerbi recordacionem sustinere potest quin spiritus in afflictionem quamdam redeat.'

Dum hec inter se uerba mortuus et uirgo conferunt, pater et mater puelle, uigilantes, audiunt uerba uirginis, uocem[j] uero mortui nec audire quidem poterant. Inquirunt a filia quid et cui loquitur.[k] At illa: 'Nonne uidetis', inquit, 'consanguineum meum Guillelmum, pridem defunctum, qui astat et me alloquitur?' Illi ergo,[l] crucis signo preposito,[m] mirantur et stupent, nichil uidentes, solamque loquentem uirginem audientes.

Nec mora recedit mortuus; et demum septimo die, cum pater et mater uirginis pro recensenda memoria defuncti monasterium sancti Michaelis de Ferigulecto,[6] duobus a loco distans miliaribus, adiissent cum uicinis et[n] amicis, circa horam terciam uirgini solitarie in camera paterna stanti mortuus apparet. Visus a uirgine familiariter salutatur, et dum unde ueniat aut quo comite illuc uenerit inquiritur, respondet se in aere mansionem inter spiritus habere, et penas ignis purgatorii sustinere, adiciens priorem et fratres domus[o] sancti Michaelis eum in hoc instanti aqua suauissima et plurimum refrigerante aspersisse, suisque sacrificiis et orationibus maximum illi beneficium contulisse.

Inquirit uirgo ut quis eius sit comes ostendat. Ille ergo ad sinistram quasi post tergum profert diabolum cornutum, tetrum aspectu, horridum, spumantem flammas et spirantem incendia. Virgo, ut moris est Prouincialibus, ad aquam benedictam in camera repositam manum mittens, aspersit diabolum, statimque aspersus euanuit, affirmante mortuo quod maximum illa aque benedicte conspersione consecutus est beneficium et incendii remedium.

Sane de hoc igne dicit Gregorius in *Dialogo* quod [7]corporeus est

[h] mihi *om. N* [i] qualiter *supplied by author N* [j] uocem *supplied by author N*
[k] loquatur *I* (*presumably a scribal correction*) [l] ergo *supplied by author N*
[m] posito *XQ* [n] et *supplied by author* (?) *N* [o] domus *supplied by author N*

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[6] A Benedictine priory between Tarascon and Avignon: see Achard, *Description*, i. 353; Beaunier–Besse, *Abbayes et prieurés*, vii. 141; Cottineau, *Répertoire*, i. 1223.

[7–7] corporeus . . . corporea incorporeum exurat (p. 764)] Cf. Gregory the Great, *Dial.* iv. 30 (ed. Moricca, p. 272 = iv. 29, *PL* lxxvii. 365).

in any way by me. I am allowed to speak to you alone, and to transmit my replies to others through you.'

At this the girl addressed the speaker: she asked how and on what terms he could come back to this world, since he was dead. But he, as soon as he heard the word 'dead', was struck aghast, groaned, and as if hurt and confounded by the mention of death, said: 'My dearest, may this word never cross your lips! For the bitterness of death is so great and so beyond compare that someone who has once tasted death cannot endure even the mention of the word, without his spirit relapsing into considerable torment.'

While the dead man and the girl were exchanging these words, the girl's father and mother, who were awake, heard the girl's words, but could not even hear the dead man's voice. They inquired of their daughter what she was saying and to whom. She said: 'Don't you see my cousin William, who died just recently, but is now standing here and speaking to me?' They then crossed themselves in stunned amazement, seeing nothing, and hearing only the girl speaking.

Thereupon the dead man withdrew, and did not appear again until seven days later, when the girl's father and mother had gone with their friends and neighbours to the monastery of Saint-Michel de Frigolet,[6] a couple of miles from their home, to venerate the memory of the deceased. At about nine o'clock in the morning the dead man appeared to the girl while she was standing in her father's room, all alone. On seeing him, the girl greeted him warmly. She asked him where he had come from, and in whose company he had returned to her. He replied that he had his dwelling in the air among the spirits, and that he was undergoing the torments of the fire of purgatory; he added that at that moment the prior and brothers of the community of Saint-Michel had sprinkled him with water, which was most welcome and brought him much refreshment, and that they had done him enormous good by their masses and prayers.

The girl asked him to show her who his companion was. He brought forward on his left, as if from behind his back, a horned devil of hideous appearance, a frightful creature spitting out flames and breathing fire. The girl, following the custom of the Provençals, flung out her hand to the holy water which was kept in the room, and sprinkled the devil. The moment he was sprinkled he vanished, while the dead man affirmed that he enjoyed the greatest benefit and relief from the fire as a result of that sprinkling of holy water.

Now concerning this fire, Gregory says in his *Dialogues* that [7]it is a quo torquentur spiritus, quia si incorporeus spiritus in hoc corpore teneri potest quod uiuificat, quare non penaliter et ibi teneatur ubi mortificatur? Sicque fit ut res corporea incorporeum exurat.[7] Et sicut unus sol hos magis, illos minus urit, ita unus ignis Gehenne hos magis, illos minus cruciat;[8] semper tamen urit quos urit.[9]

Iam elabente aliquot dierum spatio, fama uiciniam tangit, et moti confines admiracione[p] ac nouitate uirginem uisitant; et ad gestorum auditorumque probacionem, miles de uico sancti Egidii, notus[q] noster ac familiaris, locum accedit. Post alia multa que per os uirgineum ad mortuum transfudit: 'Heus,' inquit, 'uirgo, quere a consanguineo tuo si quis aliquod ei hodie impendit beneficium.' Ad cuius questionem mortuus respondit militem illum duos pro anima sua denarios cuidam pauperi in egressu uille sancti Egidii exhibuisse, quod sibi soli cognitum fuisse miles confitebatur.

Alio die prior Tarasconensis[r] aduenit ut audita rerum ueritate probaret. Cumque uirgini faceret questionem si consanguineum suum pridem uidisset, illa respondit eum[s] statutis et prefixis horis aduenire, adiciens se, dum hec[t] loquebantur, iam aduenientem conspicere. Querit prior: 'Vbinam stat, quid agit, unde uenit,[u] quem comitem ducit?' Virgo respondit quod ad alteram se prior manum mittat, nam pedem eius fere conculcauerat. Questionem proponens uirgo de quesitis, intuetur mortuum ad singula quesita quasi post humerum uerso capite a consiliario, quem ipsa non uidet, responsum[v] expectare. Secreta igitur insinuacione respondit mortuus uirgini se in aere purgatorium pati, sed solito micius; angelum habere comitem. Et cum, rogata a priore ut eum ostendat uirgini, uirgo quereret conspicere, statim producit a dextris hominem albissimum, alis circumseptum, facie splendore infinito choruscantem, cuius nomen esse Michaelem dicit, suum[w] et multarum animarum custodem.

Tandem uirgo proprio motu querit quid sibi uelit quod pridie tam nudus et confractis[x] uestibus apparuit, nunc e diuerso pristinis sit uestimentis indutus. Respondit hec esse uestes suas, quas mater ipsius uirginis pauperibus dederat; quibus antea non poterat indui,

[p] ammiracione *N* [q] notus *supplied by author N* [r] Terrasconensis *N* [s] eum *om. XQ* [t] hec *om. XQ* [u] unde uenit *supplied here by author; also written by scribe after* ducit *and deleted N* [v] ipsum *add. before* responsum *N* [w] sue *β* [x] conflictis *N*

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[8] Cf. Gregory the Great, *Dial.* iv. 45 (ed. Moricca, pp. 302–3 = iv. 43, *PL* lxxvii. 401).

[9] Cf. Gregory the Great, *Dial.* iv. 46 (ed. Moricca, p. 303 = iv. 44, *PL* lxxvii. 401).

corporeal fire by which spirits are tortured, on the grounds that if the incorporeal spirit can be held fast in this body which it vivifies, why should it not also be held fast for punishment in the place where it is mortified? And so it comes about that a corporeal substance burns an incorporeal one.[7] And just as the one sun burns some more and others less, so the one fire of Gehenna tortures some more and others less;[8] those whom it burns, however, it burns all the time.[9]

Within the space of a few days the news spread throughout the vicinity, and people from round about, moved by amazement and by the strangeness of the report, came to see the girl. Among them a good friend of ours, a knight of the town of Saint-Gilles, came to the place, with a view to testing the validity of all that had been done and heard. After putting many other questions to the dead man through the mouth of the girl, he said: 'Now my dear, ask your cousin if anyone has done him a favour today.' In answer to his question the dead man said that the knight himself, on his way out of the town of Saint-Gilles, had given a poor man two silver coins for the sake of his soul; and the knight avowed that that was known to himself alone.

On another day the prior of Tarascon came to test the truth of what he had heard. When he questioned the girl as to whether she had seen her cousin recently, she replied that he came at definite times arranged in advance, adding that, while they were saying these things, she could see him arriving. The prior asked: 'Where is he standing, what is he doing, where has he come from, and what companion has he brought?' The girl answered that the prior should move aside, for he had almost trodden on his foot. While the girl was asking him the prior's questions, she saw the dead man turn his head at each thing he was asked, as if he were looking over his shoulder to receive the answer from an adviser whom she could not see. With this invisible prompting, then, the dead man replied to the girl that he was undergoing purgatory in the air, but was being treated more leniently than was usual; he had an angel for his companion. The prior told the girl to get him to show her the angel, and when the girl asked to see him, he promptly brought forward from his right-hand side a man all in white, enfolded in wings, his face shining with infinite splendour, whose name, he said, was Michael: his guardian, and that of many other souls.

Then the girl asked on her own initiative what it signified that the day before he had appeared so poorly clothed in tattered garments, but now on the contrary he was dressed as he used to be. He replied that these were his own clothes, which the girl's mother had given to

cum nullo beneficio poterat ipsis non distributis adiuuari.[10] Adiecit se penam pati pro cingulo quod cuidam ciui Aptensi non restituerat, dicens se a cinctorio ignis[y] liberari si cingulum illud, in scrinio suo[z] repositum, restitueretur; quod et factum est.

Item querit prior quid ipse egerit dum castrum Belliquadri f. 80v intraret. Respondet[a] quod, uino | porrecto in domo Willelmi Bedocii gramatici, prior ipse prius[b] biberit, cum diu conflictum habuisset ad socios quis prius[c][11] bibiturus esset. Querit si quod ipsi prior bonum contulisset. Respondit maximum sibi remedium illatum ex eo quod missas pro eo cantari fecerat. Querit prior quod summum mortuorum sit adiutorium. Respondit[d] sacrificium in missa. Querit: 'Qualiter nouit[e] que hic aguntur?' Respondit spiritum omnia ad[f] oculum habere, nulloque medio a conspectu arceri; ideoque turpitudines maxime uitandas, quia infinitorum spirituum habent conspectum, et uerecundia infinito testimonio adiuuatur.[g]

Querit si uidet Deum et Beatam Virginem et sanctos et[h] bonos et malos. Respondit quod Deum non[12] uidet, et in conspectu est Beate Virginis; sed lucidius exacto purgatorio ipsum conspiciet, et post iudicium infinita speculacione clarius. Porro Manducator[13] dicit quod[i] sancti et[j] angeli in patria Deum uident ut est, id est sicut eis concessum est pro modo, quia sicut est, id est sic sicut est,[k] non uidit neque uidebit illum aliqua creatura, nec anima Christi, quia Trinitas lux est inaccessibilis omni creature et inattingibilis.

Querit in secreto a uirgine prior de uita sua ac conuersacione. Respondit non expedire priori ut exprimat que intus conscientia sua familiarius ac uerecundius agnouit.

Vno aliquo die, dum in conspectu stat uirginis, ait[l] familiarem suum Willelmum[m] de Agenno migrasse a seculo et transire malis sociis[n] stipatum; et cum requireretur[o] si statim aliud seculum ingrediebatur ad purgatorium, respondit quod quandoque migrances

[y] ignis *supplied here by author; also written by scribe before* a cinctorio *and deleted N* [z] suo *supplied by author N* [a] respondit *Cβ* [b] prius *om. XQ* [c] prior *β* [d] respondit *supplied by author N* [e] nouit *supplied by author N* [f] ad *supplied here by author* (?); *also written by scribe before* omnia *and expunged N* [g] adimatur *N* [h] et *supplied by author N* [i] Porro . . . quod] *om. XQ* [j] et *supplied by author N* [k] id est sic sicut est *om. AXI* [l] ad *add. after* ait *Aβ* [m] Willelmum *N;* filium Willelmi *Aβ;* filium Guillermum *C* [n] sociis *supplied by author N* [o] requiretur *N*

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[10] This constitutes a reversal of the usual folkloric perspective: see C. Lecouteux, *Fantômes et revenants au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1986), p. 228.

[11] The pun on the word *prior* is neater in the MSS derived from β (see apparatus).

[12] Leibniz read *nunc* here (p. 996); there is a certain awkwardness about *non*, but it is the reading of all the MSS collated for this edition.

the poor; he had not been able to wear them before, since he could derive no benefit from them as long as they remained undistributed.[10] He added that he was suffering pain on account of a belt which he had not returned to a certain citizen of Apt; he said that he would be released from a girdle of fire if that belt, which had been left in his chest, were given back; and this was done.

Next the prior asked what he himself had done when he was coming into the town of Beaucaire. The dead man replied that wine had been served in the house of the school teacher, William Bedoch, and that, after engaging in a lengthy dispute with his companions over who was to drink first,[11] the prior himself took the first draught. The prior asked whether he had done him any good, and he replied that he had brought him great relief by having masses sung for him. The prior asked what was the greatest help to the dead; he replied, the sacrifice of the mass. He asked: 'How does he know what is being done on earth?' He replied that a spirit has all things under his glance, and no obstacle can block his vision: shameful deeds should therefore be avoided at all costs, he said, because they are seen by numberless spirits, while modesty is fostered by so many witnesses.

The prior asked whether he could see God, the Blessed Virgin, the saints, and both the good and bad souls. He replied that he could not[12] see God, but the Blessed Virgin was in his sight; when he had completed his spell in purgatory he would see God with a certain degree of clarity, and after the Day of Judgment he would behold him even more distinctly in endless contemplation. In fact the Eater[13] says that in their homeland the saints and angels see God as he is, that is, in the measure in which it is granted to them; for no creature has seen him or ever will see him as he is, that is, as he really is, not even the human soul of Christ, because the Trinity is light inaccessible to every creature, quite out of reach.

The prior entrusted questions to the girl in private concerning his own life and conduct; the dead man replied that it was not in the prior's interests that he should tell him what he already knew well enough, to his shame, in his own conscience.

One day, when the dead man was standing in the girl's presence, he said that his friend William d'Agen had departed this life and was passing on in the company of bad friends. When asked if his friend was going straight into the next world for purification, he replied that

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[13] Cf. Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 173 (*PL* cxcviii. 1631). This is Gervase's only explicit reference to Peter Comestor in the text.

a seculo post diem tercium uel quartum non perueniunt ad locum destinatum. Vt uerbum probetur effectu,[p] curritur ad satis contiguam domum, et illum iam obiisse[q] reperiunt quem dixerat.

Inquisitus per uirginem a uiris litteratis, cum mortis nomen mortui abhorreant, quod nomen sit morti micius imponendum, respondit: 'Migracio a seculo.'

Requisitus ubi sit locus Gehenne, respondit quod infernus[r] sub terra locus est caliginosus, puteus fetidus, horrendus, et illum non ingrediuntur usque[s] post iudicium; uerum dampnati in aliis locis penalibus stant, in pena infernali dampnatoriam et multo duriorem expectantes sententiam.[t] Sic sinus Abrahe locus est iocundus et quietus ubi bonorum spiritus requiescunt, usquequo iudicialis paradisus detur iustificatis ad gloriam.[14] Purgatorius quidem[u] in aere est. Gregorius tamen in *Dialogo*[15] dicit ita:[v] 'Psalmista dicit: "Liberasti animam meam ex inferno inferiori",[16] ut infernus superior in terra, inferior sub terra esse uideatur; et si[w] idcirco[x] infernum dicimus, quia inferius iacet, quo[y] [17] terra a celo est, hoc esse infernus debet inferius a terra.'

Multociens requisitus super hiis que haguntur in hoc seculo aut super futuris, inuitus respondit, dicens non requirendum[z] de huiuscemodi uilibus et transitoriis, asserebatque sibi permissum ut de spiritualibus responderet, non de terrenis, nisi[a] per uices; semperque interrogatus ad consiliarium, quasi post humerum[b] responsum expectans, flectebatur.

Requisitus si omnia terrena illi oneri erant, respondit leuissimam paleam a spiritu sustineri non posse.

Interrogatus si longo tempore huiusmodi colloqutio cum hominibus ei permitteretur, respondit quod non uidebatur ei hoc permittendum ultra id tempus quo ista uirgo maneret.[18] Nempe finito purgatorio, nulla ei cum hominibus huius mundi futura esse uidebatur[c] communio.

Interrogatus cuius licencia huic uirgini apparebat et unde id

[p] effectui *N* [q] obiisse *supplied by author N* [r] inferius *NA* [s] usque *supplied by author N* [t] sententiam *supplied by author N* [u] quidem] quoque *ACβ* [v] ita] terra *X;* in terra *Q; om. I* [w] sic *AXQ* [x] icirco *N* [y] quo *marked //;* quod *written by author in margin, similarly marked // N* [z] inquirendum *ACβ* [a] nisi *supplied by author N* [b] humerum *supplied by author N* [c] uidebatur *supplied by author N*

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[14] Cf. Luke 16: 22; *Otia*, i. 17.

[15] Cf. Gregory the Great, *Dial.* iv. 44 (ed. Moricca, p. 301 = iv. 42, *PL* lxxvii. 400).

sometimes those who depart this life do not reach their allotted place until three or four days later. To find out whether what he had said was true, someone hastened to the house of the man he had named, which was not far away, and found that he had indeed just died.

Learned men asked the revenant through the girl what milder name should be given to death, since the dead abhor the mention of the word, and he replied: 'Departing this life.'

When asked where Gehenna is situated, he replied that hell is a murky place under the earth, a noisome, frightful pit, where nobody goes until after the Day of Judgment. Meanwhile the damned abide in other places of torment, awaiting in infernal suffering their much harder sentence of damnation. Similarly the Bosom of Abraham is a pleasant and peaceful place where the souls of the just rest, until the reward of paradise is granted to those who are justified for glory.[14] Purgatory, he said, is in the air. Concerning hell, however, Gregory speaks as follows in the *Dialogues*:[15] 'The Psalmist says: "You have delivered my soul out of the lower hell";[16] so it seems that there is an upper hell on the earth, and a lower hell under the earth. And if the reason why we call it the nether world is that it lies beneath, hell ought to be as far[17] beneath the earth as the earth is beneath heaven.'

The revenant was asked a great many questions about what was happening or what was going to happen in this world, but he replied reluctantly, saying that it was not good to ask about worthless and transitory things of this kind; and he asserted that he was allowed to answer questions on spiritual matters, but not on earthly ones, except by turns. At every question that was put to him he would turn to his adviser, looking over his shoulder as if awaiting the answer.

When asked if all material things felt heavy to him, he replied that the lightest straw was an unbearable weight to a spirit.

When asked if he would be allowed to converse with people in this way for a long time, he replied that he thought that this would only be permitted for as long as the girl remained a virgin.[18] Certainly when his purification was complete, he believed that he would have no more dealings with the people of this world.

When asked by whose leave he was appearing to this girl and processerat, respondit istam inter omnes consanguineas a se in seculo nostro magis dilectam, ipsumque[d] inter tristis exitus angustias eam fortiter adiurasse ut omnibus modis, si quo pacto id fieri poterat, ad eam rediret, statum suum illi[e] editurus.[f] 'Coactus adiuracione,[g] et licenciam a Deo capiens, ad eam ueni; at ipsa, status mei exploratrix, et nouitatis et mirabilium que non nouit amore, in recessu cotidiano ut redeam me adiurat. Causa uero reditus mei est ut per uerba mea infidelitas non credentium ad fidem conuertatur, et fides credencium ad melius accendatur.'[h]

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[16] Ps. 85 (86): 13.

[17] The author's correction of *quo* to *quod* (see apparatus) reflects a desire to restore the text of Gregory, but by itself it only destroys the sense as it stands. Gregory says: 'quod terra ad coelum est, hoc esse infernus debet ad terram' ('the relation of hell to earth should be the same as that of earth to heaven').

[18] See *Otia*, i. 17, n. 10.

Huic concordat Gregorius in *Dialogo*,[19] dicens: 'Quantum seculum presens[i] propinquat ad finem, tanto futurum seculum ipsa iam propinquitate tangitur, et signis manifestioribus aperitur. Quemadmodum cum nox incipit finiri et dies oriri, ante[j] solis ortum, simul cum luce aliquo modo tenebre permixte sunt, quousque discedentis noctis reliquie in lucem diei subsequentis perfecte uertantur: ita huius mundi finis iam cum futuri seculi exordio permiscetur, atque ipse f. 81r reliquiarum tenebre quadam iam | rerum spiritualium permixtione translucent, quia quasi in quodam mentis crepusculo hec uelut ante solem uidemus.'

Hec hactenus. Nunc ad arciora diuini consilii secreta me transfero. Erat sacerdos, uir equidem peritus in litteratura, bonus, religiosus, ac timens Deum. Hic inter inicia uisionis istius que dicebantur friuola reputans, accessit ad uirginem, per eam ad mortuum uerba transfundens. Rogat ergo uirginem ut apparenti sibi insinuet quatinus, si fieri potest, sacerdoti loquatur, ut non quasi iam per canalem aqua salutaris transeat ad areolas,[20] sed ipse sacerdos uerba responsionis eius absque intermedio excipiat. Quid plura? Petitur: et post moras, impetratur. Hic ergo ad locum condictum ueniens sacerdos arcioribus questionibus inuigilat; et quia nobis plurimum exstitit commendatus et familiaris, questiones nostras illi proponit ut soluat, ex cuius ore sub attestacione et Diuini Nominis obtestacione scripsi que dictito.

Interrogatus respondit se in exitu uite plurimum ac incomparabiliter exhoruisse, et quod tam boni quam mali angeli illi

[d] ipsumque *N* (*correcting* ipsamque), *Q*; ipsamque *ACXI* [e] illi] sibi *N* [f] edicturus *Aβ* [g] aiuracione *N* [h] et fides . . . accendatur] *om.* *XQ* [i] presens *supplied by author N* [j] oriri ante *supplied by author N*

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[19] Cf. Gregory the Great, *Dial.* iv. 43 (ed. Moricca, p. 300 = iv. 41, *PL* lxxvii. 397).

[20] Cf. Augustine, *In Ioannis evangelium tractatus*, v. 15 (*CCSL* xxxvi. 50 = *PL* xxxv. 1422).

whence it had proceeded, he replied that he had loved her in our world above all other women in his family, and that, while he was in the throes of his sad parting from life, she had boldly made him swear that, if it were possible in any way, he would be sure to return to her, to make his condition known to her. 'Constrained by her entreaty, I obtained leave from God and came to her; and every day when I depart she makes me promise to return, wishing to learn all about my condition, and longing to hear of these strange wonders of which she knows nothing. The real reason, though, for my return is the hope that by my words the faithlessness of unbelievers may be turned to faith, and the faith of believers may burn more brightly.'

Gregory supports this in the *Dialogues*[19] when he says: 'The nearer this world comes to its end, the more the world to come makes itself felt, close as it now is, and reveals itself by ever clearer signs. Just as, when the night begins to end and day to dawn, before the rising of the sun, the darkness somehow mingles with the light, until the remnant of the departing night dissolves completely into the light of the succeeding day: even so the end of this world is now merging with the beginning of the world to come, and the very darkness of its last years is already being penetrated with light by a certain infiltration of spiritual elements; for we see things in a kind of twilight of the mind, as before dawn.'

Enough of these matters. I turn now to more abstruse secrets of divine wisdom. There was a priest, a man of advanced learning, upright, pious, and God-fearing. When these visions first began, this man set little store by the things that were being said, but he approached the girl, and conveyed a message through her to the dead man. He asked the girl to suggest to him when he appeared to her that, if it were possible, he should speak directly to the priest, in order that the life-giving water should not be conducted to the garden through a channel,[20] as had been happening so far, but that the priest himself might hear the words of his response without an intermediary. Why draw things out? The request was made: and after some delay, it was granted. This priest therefore came to an agreed place, and set about investigating some more difficult questions. He is a very esteemed and dear friend of ours, and he put our own questions to the dead man for him to answer. I have written the account which follows here on this man's testimony, which he made calling the Divine Name to witness, just as I heard it from his own mouth.

To one question the dead man replied that at the moment of leaving this life he was absolutely terrified beyond all measure, and that both good and bad angels appeared to him, but eventually the

apparuerunt, bonis tandem[k] preualentibus, qui eum in purgatorium duxerunt. Adiecit omnem penam morti esse incomparabilem et inequalem, minimamque purgatorii penam quauis corporali pena esse asperiorem.

Interrogatus respondit quod omnes anime saluande intrant purgatorium preter animas sanctorum, qui[l] statim celum suum intrant, quia in hoc corpore mortali suum[m] egerunt purgatorium. Porro dampnandi non[n] intrant purgatorium, nec infernum inferius usque ad diem iudicii, sed in aere penas sustinent infernales sine omni intermissione. Sed et secundum quod peccata grauiora sunt commissa, purgatorium diucius ac grauius durat. Sane in aere est quoddam celum, in quo sunt sancti, remotum a purgatorio, et illic gaudent omnes sancti et laudes canunt[o] Domino. Interrogatus quas laudes canunt, respondit: 'Illud angelicum, "Gloria in excelsis Deo", et nonnumquam pro uiuis precantur.' Dicit etiam quod anime in purgatorio nonnulle hoc canticum canunt, et quedam, uidentes saluacionem suam uenturam in[p] proximo, inter penas purgatorii gaudent, spe patrie aut[q] glorie ad quam tendunt.

Interrogatus respondit quod omnes animas uidet que sunt in purgatorio, et audit quarundam gemitus, et aliarum[r] gaudium que purgatorium compleuerunt. Et nouit quasdam que sint;[s] alias quas in hoc seculo non nouit, non agnoscit in purgatorio. Penas quoque dampnatorum uidet, sed ipsos dampnatos non nouit.

[t]Gregorius tamen in *Dialogo*[21] dicit quod ex parabola diuitis et Lazari apparet quod boni bonos et[u] mali malos agnoscant, in qua cognicione utrisque cumulus sue retribucionis existit et excrescit; et non solum boni quos hic nouerant agnoscunt, sed etiam quos ante non nouerunt. Quia enim illic omnes cum claritate Deum conspiciunt, quid est quod ibi nesciant, ubi scientem omnia sciunt? Solet etiam egressura[v] anima eos agnoscere cum quibus pro equalitate culparum uel meritorum est in una mansione deputanda.

[k] tamen *CXQ*
[l] que *ACX*
[m] suum *om. N*
[n] non *supplied by author N*
[o] reddunt *XQ*
[p] in *om. N*
[q] et *ACβ*
[r] aliarum *supplied by author N*
[s] sunt *N*
[t–t] Gregorius . . . experto magis consentio (p. 774)] *om. β;* quid est quod ibi nesciant . . . experto magis consentio] *om. N*
[u] et *supplied by author N*
[v] egressura *A and Gregory;* egressa *C*

good ones prevailed, and conducted him to purgatory. He added that there is no suffering equal or comparable to death, and that the slightest pain of purgatory is harsher than any bodily suffering.

Questioned again, he replied that all the souls that are to be saved enter purgatory, except the souls of the saints, for the saints enter their own heaven straightaway, since they have already effected their purification in this mortal body. Further, those who are to be damned do not enter purgatory, or the lower hell until the Day of Judgment, but they undergo infernal punishment in the air without any remission. The duration and harshness of purgatory are in proportion to the gravity of the sins committed. There is a celestial realm in the air in which the saints dwell, far away from purgatory, and there they all rejoice and sing praises to God. When asked what praises they sing, he replied: 'That hymn of the angels, 'Glory to God in the highest', and sometimes they pray for the living.' He also said that a number of the souls in purgatory sing this song, and some, seeing the salvation that is to be theirs hereafter, rejoice amidst the torments of purgatory, in hope of the homeland or the glory towards which they are striving.

To another question he replied that he could see all the souls which were in purgatory, and he could hear the groans of some, and the rejoicing of others who had completed their purification. He knew who some of them were; but others whom he had not known in this world, he did not recognize in purgatory. He could also see the sufferings of the damned, but he did not recognize the damned themselves.

However, Gregory says in the *Dialogues*[21] that it is plain from the parable of the rich man and Lazarus that the good recognize the good and the bad the bad: in this recognition good and bad alike gain their proper reward in ever fuller measure. The good recognize not only those whom they knew in this world, but also those whom they did not know before. For since everyone in that realm sees God with unclouded eyes, what knowledge could they lack there, where they know him who knows everything? Also, a soul that is about to leave the body normally recognizes those with whom, due to their equal faults or merits, it is to share a dwelling-place.

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[21] Cf. Gregory the Great, *Dial.* iv. 34, 36 (ed. Moricca, pp. 278 and 281 = iv. 33, 35, *PL* lxxvii. 373 and 376); cf. Luke 16: 19–31.

Sed et[m] in eodem *Dialogi* libro[22] Gregorius ait quod iustorum perfectorum anime, mox ut huius carnis claustra exeunt, in celestibus sedibus recipiuntur. Vnde Veritas ait: 'Vbicumque fuerit corpus, ibi et aquile';[23] et Paulus: 'Cupio dissolui et esse cum Christo.'[24] Si ergo Christus in celo, et Paulus in celo. Et Apostolus: 'Scimus quoniam si terrestris domus nostra huius habitacionis dissoluatur, quod edificationem habemus ex Deo, domum non manu factam, sed eternam in celis.'[25] Quid ergo crescit eis in iudicio? Respondeo quod tunc corporis beatitudine perfruentur. Similiter impiorum anime in inferno sunt post mortem,[26] sed in quo celo boni et in quo inferno mali ante iudicium, Gregorius non determinat. Ideoque magis experto magis consentio.[l] Item uidet celum et uidet infernum, et stat ubi in uicino utrumque est, ut[x] ex uicinitate sui[y] intendatur gaudium iustorum et tristicia perditorum. Cum uero anime exeunt a corpore, uidet eas uenientes et quo uadunt uidet; non tamen eas agnoscit, quia non nouit illos quorum sunt.

Interrogatus in quo loco[z] habitet, respondit quod mansio eius uicinior est Ierusalem[27] quam loco[a] quo manere solet in seculo.

Interrogatus si sancti omnes habent gloriam plenam, respondit quod quidam habent tantam gloriam quantam possunt ante diem iudicii, alii minus plenam. Nempe beatus Bernardus[b] [28] multum in gloria sua defectum patitur, ex eo quod uolentibus festum concepcionis Beate Virginis sollempnizare non consensit. Vnde Gregorius in *Dialogo*:[29] 'Sunt quorundam iustorum anime que a celesti regno quibusdam adhuc mansionibus differuntur, quia de perfecta iusticia quid minus habuerunt.'[c]

Interrogatus si quandoque requiescunt[d] anime in purgatorio,

[m] et *C; om. A* [x] ut *supplied by author N* [y] sui *supplied by author N* [z] loquo *N* [a] loquo *N* [b] Ieronimus *ACβ;* Ieronimus *expunged*, Bernardus *supplied by author N* [c] habent *XQ* [d] requiescant *AC*

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[22] Cf. Gregory the Great, *Dial.* iv. 26 (ed. Moricca, p. 263 = iv. 25, *PL* lxxvii. 357).

[23] Cf. Matt. 24: 28; Luke 17: 37.

[24] Cf. Phil. 1: 23.

[25] Cf. 2 Cor. 5: 1.

[26] Cf. Gregory the Great, *Dial.* iv. 29 (ed. Moricca, p. 272 = iv. 28, *PL* lxxvii. 365).

[27] The journey of the soul after death began at Jerusalem, the centre of the earth (Ezek. 5: 5; cf. *Otia*, i. 10, n. 25), scene of the crucifixion, and image of the heavenly city (Gal. 4: 26; Rev. 21: 2, 10).

[28] In *N*, *Ieronimus* was expunged, and *B'us* written in the margin by the author; this correction did not, however, find its way into the copies. St Bernard was known to have remonstrated with the canons of Lyons for celebrating the feast of the Immaculate Conception when it did not have Rome's sanction: see *Epistolae*, 174 (458) (*PL* clxxxii.

Also in the same book of the *Dialogues*[22] Gregory says that the souls of the perfectly just are received in their heavenly abodes as soon as they leave the bonds of this flesh. And so the Truth says: 'Wheresoever the body shall be, thither will the eagles also be gathered together';[23] and Paul: 'I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ.'[24] If, then, Christ is in heaven, Paul is in heaven too. The Apostle also says: 'We know, if our earthly house of this habitation be dissolved, that we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in heaven.'[25] How, then, is their happiness increased on the Day of Judgment? My answer is that they will then enjoy to the full the beatitude of the body. In like manner the souls of the wicked are in hell after death;[26] but in which heaven the good are and in which hell the bad before the Day of Judgment, Gregory does not determine. And so I am more inclined to believe the revenant, who has more first-hand knowledge. He can see, he said, both heaven and hell, and he stands within reach of both, so that as a result of his proximity he can contemplate the joy of the just and the bitterness of the lost. In fact when souls leave the body, he sees them approaching and sees where they go; he does not recognize them, however, because he does not know the people whose souls they are.

When asked where he was living, he replied that his dwelling was nearer to Jerusalem[27] than to the place where he used to live in the world.

When asked if all the saints have attained full glory, he replied that some enjoy as much glory as they are able to before the Day of Judgment, while others have less than their full glory. Saint Bernard,[28] for instance, suffers a great lack in his glory, because he did not agree with those who wanted to celebrate the feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin. So too Gregory says in the *Dialogues*:[29] 'There are souls belonging to some of the just which are kept back from the heavenly kingdom in certain interim dwellings, because they fell short of perfect justice in some way.'

When asked if the souls in purgatory ever rest, he replied that

333–6). The reference to Jerome pertains to the letter, *Cogitis me* (*PL* xxx. 122–42), purporting to be by him, but actually a forgery, almost certainly by Paschasius Radbert (died *c.*860); see P. Glorieux, *Pour revaloriser Migne* (Lille, 1952), p. 20. The doctrine gradually gained ground among theologians from the early twelfth century onwards, in the wake of the immense popularity of the feast, especially in England; see R. Southern, *St Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 290–5; H. Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion* (London, 1963–5), i. 178–9, 222–4.

[29] Cf. Gregory the Great, *Dial.* iv. 26 (ed. Moricca, p. 263 = iv. 25, *PL* lxxvii. 356–7).

respondit quod in omni ebdomada a uespera diei sabbati usque in[e] uesperam diei dominice requiescunt a penis,[30] et quando generaliter offertur pro eis sacrificium in missa, omnes quiescunt; cum uero specialiter pro aliqua canitur, illa interim requiem habet integram, alie[f] uero ex generalis beneficii participio remedium habent, sed non in tanta quantitate.

Interrogatus respondit multum prodesse elemosinas, que propter reuerentiam ac memoriam dantur Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, et Beate Virginis, et apostolorum Petri et Pauli.

Interrogatus respondit se Michaelem habere custodem. Cumque
f. 81^{v} uno die rogaretur ut Michael daret benedictionem | suam uirgini et sacerdoci cum quo loquebatur,[g] respondit quod beatus Michael annuit; et cum extenderet manum Michael ad benedicendum, tantus fulgor uirginem percussit quod ipsum intueri uel sustinere sine stupore non potuit.

Interrogatus respondit quod ipse uidit et[h] bonos et malos angelos, et utrosque uidet sua ministeria complere. Et adiecit quod quilibet christianus habet ad[i] custodiam suam bonum angelum, dum tamen est sine mortali peccato: nam dum est in mortali, recedit ab eo bonus angelus et quasi de illo uerecundiam patitur; penitencia uero suscepta, redit ad custodiam.

Interrogatus respondit[j] corporis effigiem quam pretendit corpus non esse nisi aereum, ipsum asserens non posse pati, sed tantum spiritum; neque posse onus quamuis leuissimum sustinere. Inde est quod cum sacerdos illi stolam superponeret, gratum habuit, sed onus impressum sustinere nequiuit, asserens stolam sacerdotalem uinculum esse diaboli.[31]

Interrogatus si in purgatorio est[k] nox, aut dies continuus, respondit quod uicissim dies et nox, uerum nox non est ita[l] obscura ut hic.

Interrogatus respondit summum bonum esse in hoc seculo, post sacrificium et helemosinas, abstinere a mendaciis.

Interrogatus si Iohannes Baptista, qui in utero sanctificatus Dominum exultando sensit,[32] et uerus precursor et propheta Domini,

[e] in] ad *Aβ* [f] alii *NA* [g] cum quo loquebatur *supplied by author N* [h] uidit et *N;* uidet *ACβ* [i] ad *supplied by author N* [j] respondit *supplied by author N* [k] sit *A* (*presumably a scribal correction*) [l] ita *supplied by author N*

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[30] The sabbath rest in purgatory, a common motif in medieval eschatology, is found in the *Visio Pauli* (c. 44), where Paul obtains this mercy from the Lord; it was also a popular Jewish tradition (see Le Goff, *Naissance*, p. 59, n. 1, transl. Goldhammer, p. 380, n. 44).

every week they enjoy a respite from their sufferings from Saturday evening until Sunday evening,[30] and when the sacrifice of the mass is offered for them all together, they all rest; when a mass is sung for one in particular, that one has complete rest for as long as it lasts, while the others gain some relief through sharing in the general good, but not in such full measure.

To another question he replied that alms which are given to honour and commemorate the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and the Blessed Virgin, and the apostles Peter and Paul, are very profitable.

To a further question he replied that he had Michael as his guardian. When one day the request was put to him that Michael should give his blessing to the girl and to the priest with whom he had permission to speak, he replied that the blessed Michael was agreeable. When Michael stretched out his hand to bless them, such a blinding light struck the girl that she could not look at it or endure it without losing her senses.

To another question he replied that he could see the angels, the good ones and the bad ones, and he saw both alike fulfilling their functions. He added that every Christian has a good angel to watch over him, as long, that is, as he is free from mortal sin: for when he is in mortal sin, his good angel withdraws from him and seems to suffer shame on his account; but once he has done penance, his angel returns to his charge.

Questioned again, he replied that the bodily form which he presented was only an aerial body; he said that it was not able to suffer, but only his spirit suffered, and it could not carry any burden, however light. Consequently when the priest tried to put a stole on him, he was grateful, but could not bear the weight which was laid on him; he declared that the priestly stole was a chain of the devil.[31]

When asked whether there is night in purgatory, or whether it is always day, he replied that night and day alternate, but the night is not as dark as it is here.

To another question he replied that the highest good in this world, after the mass and alms-giving, is to refrain from lying.

He was asked whether John the Baptist (who, sanctified in the womb, responded to the Lord by leaping for joy),[32] the true precursor and prophet of the Lord, doubted whether Jesus was the Christ when

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[31] i.e. that the priest had the power to bind the devil with his stole; see Barrière, *Contribution*, p. 110, n. 1179; Schmitt, *Les revenants*, p. 112.

[32] Cf. Luke 1: 41, 44.

dubitauit an Christus hic esset quando misit[m] ad eum discipulos suos ut interrogarent[n] eum: 'Tu, quis es?',[33] respondit Iohannem non dubitasse, sed ad tollendam dubitacionem discipulorum illos misisse.[o]

Interrogatus si mors ac[p] internicio Albiensium[34] Deo placeret, respondit pridem nullum factum regionis illius tantum Deo placuisse; et adiecit quod bonos Deus uult discerni a malis in suo iudicio. Nam et boni per sustinentiam peccauerunt qui per heresim fidem non maculauerunt; qui uero hic cremantur in corpore, post mortem durius[q] cremantur in spiritu.

Accedit ad enarrata mirandum plurimum et memorandum. Cum enim sanctissimi episcopi Aurasicensis Willelmi[35] aduentum mortuus iste plurimum affectaret, et episcopus ille ad capitulum Cisterciense[r] accessurus sui copiam facere non posset, dicto sacerdoti questiones in scriptis misit episcopus, quas ad probacionem ueritatis[s] et ad[t] instructionem excogitauerat. Vno ergo die, cum mortui responsiones sacerdos noster quarumdam questionum audiret, mortuus astantibus inquit: 'Ecce quod episcopus Aurasicensis questiones mittit, quarum soluciones[u] a me petit fieri: et iam ad hostium nuncius est!' Et cum super quibus questiones uerterentur inquiritur, respondit ex ordine questiones. Et dum hec aguntur, nuncius intrat, cedulam questionibus plenam in sacerdotis nostri manus exponens. Mirantur omnes prescienciam, et dum agilitatem spiritus ponderant, dant admiracioni consilium, et questionum exquirunt et accipiunt per ordinem[v] soluciones.[w] Si uis questiones cum solucionibus[x] nosse, recurre quecumque premisimus fere ab illo loco: 'Interrogatus cuius licencia' etc.[36]

Item[y] interrogatus an unicus esset angelus omnium animarum bonarum custos Michael,[37] respondit quod hoc nomen est officii, non persone, nec[z] unius, sed legionis: sunt enim huius nominis omnes

[m] misit *supplied by author N* [n] interrogaret *NX* [o] illos misisse *supplied by author N* [p] aut *NI* [q] diutius *XQ* [r] *sic XQ; altered by author to* Cistercicense *N* [s] ueritatis *supplied here by author; also written by scribe after* instructionem *and deleted N* [t] ad *supplied by author N* [u] solutionem *ACβ* [v] per ordinem *supplied by author N* [w] solutionem *XQ* [x] responsionibus *ACXQ* [y] Item *supplied by author N; om. AQI* [z] non *N*

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[33] Cf. Matt. 11: 2–3; Luke 7: 19–20.

[34] On the Albigensians, see *Otia*, i. 2, n. 4. Innocent III had launched the Albigensian Crusade in 1209; the massacres perpetrated at Béziers (July 1209), Carcassonne (August 1209), and Lavaur (May 1211) would still have been a recent memory in July 1211, the date given for the beginning of these conversations.

[35] The Cistercian William Hélie was appointed bishop of Orange *c.*1205, and died in 1221 (Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*, p. 117).

he sent his disciples to him to ask: 'Who are you?'[33] He replied that John did not doubt, but that it was to remove his disciples' doubt that he sent them.

When asked if the death and extermination of the Albigensians[34] were pleasing to God, he replied that nothing that had ever been done in that region had pleased God so much; and he added that God wants the good to be separated from the bad on his Day of Judgment. Indeed even the good who have not stained their faith with heresy have sinned if they have tolerated it; while those who are burned here in the body are burned more severely after death in the spirit.

Here is a most remarkable and memorable happening to add to all I have said. This dead man expressed an earnest desire that William, the saintly bishop of Orange,[35] should come and see him; but as the bishop was due to attend the Cistercian chapter, he could not present himself in person. However, he sent questions in writing to the priest of whom I have spoken; he had devised these questions with a view to testing the revenant's authenticity and gaining instruction. So one day, when our priest was listening to the dead man's replies to various questions, the latter said to the assembled company: 'See here, the bishop of Orange is sending questions which he wants me to answer: his messenger is even now at the door!' The revenant was asked about the subject matter of the questions, and in response he listed them in order. While this was going on, the messenger came in, and put the document containing all the questions into the hands of our priest. Everyone was amazed at the dead man's foreknowledge, and while they pondered on the spirit's capacities, they brought their powers of judgment to bear on their amazement: they sought answers to the questions, and received them one by one. If you want to know the questions along with their answers, reread what we have said above, just from the point: 'When asked by whose leave', etc.[36]

To continue, when he was asked whether Michael[37] alone was the guardian angel of all good souls, he replied that this was the name of the office, not the person, and not of one angel, but of legion: for all

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[36] See above, pp. 768–9.

[37] Michael the Archangel, as captain of the heavenly host, vanquished Satan and his band (Rev. 12: 7–12), and hence was honoured as the great protector. He plays a prominent part in the apocryphal literature of both the Old and New Testaments, especially in the Book of Enoch and the Testament of Abraham. The cult of St Michael (feast day 29 September) enjoyed great popularity in medieval Europe, particularly in France; see *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel* (Paris, 1971), especially iii. 99–112.

angeli animarum custodes. Interrogatus in uigilia sancti Michaelis, dum questionibus a sacerdote teneretur, quare solito instancius licentiam sibi dari[a] postularet, respondit quod oportebat eum festinare ad instantem sancti Michaelis sollempnitatem, asserens hoc in celis festum esse celebre apud omnes angelos, omnesque archangelos[b] pro huius diei uictoria gloriam[c] et laudes Deo persoluere. Quin immo die isto dicit omnes animas in purgatorio positas quiescere, et custodis sui Michaelis laudibus inseruire.

Quid plura? De futuris interrogatus multa,[d] constanter respondit; sed ea postposui[e] libri nostri contextui interserere, ne uideremur Dei ordinacionem preuenire consilio, uel calumpniatoribus locum aperire. Verumptamen in quibus Deo placeas, aut e contra in quibus Deo[f] displiceas, princeps serenissime, secreta tibi scriptura, sicut ab eo acceptum habeo, per nuntium fidelem transmitto, ut de bona affectione gratuleris, et de sinistra penitencialem meditacionem concipias, et, dum in bonis proficere studebis, mala cauere uel curare festines.

Rem mirandam[g] loquar et usui humanitatis nostre plurimum commodam. Cum huius de quo agitur defuncti auunculus, tum[h] propter inflicta ipsi defuncto mortifera uulnera, de quibus[i] ulcionis occultas parabat insidias, tum propter pristinas et inueteratas inimicicias de longe contractas, inimici[38] eius auunculo et eiusdem filio secretas machinaciones nocendi disposuissent, die precedente circa horam uespertinam, solito serius, mortuus noster apparuit consan-
f. 82r guinee de qua premisimus, predicens quod patri uirginis | et fratri a nominatis hostibus in crastino, circa hostium ecclesie Beate Virginis[39] in Belliquadro site, disponerentur insidie, quibus ordinatum erat ut ambobus uita repentinis ictibus preriperetur. Vt autem nulla nocendi potestas esset hostibus ad opus ducenda, iussit patrem dimensionem capitis in candela cerea beato[j] Willelmo[40] deuoueri, dimensionem

[a] dari *om. XQ* [b] archangelos *β*; angelos *NC* [c] gloriam *supplied by author*; et gloriam *written by scribe after* laudes *and deleted N* [d] multa interrogatus *AI*; plura interrogatus *CXQ* [e] postposuit *N* [f] Deo *om. ACβ* [g] miramdam (*sic*) *supplied by author N* [h] tum *supplied by author N* [i] quibus] questionibus *N* [j] beato *supplied by author N*

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[38] An anacoluthon: Gervase here substitutes the enemies for the dead man's uncle as the subject of the *cum* clause, leaving the uncle without a verb (apart from *parabat*, which is contained within a relative clause).

[39] i.e. Notre-Dame-des-Pommiers.

[40] William of Orange; see *Otia*, i. 23, n. 21. His shrine in the abbey he founded at

the angels who are guardians of souls bear this name. On the eve of the feast of St Michael, when the priest wanted to detain him for questioning, he kept asking with more than his usual urgency to be allowed to go. When asked why, he replied that he had to hurry for the impending solemnity of St Michael. He said that this feast was celebrated in heaven by all the angels, and that all the archangels rendered glory and praise to God for the victory of this day. Moreover, he said, on this day all the souls consigned to purgatory have a rest, and devote themselves to the praises of their own guardian Michael.

What more do I need to say? He was asked many questions about the future, and he was consistent in the way he answered them; but I have decided not to include those matters in the context of our book, lest we should seem to anticipate God's ordinances by our foreknowledge, or to open the way to plotters. However, I am letting you know, most serene Prince, in a sealed letter carried by a reliable messenger, the ways in which you are pleasing to God, and conversely the ways in which you are not, exactly as I received it from him; I do so in the hope that you will be thankful for God's good favour, and adopt a repentant attitude in response to his displeasure, so that, while striving to advance in what is good, you may be quick to shun or correct whatever is bad.

I am going to tell of something remarkable, and well-fitted to be of service to our humanity. The enemies[38] of the uncle of this dead man of whom we are speaking had devised a secret plot to harm the uncle and his son, both on account of the mortal wounds inflicted on the deceased, to avenge which his uncle was preparing a secret ambush, and also on account of an old deep-seated hostility of long standing. But on the day before, at about the hour for vespers—later than usual—our dead man appeared to his cousin, of whom we have spoken above, and warned her that a trap was being laid for the girl's father and brother the next day, by the enemies whom he named, at the door of the church of the Blessed Virgin[39] which stands in Beaucaire, the plan being to take both their lives by a sudden rain of blows. To ensure that their enemies would bring to the engagement no power to harm them, he gave instructions that the father should dedicate himself to the blessed William[40] by offering him a wax candle the size of his head; while another the size of his son's head

Gellone became a centre of pilgrimage, and by the twelfth century the abbey was known as Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert. This story points to the local popularity of his cult.

uero filii beato Benedicto,[41] qui pontem Auinionensem super Rodanum instituit, in cuius medii transitus compendio[42] et ipse sanctus Benedictus sepultus requiescit, loco a castro Belliquadri per octo ferme miliaria distante. Vt ergo premunicionis huius apertissimum induceret argumentum, adiunxit defunctus quod in crastino inuenirent ad ianuas ecclesie memorate inimicos quos ex nomine designauerat armatos, ut longam malorum deliberacionem executione funesta prosequerentur. Adiecit etiam quod unicuique christiano specialis sanctus ad tuicionem est deputatus, quem si quis sciens inuocauerit et deuocione ac[k] oblacione sua honorauerit, profecto in omni periculo positus celere remedium inueniet. Quid ultra? In crastino[l] pater uirginis et frater inimicos condictos ad hostium basillice armatos reperiunt, quibus, per oblaciones sanctissimo Willelmo, fortissimo[m] pro Christo athlete, et piissimo Benedicto premissas, omnis nocendi facultas preclusa fuisse monstratur.[43]

Et quia solet a plurimis non inmerito dubitari utrum uisiones pro sompniis uanis sint reputande, an pocius denuntiaciones[n] diuine per spiritus subtiliter facte sint appellande, audiat lector quit nuper me audiente contigerit. Cum propter instantiam negociorum inquisicionibus sigillatim faciendis a mortuo uacare non possem, iniunxi motum animi mei sacerdoti quem prenotaui, ut ad illum uerba mea transferret. Cum ergo die statuto ad respondendum sacerdos[o] ultra horam[p] prefixam moras faceret, post prandium sompno tentus meridiano, apparuit[q] sacerdoti in spiritu excitator qui eum a sompno eduxit. Eademque hora mortuus, ultra Rodanum apparens uirgini sepius[r] memorate, proposuit sacerdotem diem et locum prefixum non obseruasse. Proponente itaque uirgine quod per[s]

[k] et *Aβ* [l] In crastino *supplied by author N* [m] fortissimo *om. CXQ* [n] diuinationes *CXQ* [o] sacerdos *supplied by author N* [p] horam *supplied by author N* [q] apparut *N* [r] sepius *supplied by author N* [s] quod per *supplied by author N*

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[41] Bénézet was born *c.*1165, probably in Savoy. He spent his boyhood minding his mother's sheep, until one day, during an eclipse of the sun, he heard a voice telling him to go and build a bridge over the Rhône at Avignon. This he duly did: he began the work in 1177; it was well-advanced when he died in 1184, and was completed in 1188. A chapel was built on the bridge, in which his body lay until part of the bridge was washed away in 1669; his relics were then translated to the church of Saint-Didier in Avignon. Gervase here provides the earliest text in which Bénézet is called *sanctus;* his sanctity was not officially recognized until 1321, but he was the object of enthusiastic veneration even before his death; see Colby-Hall, 'Saint Guillaume de Gellone et saint Bénézet', pp. 66–7 and 69.

[42] *Compendium* can mean 'shortness of way', and that seems likely to be the meaning of the word here (lit. 'on the short cut afforded by which crossing, at its mid-way

should be offered to the blessed Bénézet,[41] who built the bridge of Avignon over the Rhône, half-way across[42] which the saint himself lies buried, the place being about eight miles away from the town of Beaucaire. To provide incontrovertible proof of the need for this precaution, the deceased added that on the next day they would find the enemies whom he had identified by name under arms at the doors of the church in question, intending to crown their lengthy plotting of evil with the deadly deed. He said further that a particular saint is assigned to every Christian to protect him, and if anyone, knowing his protector, calls upon him and honours him with the dedication and offering of himself, he will undoubtedly meet with prompt assistance if he finds himself in any danger. Well, what happened? The next day the girl's father and brother found the enemies of whom they had been warned, ready with their weapons at the door of the church; and thanks to the offerings which they had made beforehand to St William, mighty champion of Christ, and the pious Bénézet, their enemies found that every means of doing them harm was barred to them.[43]

Now since many people tend, not unreasonably, to be unsure whether visions are to be accounted as empty dreams, or should rather be called divine pronouncements delicately conveyed through spirits, let the reader hear what happened recently, as I heard it myself. Since I was unable to find the time, due to pressure of business, to put my own questions to the dead man one by one, I entrusted the tenor of my thoughts to the priest of whom I have already spoken, so that he could convey to him what I had to say. On the day that had been fixed for him to give his answers, the priest was tarrying beyond the appointed time, overtaken by a midday nap after lunch, when a vision came to wake him in the spirit, and roused him from his sleep. At the same hour the dead man appeared to the girl of whom we have often spoken, on the other side of the Rhône, and remarked that the priest had not kept the appointed time and place. When the girl accordingly suggested summoning him by sending a

point'). Alternatively, *compendium* may refer to the building which housed the tomb of St Bénézet, in the sense of an 'appurtenance' of the bridge. This meaning is cited from an eighth-century source in Latham's *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, and is taken by Colby-Hall to be the meaning here ('Saint Guillaume de Gellone et saint Bénézet', p. 65, n. 21; see also pp. 68–9).

[43] The invocation of saints was rejected by the Albigensians, but upheld by the Church; the ritual described here, however, contains a strong element of magic. For a detailed study of this passage, see Colby-Hall, 'Saint Guillaume de Gellone et saint Bénézet'. Another story of a saint's protective power is found in *Otia*, iii. 70.

nuncium illum uocando citaret, respondit sacerdotem alio nuncio preuentum. Nec mora sacerdos ingreditur. Accusatus de mora et excusacionem sompniculose grauacionis opponens, adiecit se in spiritu euocatum ut celerius ocurreret occurrenti, quod ab ipso mortuo factum ex eiusdem mortui publicata confessione tam sacerdos quam uirgo cognouit.

Vt agnoscamus quanta sit apud Deum prelatorum nostrorum ligandi soluendique[44] potestas, audi quid sacerdoti respondit, querenti si mortaliter peccauit quia uotiuum soluerat ieiunium, ex licencia cuiusdam consacerdotis,[t] propter instantiam peregrinatiui itineris. Respondit quod ex hoc nullam peccati[u] contraxit maculam, quia tanta est sacerdotis potestas quod[v] subditum soluit a reatu, si non subfuerit[w] penitentis simulacio; et si in soluendo uel ligando preceps aut negligens fuit pastor aut ignorans, ouis crimen non est, sed pastoris.

[x]Accedit ad hec insigne mirandumque signum, quod notum fecit Dominus nostris temporibus, in conspectu gentium reuelando iusticiam suam.[y] [45] Erat comes Raimundus, pater huius comitis Raimundi quem, propter consensum hereticorum Albiensium, Innocencius papa tercius, crebris impulsibus legatorum suorum et ad ultimum cotidianis Francorum insultibus, in cyneres potentie sue exsufflandos induxit.[46] Comes eius, inquam, pater,[47] comitis illustrissimi Raymundi Tholosani uel, ut uulgus ait, comitis sancti Egidii[48] nepos, ex nobili comite Ildefonso[49] genitus, uir quidem in milicia singularis, consilio perspicax, urbanitate precipuus, magnanimitate operosus: hic ab illustrissimo rege Anglorum Henrico[z] uetusto,[a] [50] auo uestro,

[t] sacerdotis *CXQ* [u] peccati *supplied by author N* [v] non *add. after* quod *NA* [w] subfuit *Cβ* [x–x] Accedit . . . de hoste superbo (p. 788)] *This passage forms item 9 of the addenda in I (see Appendix i, p. 849)* [y] suam *om. N* [z] Henrico Anglorum *N* [a] uetusto *supplied by author N*

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[44] Cf. Matt. 16: 19; 18: 18. [45] Cf. Ps. 97 (98): 2 (3).

[46] Raymond VI (born 1156, count of Toulouse 1194–1222) openly protected the Albigensians, and paid no heed to Innocent's legates, one of whom, Peter de Castelnau, was actually murdered (1208). The Albigensian Crusade (cf. n. 34 above) achieved the ruin of the house of Toulouse as well as the extermination of heresy. The date of composition of this passage, which was originally among the addenda attached to β (see above, pp. lxxxiii–lxxxv), was probably between 1215 and 1217, when Raymond's countship had been awarded to Simon de Montfort. However, with Aragonese help, Raymond reoccupied the city of Toulouse (September 1217), withstood a siege by Simon de Montfort (who was killed near the city in June 1218), and regained most of his lands before his sudden death in 1222. On the history of the county of Toulouse, see J.-L. Dejean, *Les comtes de Toulouse, 1050–1250* (revised edn. Paris, 1988).

[47] Raymond V, count of Toulouse 1148–94.

messenger to call him, he replied that the priest had already been visited by another messenger. Straight afterwards the priest came in. Charged with being late, he gave as his excuse that he had been overcome by drowsiness, adding that he had been summoned in the spirit to make haste to his rendezvous. The priest knew as well as the girl that it was the dead man himself who had done this, as he openly admitted.

That we may understand how much power of binding and loosing[44] our prelates have with God, hear the reply he gave to the priest when the latter asked if he was guilty of mortal sin, because he had failed to keep a fast which he had promised by a vow; he had obtained a fellow priest's permission to break it, on the grounds that he was about to go on a journey of pilgrimage. The dead man replied that he had contracted no stain of sin from this, because the power of a priest is so great that he absolves his subject from guilt, as long as there has been no pretence on the part of the penitent; and if a pastor has been hasty, careless, or ignorant in loosing or binding, the fault pertains not to the sheep, but to the shepherd.

There accords with this an outstanding and remarkable sign which the Lord has made known in our times, revealing his justice in the sight of the world.[45] It concerned Count Raymond, the father of the present Count Raymond whose power, on account of his sympathy with the Albigensian heretics, Pope Innocent III has reduced to ashes to be puffed away, by bringing to bear constant pressure from his legates, and finally by daily incursions of the French.[46] The count his father,[47] as I say, who was the grandson of the most illustrious Count Raymond of Toulouse (or the count of Saint-Gilles, as he was commonly called),[48] and the son of the noble Count Alphonse,[49] was a man outstanding in warfare, shrewd in judgment, distinguished for his courtesy, and active in his generosity. He was challenged on many occasions, but never conquered, by the glorious king of England, Henry the elder[50]—your grandfather, most worshipful

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[48] Raymond IV, count of Saint-Gilles, born *c.*1041, was the younger brother of William IV, count of Toulouse; in *c.*1088 William took the cross and sold all his domains to Raymond. In 1105 Raymond also took the cross, leaving the government of his lands to his eldest son Bertrand.

[49] Alphonse-Jourdain, Bertrand's younger brother, succeeded him as count of Toulouse in 1111, when Bertrand went to the Holy Land; Alphonse in turn took the cross in 1148, and left the county to his son Raymond V.

[50] The only daughter of Count William IV of Toulouse had married William IX, duke of Aquitaine, in 1094. Henry II of England, as duke of Aquitaine by his marriage to Eleanor (daughter of William X), tried to enforce a claim to Toulouse. After an

imperator sacratissime,[b] necnon insignissimo comite Barcinonense Raimundo Berengario,[51] regibus[c] compare, comitibus ducibusque maiore, per plurima tempora lacessitus ac semper inuictus, sic omnes suo preuenit consilio quod potenciorum uictorias iminentes eludebat ingenio, et quibus utpote forcioribus resistere non poterat, astucia sua trihumfum surripiebat.

Vno ergo aliquo die, hostilibus incursibus fatigatus, et thesauris f. 82v exhaustis quibus | auxiliarios suos solitus est stipendiare, monasterium sancti Egidii[52] uelut pro emendicato suffragio occupat, et oblaciones quas pia fidelium[d] peregrinancium deuocio congerebat inuadit. Tam atrocibus sacrilegiis ecclesiastica uindicta succedit, et comes propter suam contumaciam anathemati supponitur.

Dum hec aguntur, abbas Boneuallis,[53] ordinis Cisterciensis[e] subiectus, Viennensis prouincie stacionarius,[f][54] uir equidem summe perfecteque religionis, uillam sancti Egidii ingreditur ut comitem[g] increpet, arguat,[55] et ad uiam emendacioris uite reducat. Mane facto, post misse celebracionem uir sanctus, sacerdotalibus indutus ornamentis, pro foribus ecclesie[56] populo occurrenti predicaturus se optulit. Comite secus pedes eius sedente, astantibus proceribus militaribus popularibusque personis, abbas, manu silencium indicens, omeliam aggreditur, sumpto exordio ab illo simboli apostolici articulo: 'Credo sanctorum communionem.' Stupente clero de tanta sinceritate uiri ac facundia, prorupit declamator sanctus ad insinuandam communionis ecclesiastice dignitatem ac beneficium, et excommunicacionis penam et incommodum; sicut enim, dum in corpore columbe[57] queuis plumula[h] per inherentiam perseuerat,

[b] sacratissime *supplied by author N* [c] regibus *supplied by author N*
[d] fidelium *supplied by author N* [e] ordini Cisterciensi *AXQ* [f] stagionarius *X*
[g] comitem *supplied by author N* [h] plumula *supplied by author N*

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unsuccessful campaign in 1159, Henry continued to exert pressure on Raymond, until eventually in 1173 he limited his claim to one of suzerainty, and Raymond did homage. But further strife erupted when Raymond supported the Young King and Geoffrey in their revolt of 1182–3. Subsequently Raymond had to contend with the hostility of Henry's son Richard as well.

[51] Raymond also engaged in a long struggle for power with the counts of Barcelona, Raymond-Berengar IV (1131–62) and Alfonso II (1162–96), who were also kings of Aragon as a result of Raymond-Berengar's marriage with Petronilla in 1150.

[52] The great Benedictine abbey and pilgrimage centre founded by St Gilles in the eighth century (Cottineau, *Répertoire*, ii. 2716–7). There is no evidence that the abbey had any complaints against the count of Toulouse before 1195, by which time the count was Raymond VI. He was excommunicated in that year for ignoring Pope Celestine III's remonstrances, when the monks complained that he had destroyed several churches belonging to them, pillaged their domains, and built a castle on their land against their

Emperor—and also by the celebrated count of Barcelona, Raymond-Berengar,[51] who was the equal of kings, greater than all other counts or dukes. Count Raymond showed such skill in anticipating everyone else's moves that by his cleverness he fended off the imminent victories of his more powerful enemies, and by his adroitness he stole the triumph from those whose superior strength he was unable to resist.

One day, then, when he was worn out by enemy attacks, and had exhausted the funds with which he was in the habit of paying his auxiliary troops, he took possession of the monastery of Saint-Gilles[52] as if he were responding to an appeal for help, and seized the offerings which the pious devotion of faithful pilgrims had amassed there. The Church's punishment followed on such a dreadful act of sacrilege, and the count was excommunicated for his effrontery.

At the time of these events the abbot of Bonnevaux,[53] a member of the Cistercian Order with authority over[54] the province of Vienne, truly a man of the highest religious perfection, came to the town of Saint-Gilles to reprove and censure[55] the count, and to lead him back to the path of a reformed life. When morning came the holy man celebrated mass, and then, arrayed in his priestly vestments, took up his position in front of the church doors[56] to preach to the people gathered before him. With the count sitting at his feet and the noble knights and leading citizens standing by, the abbot imposed silence with a gesture; he then embarked on his homily, taking as his starting-point the article of the Apostles' Creed: 'I believe in the communion of saints.' While his fellow-clergy marvelled at the man's great sincerity and eloquence, the holy preacher launched into a proclamation of the value and privilege of communion with the church, and the suffering and loss involved in excommunication; for just as, while any little feather remains attached to the body of a dove,[57] it is

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wishes. They lodged a further complaint about the castle three years later (de Vic-Vaissete, *Histoire*, vi. 171 and 187–8, vii. 141, viii. 436–8).

[53] Bonnevaux was a Cistercian abbey on the Valèze, founded in 1117 (L. Janauschek, *Originum Cist.* i (Vienna, 1877), 7; *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ii. 431). The abbot in question is Hugh II de Château-Neuf, abbot of Bonnevaux 1171–83 (*Gallia Christiana*, xvi. 209–10).

[54] It may be that *stationarius* means simply 'resident', but it seems more likely that the term implies some sort of appointment.

[55] Cf. 2 Tim. 4: 2.

[56] R. Hamann, *Deutsche und französische Kunst im Mittelalter* (Marburg, 1923), pp. 1–9, discusses and illustrates the church doors of Saint-Gilles. See also M. C. Maguelone, 'Les ports de Saint-Gilles au moyen âge', *Cahiers d'études cathares*, xxxiii (1982), 42–60 and xxxiv (1983), 15–38, 43–65, and 77–9.

[57] Cf. *Otia*, i. 24, n. 18.

omni cibario per os columbe transumpto, sustentatur ac alitur, que si decerpitur a corpore arescit et putrescit, omni carens nutrimento: ita quelibet anima, dum in gremio persistit ecclesie, omni cibo sacrificii, psalmorum, ac elemosinarum, atque bonorum operum, uniuersitatis ecclesiastice per participium coalescit, que cum anathemate separatur a communione ecclesie putresit, diabolo tradita et ab omni bonorum consorcio segregata.

Vt ergo populo lapidei cordis satisfaciat et corda carnea manifestius tangat,[58] precipit abbas confratri ut panem calidum atque recentem[i] afferat. Paret frater imperanti, et allatum in publico panem deliciosa manu confectum de grano purissimo, populo exponit,[j] ostendens quante panis sit uirtutis, quante fragrancie, quam splendidi saporis. Hunc igitur excommunicacioni subicit, ipsi maledictionis ingeminans uerba, ac si reus esset cuiusuis dampnati facinoris. Completa anathematis sollempnitate, panem frangit, et statim ex fragmentis fetor incomparabilis prorumpit; quin immo panis ante uisa dulcedo ac species in cineres soluuntur ac putredinem interiorem.

Quid moror? Iterum panem, sic corruptum ac fetidum, quasi penitentem flagellat et aqua benedicta perfundit. Facta sollempni absolutionis[k] benedictione, reconciliat: et statim panis, a gremio matris ecclesie uelut lotus prodiens, pristinum decorem atque saporem recipit. Stupet comes sancti Egidii, stat populus tanta miraculorum[l] nouitate attonitus, tactusque comes interius igne diuini luminis, ad pedes sanctissimi Hugonis abbatis[m] Boneuallensis prostratus, lacrimas fundit, sacrilegium ceptum dissoluit, rapta restituit, et, accepta penitencia, per manum sancti uiri communionem recipit sancte matris ecclesie.[59]

Ecce, princeps sacratissime, quanta cautela bono christiano est necessaria, ne in laqueum cadat diaboli, ne sua culpa consorcium amittat communionis sancte, cuius confederacione fortis est ad pugnam et trihumphator de[n] hoste superbo.[x] [60]

[i] atque recentem *supplied by author N* [j] exponit *supplied by author N*
[k] absolutionis *supplied by author N* [l] miraculorum *supplied by author N*
[m] abbatis *supplied by author N* [n] de *supplied by author N*

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[58] Cf. Ezek. 11: 19, 36: 26.

[59] This miracle also forms the theme of one of Étienne de Bourbon's *exempla*, but there the story is told of Raymond VI (*Anecdotes*, no. 308, pp. 259–60).

supported and nourished, taking all its sustenance through the dove's mouth, but if plucked from the body it withers and rots, deprived of all nourishment: even so, any soul, while it remains in the Church's bosom, grows strong by its participation in the whole body of the Church, with all the sustenance of the mass, the psalms, alms-giving, and good works; but when it is cut off by anathema from communion with the Church, handed over to the devil and excluded from all fellowship with good people, it rots away.

Then, in order to reach the stony-hearted people and to touch their hearts of flesh more directly,[58] the abbot ordered a monk to bring him a warm, fresh loaf of bread. The brother obeyed his command, and brought before the crowd a loaf made from the purest wheat by an expert hand. The abbot displayed it to the people, showing how much goodness there was in the bread, what a sweet smell it had, and what a delicious taste. Then he subjected this bread to excommunication, reciting over it the words of the curse, as if it were guilty of some damnable crime. Having completed the rite of excommunication, he broke the bread, and at once an unimaginable stench erupted from the fragments; moreover, the sweetness and appetizing appearance of the bread, seen a moment before, crumbled away into ashes and rottenness within.

What need to draw out my story? Next he scourged the bread, bad and stinking as it was, as if it were penitent, and sprinkled it with holy water. Then, pronouncing the solemn blessing of absolution, he reconciled it: and immediately, proceeding from the bosom of our mother the Church as if it had been washed, the bread recovered its former fine appearance and taste. The count of Saint-Gilles was astounded, and the people stood gaping at such remarkable miracles. Touched inwardly by a blaze of divine light, the count fell at the feet of the holy Hugh, abbot of Bonnevaux, and wept; he repudiated the sacrilege he had committed, restored what he had stolen, and, after doing penance, received at the holy man's hand the communion of our holy mother the Church.[59]

So you see, most worshipful Prince, how much care a good Christian must take not to fall into the devil's snare, lest he should by his own fault be deprived of the privilege of partaking of holy communion; for only as a party to this covenant is he strong for the fight and victorious over his proud Enemy.[60]

[60] This is no idle admonition: Otto himself was under excommunication from 1210 (see above, p. xxxii).

civ. *De pullo strutionis et uase uitreo*[a]

Quantum fuit[b] Salomonis ingenium dum meditor, nullam subtilitatis eius potentiam inuenio[c] preter sapientiam ex solo Dei munere secreta quadam inspiracione uenientem. Inter preclara eius artificia legimus quod [1]Biblos est ciuitas Fenicis, de qua dicit Ezechiel: 'Senes Biblii et prudentes eius'.[2] Biblios ergo elegit Salomon ad sculpenda et polienda marmora[d] et ligna edificacionis templi.[3] Tradunt autem Iudei ad[e] celerius eruderandos lapides Salomonem habuisse sanguinem uermiculi, quem dicunt *tanir*,[f] quo conspersa marmora facile secabantur. Huius autem rei repertorium hoc fuit. Erat Salomoni structio habens pullum, et cum conclusisset[g] pullum in uase uitreo, strucio, uidens pullum nec eum potens habere, de deserto tulit uermiculum, cuius sanguine liniuit uitrum:[h] ita sectum[i] est. Videns autem Salomon cacumen montis Moria[4] angustum, deiecit illud et in aream spaciis amplioribus diffudit.[1]

f. 83^{r} Sane temporibus nostris, sub papa | Alexandro tercio, dum puer eram,[5] inuenta est Rome[j] fiala plena liquore lacteo, quo conspersa omnia[k] lapidum genera sculpturam talem recipiebant qualem manus insculpere uolentis protrahebat. Erat autem fiala ex antiquissimo palacio elicita, cuius materiam aut artificium populus Romanus admirabatur.

cv. *De arbore ex*[a] *qua lignum Domini*[b]

Traditio Grecorum habet quod de arbore illa in cuius fructu peccauit Adam, ramus fuit translatus in Ierusalem; qui in tantam excreuit

[a] uase uitreo] ingenio Salomonis *CXQ* [b] fuerit *Cβ* [c] inuenio potentiam *N* [d] marmorea *N* [e] ad *supplied here by author; also written by scribe after* celerius *and deleted N* [f] tamir *Comestor* [g] cumclusisset (cum- *supplied by author, correcting* ex-) *N* [h] liniuit uitrum] uitrum liniuit et *ACβ* [i] fractum *Comestor* [j] Rome *supplied by author N* [k] omnium *CXQ*

[a] ex *supplied by author N* [b] De . . . Domini] De ligno paradisi et cruce Domini *CXQ*

[1–1] Biblos . . . spaciis amplioribus diffudit] Cf. Comestor, *III Reg.*, c. 8 (*PL* cxcviii. 1353–4); see Liebrecht (pp. 158–9) for a number of variants of the story. Duchesne (*Livre*, p. 170, n. 296) draws attention to the fact that the use of implements made of iron was forbidden in the building of the temple, because of the association of iron with weapons of war (*Middot*, 3.4: see *The Mishnah*, transl. J. Neusner (New Haven, 1988), pp. 878–9);

104. *The Ostrich's Chick and the Glass Jar*

When I reflect on the greatness of Solomon's genius, I conclude that his powerful insight must represent the wisdom which only comes as a gift of God, by some mysterious inspiration. The following is just one of his extraordinary feats. We read that [1]Gebal is a city of Phoenicia; Ezekiel says of it: 'The ancients of Gebal and the wise men thereof'.[2] Solomon therefore chose men of Gebal to carve and polish the marble and wood used in the building of the temple.[3] Now, according to a Jewish tradition, Solomon kept the blood of a worm, which they call *tamir*, for shaping the stones more quickly, since marble which had been sprinkled with this blood was easy to cut. The manner of discovering this fact was as follows. Solomon had an ostrich with a chick, and he shut the chick inside a glass jar. Its mother, seeing her offspring but not being able to get at it, brought a worm from the desert and daubed the glass with its blood: by this means the glass was cut. Solomon, moreover, seeing how narrow Mount Moriah[4] was at the top, hurled down the peak, and levelled out a building space of more ample dimensions.[1]

In our times, during the papacy of Alexander III, when I was a boy,[5] a phial was found at Rome full of a milky liquid: when stones of any kind had been sprinkled with this liquid, they allowed themselves to be carved just as the hand of the person trying to work them intended. The phial had been unearthed in a very ancient palace; its materials and workmanship aroused the wonder of the Roman people.

105. *The Tree from which Came the Lord's Cross*

A tradition of the Greeks has it that from the tree whose fruit gave rise to Adam's sin, a branch was brought to Jerusalem; this branch grew into such a large tree that the Lord's cross was made from it.

hence the need for this worm's blood. For the belief in Solomon's magical powers, see *Otia*, i. 20, n. 43.

[2] Cf. Ezek. 27: 9

[3] Cf. 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 5: 18.

[4] Solomon built the temple on Mount Moriah (2 Chr. 3: 1), where David had built an altar on the threshing-floor (*area*) of Ornan (or Araunah) the Jebusite (2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 24: 18–25).

[5] See above, pp. xxv–xxvi.

arborem quod de illa facta est crux Domini, ut in eodem ligno repararetur quo perditum fuit genus humanum.[1]

cvi. *Vrbanum principi responsum*[a, b]

Vt polimita tunica Ioseph[1] plus deliciarum habeat, audi, princeps sacratissime, urbanitatis responsum. [2]Cum post Ptholomeum in Egypto regnaret Filadelfus, uir studiosus et librorum cupidus, peciit ab Eleazaro, sacerdote in Iudea, sibi mitti legem Dei ore editam et digito eius[c] scriptam;[3] et ad hoc[d] facilius digniusque habendum, liberauit captiuos[e] Iudeos centum .xx. milia, dans dominis eorum pro capite .cxx. dragmas argenti. Cumque dixisset rex hoc magnum esse, dixerunt: 'Hoc quidem[f] magnum est, sed non regi munifico.'[2] O urbana responsio, que utinam corda legentium tangat!

Audi urbano uerbo iunctam mirandam et miraculosam memoriam. [4]Cum[g] enim Eleazarus ex singulis tribubus sex[h] [5] uiros misisset[i] Filadelfo, qui septuaginta interpretes dicuntur, duobus ex numero crescente non numeratis, secundum morem scripture, que modicum numerum excrescentem in[j] magna summa subticet,[4] more potentum qui ad perfectionem magne quantitatis in calculo modicam summam pretereunt,[k] [6]ipsi regem de agnicione unius Dei instruxerunt, plenius disputando de uno Deo colendo, et quod nulla creatura esset Deus. Inde est quod ubicumque occurrit eis aliquis de Trinitate sermo, uel sub silentio transierunt, uel sub enigmate transtulerunt, ne tres deos colendos tradidisse uiderentur; similiter de incarnatione[l] Verbi

[a] responsum *supplied by author N* [b] Vrbanum principi (principis *AI*) responsum] Mirum de concordia .lxx. interpretum *CXQ* [c] suo *N* [d] hoc *supplied by author N* [e] captiuos *om. N* [f] Hoc quidem] Quidem hoc *X;* quod hoc *CQ* [g] cum *supplied by author N* [h] sex *Comestor;* duos (*supplied by author*) *N, ACβ* [i] misisset *supplied by author N* [j] in *supplied by author N* [k] pretereunt *CI;* preterit *NA;* preteriit *XQ* [l] incarnatione *supplied by author N*

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[1] Gervase is the earliest known author to assert that the cross was derived from the tree of knowledge: cf. *Otia*, iii. 54, n. 1.

[1] Cf. Gen. 37: 3, 32.

[2–2] Cum . . . non regi munifico.'] Cf. Comestor, *Esther*, c. 7 (*PL* cxcviii. 1499); Gervase substantially abbreviates his source. Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–46 BC) succeeded Ptolemy son of Lagus, who had acquired the kingdom of Egypt on the dismantling of Alexander's empire. The so-called *Letter of Aristeas*, a Hellenistic Jewish apologetic treatise composed at Alexandria in the second century BC, describes how Philadelphus released the Jewish captives which his father had taken, and petitioned the Jewish high priest, Eleazar, for a Greek translation of the Pentateuch; Eleazar despatched seventy-two elders to Alexandria,

This was in order that the human race might be restored on the same tree by which it was lost.[1]

106. *A Witty Rejoinder to a Prince*

In order that Joseph's coat of many colours[1] may charm the more, hear, most worshipful Prince, a rejoinder which displayed a nice wit. [2]When Philadelphus, a studious and book-loving man, had succeeded Ptolemy as king of Egypt, he requested of Eleazar, the high priest in Judaea, that the Law should be sent to him, as it had been proclaimed by the mouth of God and written with his finger.[3] And in order to gain this the more easily and deservedly, he released 120,000 Jewish captives, giving their masters 120 silver drachmas per head. When the king commented that it was a great thing that he had done, they said: 'It is a great thing indeed, but not to a munificent king.'[2] Oh, what a nice rejoinder! Would that it might touch the hearts of my readers!

Hear this story of a wonderful miracle which is associated with that well-turned remark. [4]Eleazar sent six[5] men from each tribe to Philadelphus. They are known as the seventy translators: the two extra ones were not counted, in accordance with the practice of scripture, which does not mention a few extra over and above a large round number;[4] wealthy people do the same in their calculations, passing over a small sum in order to round off a large amount. [6]These men instructed the king in the knowledge of the one God, laying particular emphasis on the necessity of worshipping God alone, and on the fact that no creature was God. As a result, whenever they were confronted with some mention of the Trinity, they either passed over it in silence, or translated it obscurely, lest they should seem to have presented three gods to be worshipped; in like manner they remained silent concerning the incarnation of the Word, or expressed only a

who duly performed this task. For an English translation and commentary, see Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii. 83–122. The idea that the elders worked separately but produced identical translations (see below) seems first to have been added to the story in the anonymous *Cohortatio ad Graecos* (Charles, ii. 92); in the later tradition, also, the elders translated the whole of the Old Testament. The legend was frequently reproduced by Jews and Christians alike: for a collection of *testimonia* up to Isidore of Seville, see P. Wendland, *Aristeae ad Philocratem Epistula* (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 85–166.

[3] Cf. Exod. 31: 18.

[4–4] Cum . . . magna summa subticet] Cf. Comestor, *Esther*, c. 7 (*PL* cxcviii. 1500).

[5] The scribe of *N* omitted the Comestor's *sex*, and the author incorrectly supplied *duos;* the mistake persisted in the copies.

[6–6] ipsi . . . tradidisse hominem deificatum (p. 794)] Cf. Comestor, loc. cit.

tacuerunt, aut minus expresserunt. Vnde in Esaia,[7] cum dixisset puerum nobis nasciturum et addidit sex nomina, quorum unum est 'Deus', pro illis sex nominibus transtulerunt 'magni consilii angelus', ne uiderentur tradidisse hominem deificatum.[6]

Et ecce mirum: [8]cum enim, datis singulis cellis, diluculo egressi ad optandum regi bona et polichronitudinem[m][9] (id est diuturnitatem annorum, sicut fit pape, cum ei proclamatur 'Multos annos!'), loti ad mare secundum purificacionem Iudeorum, interpretabantur usque ad horam nonam, inde transeuntes ad cibum et ad[n] requiem; et consummato opere in septuaginta duobus diebus, una et eadem inuenta est singulorum edicio, sine collatione concors, et sine omni dissonantia eadem. Quod uix alibi legimus, preter id quod de Esdra[o][10] legitur, qui per Spiritum[p] Sanctum legem reparauit, quam postea cum[q] ueteri scriptura que apud Samaritanos erat correxit.[8] Sic in *Passione Domini*,[11] quam Nicodemus Ebraice dictauit et Eneas[12] Ebreus transtulit in Grecum, Carinus et Leucius, qui apparuerunt Iudeis in resurrectione sanctorum qui dormierant[r] et uisi sunt ingredi in sanctam ciuitatem, singulis thomis,[s] id est cartulis, seriem passionis et resurrectionis, diuisi per loca, uelut uno ore dictauerunt.

cvii. *De mirabilibus que sunt ubi quinque ciuitates sunt submerse*[a, b]

Propter peccata populi quinque ciuitatum[c] Sodomorum, [1]uersa est tota regio illa in lacum salsum et sterilem, qui dicitur mare Mortuum,

[m] polichronitudinem *Comestor;* policritudinem *N;* pulcritudinem *ACβ* [n] ad *om. ACβ and Comestor* [o] Esdra *supplied by author N* [p] Spiritum *om. CXQ* [q] cum] in *CXQ* [r] dormierunt *CXQ* [s] thomis *supplied by author N*

[a] sunt submerse *supplied by author N* [b] que . . . submerse] terre Pentapolis *C*, terre Pentapolis que est Sodomorum *XQ* [c] ciuitatum *ed.;* ciuitates *MSS*

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[7] Isa. 9: 6, where the LXX has *Μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος*; cf. the Vulgate: 'Admirabilis, Consiliarius, Deus, Fortis, Pater futuri saeculi, Princeps pacis.' Deliberate mistakes had to be postulated in the LXX to protect its reputation for having been directly inspired.

[8–8] cum . . . Samaritanos erat correxit] Cf. Comestor, *Esther*, c. 7 (*PL* cxcviii. 1500–1); the words in parentheses were added by Gervase.

[9] The scribe of *N*, or another before him, corrupted the Comestor's *polichronitudinem* to *policritudinem;* thence a baffled copyist produced *pulcritudinem*, which appears in the other MSS. The word is derived from *πολυχρονιότης*, 'longevity'; in Additio 3 (*PL* cxcviii. 1501) the Comestor elaborates: 'Polichronitudo dicitur oratio, quae fit ab Ecclesia pro regibus, pontificibus, principibus terrae, et optat eis bona spiritualia, et temporalia, et aeterna, et temporis longitudinem' ('Polychronitude is the word for the prayer which is made by the Church on behalf of kings, bishops, and the princes of the earth, seeking their spiritual, temporal, and eternal well-being, and length of life'). On the papal *laudes*, see E. H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, University of California Publications in History, xxxiii (Berkeley, 1958), 129–42.

[10] The apocryphal book, 4 Esdras, also known as the *Apocalypse of Ezra*, was well-known in the first Christian centuries, and was frequently quoted by the Fathers. It is a Jewish work of composite character, first published *c.*120 AD. In chapter 14 Ezra is said to have restored from memory all the books of the O.T., which were believed to have perished during the exile (Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii. 623–4).

part of the meaning. Accordingly in Isaiah,[7] when, having said that a child would be born to us, he added six names, one of which is 'God', they translated those six names as 'an angel of great counsel', lest they should seem to have presented a deified human being.[6]

Now here is the marvel: [8]separate cells were allocated to all the translators, and after going out at dawn to pray for the king's prosperity and polychronitude[9] (that is, length of years, just as is done for the pope, when the cry 'Many years!' is raised for him), having washed on the sea-shore, in accordance with the Jewish rites of purification, they would work at their translation until three o'clock; then they would go for a meal and take their rest. The work was completed in seventy-two days, and the version that each had produced was found to be one and the same: though there had been no collation, their translations were all identical, corresponding without a single discrepancy. We read of hardly any other instances of this, apart from what is read of Ezra,[10] who restored the Law at the prompting of the Holy Spirit, and subsequently corrected it from the Old Testament which had been preserved among the Samaritans.[8] A similar thing is told of Carinus and Leucius in *The Passion of the Lord*,[11] which Nicodemus composed in Hebrew and Aeneas[12] the Hebrew translated into Greek; these two, who appeared to the Jews and were seen entering the holy city, at the time when the saints who had fallen asleep rose from the dead, wrote the story of the passion and resurrection on separate leaves, that is, pieces of paper, telling it as if with one voice, even though they were in different places.

107. *The Marvels which Occur where the Five Cities were Submerged*

On account of the sins of the population of the five cities of the Sodomites, [1]that whole region was turned into a salty and barren lake. It is called the Dead Sea, because neither birds nor fish can live in it.

[11] According to the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, cc. 17–27, Carinus and Leucius, the sons of Symeon, rose from the dead and wrote identical accounts of Christ's harrowing of hell.

[12] The translator names himself as Ananias in the Prologue of the Greek version of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, but appears as Aeneas in the Coptic version (James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 95).

[1–1] uersa . . . filii Israel uagabantur (p. 796)] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 53 and Additio 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1101); Isidore, *Etym.* xiii. 19. 3–4; Gen. 19: 24–5. Gervase has rearranged the material from his source in this chapter, giving rise to a number of awkwardnesses. On the Pentapolis, see *Otia*, i. 12, n. 10; cf. iii. 5.

quia in eo nec aues nec pisces uiuere possunt. Nauim non patitur, quin immo[d] tota supereminet[e] nisi sit bituminata, et hoc forte propter homines intus uiuentes.[2] Si quid uiuum aliqua arte immiseris, statim superexilit. Lucerna ardens supernatat, extincta mergitur. In multis locis nigras bituminis glebas euomit, ideoque lacus[f] Asfaltidis[g] dicitur. De hac[3] ait Iosephus:[4] 'Fabula[h][5] Sodomitice terre fidem habet. Nimia enim[i] eius[6] leuitate, etiam grauissima in eum iacta referuntur. Vnde Vespasianus quosdam, manibus post tergum uinctis,[j] iussit in altum proici, et omnes tamquam spiritus sursum repulsi desuper stabant.'[k] Hic lacus Iudeam diuidit et Arabiam, que olim fuit[l] solitudo inuia et inaquosa per quam quadraginta annis filii Israel uagabantur.[1]

cviii. *De coitu Loth cum[a] filiabus[b]*

Quando Loth cognouit filias, inebriatus a uino,[1] [2]duo dicunt in eo[c] facto esse[d] mirabilia: quod coierit nesciens;[e] quod in defloracione uirgo concipiat. Vnde secundum hoc[f] dicunt Antichristum se dicturum filium uirginis.[2]

[d] immo *supplied by author N* [e] quin . . . supereminet] *om. CXQ* [f] lacus *C (presumably a scribal correction) and Comestor;* locus *NAβ* [g] a faltidis *N* [h] favilla *Comestor* [i] enim *om. N* [j] iunctis *I and Comestor* [k] fluitabant *A and Comestor* [l] fuit *supplied by author N*

[a] cum *supplied by author N* [b] cum filiabus *om. CXQ* [c] eo *om. XQ* [d] fuisse *ACβ* [e] et *add. after* nesciens *ACβ* [f] secundum hoc *supplied by author N*

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[2] The Comestor adds here: 'Nam omne carens vita in profundum mergitur' ('For everything that has no life in it sinks to the bottom'). He contradicts himself in this chapter: first, following Isidore (loc. cit.), he says that all lifeless objects sink in this sea, but then in Additio 1 he cites Josephus (see n. 4 below) as saying that nothing at all can sink in it; cf. Appendix i. 30, n. 8.

[3] Gervase's 'De hac' (not found in the Comestor's text) presumably understands 're' ('On this topic', i.e. the Dead Sea), or possibly 'regione' from the first sentence. The reading 'hoc' (sc. 'lacu') adopted by Leibniz (p. 1001) would seem preferable, but must derive from a scribal correction: all the MSS collated read 'hac'.

[4] Cf. Josephus, *Bell.* iv. 485 and 476–7.

It suffers no ship to sail in it, but the whole vessel rides on top of the water, unless it is caulked with bitumen; this is presumably because of the living people inside it.[2] If by some means you introduce a living thing into the water, it immediately bobs up to the surface. A lamp floats if it is alight, but if it is put out, it sinks. In many places the lake disgorges black clods of asphalt, and so it is called Lake Asphaltites. On this topic[3] Josephus[4] says: 'The things people say[5] about the land of Sodom are trustworthy. For it is a fact that, because of the water's[6] extreme buoyancy, even the heaviest things which are thrown into it are cast up to the surface. To test this, Vespasian ordered some people to be thrown into deep water with their hands tied behind their backs: they were all forced up again and stood on the water as if they were spirits.' This lake divides Judaea and Arabia, which was once a trackless and waterless desert through which the children of Israel wandered for forty years.[1]

108. *Lot's Intercourse with his Daughters*

When Lot got drunk on wine and knew his daughters,[1] [2]they say that two aspects of that event were miraculous: that he had intercourse without knowing it, and that a virgin conceived in her deflowering. So they say that it is after this fashion that Antichrist will claim to be the son of a virgin.[2]

[5] Gervase has here omitted an account of the apples full of ashes which he has already described in *Otia*, iii. 5. With reference to these the Comestor says: 'Unde, ut ait Josephus, favilla terrae Sodomiticae fidem habet' ('And so, as Josephus says, the ashes of the land of Sodom are genuine'). In Rufinus' Latin translation of the *Bellum Iudaicum* this sentence also refers to the ashes, but the word used is *fabula*, as in Gervase's text (Josephus, *Opera*, ed. S. Gelenius (Lyons, 1557), iii. 405). It is possible that *favilla* in the Migne text derives from a scribal corruption; otherwise, Gervase must have been influenced here by a direct acquaintance with the Latin version of Josephus.

[6] In the *Historia scholastica* this follows Gervase's last sentence, and the *eius* refers to the lake.

[1] Cf. Gen. 19: 30–8.

[2–2] duo . . . dicturum filium uirginis] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 54 (*PL* cxcviii. 1102). On the birth of Antichrist, cf. *Otia*, i. 17, n. 9.

cix. *De arbore quam dicimus Agnum castum*[a][1]

f. 83v [2]Est arbor quam Agnum castum nominant, | cuius ramus, si capiti dormientis supponatur, uisiones capitis fantasticas dormiens non sentiet.[b] Vnde eius[c] ramum Rebeccam capiti suo supposuisse tradunt, collidentibus in utero geminis,[3] cum consuleret Dominum, dormiens super pelles hostiarum in monte Morian,[4] ubi Abraham altare erexerat.[2]

cx. *De pascuis*[a] *Egipti*

Mirandum satis arbitror quod [1]in terra Egypti, quando imminet sterilitas in messibus, habundat in pascuis, et e conuerso, cum hoc sit contra naturam aliarum regionum. Quod asserunt euenire quia diuturnior mora fluminis super terram[b] oportunitatem colligendi spicam uel sata adimit, pascua autem[c] nutrit.[1]

cxi. *De peritia*[a] *Moisi in*[b] *sculptura*[c,d]

Legimus [1]Moysen tante fuisse pulcritudinis ut nullus adeo seuerus[e] esset qui eius aspectui non hereret;[f] multique dum cernerent eum per plateam ferri, occupationes in quibus studebant deseruerunt.[1]

[2]Hic Ethiopes dux factus Egypciorum persecutus, ut eos breuiori[g] itinere preuentos superaret, transiens per loca deserta

[a] quam . . . castum] que dicitur agnus castus *CXQ* [b] sentit *CXQ* [c] heius *N*

[a] pascuis] contrarietate *CX*, ciricietate(?) *Q* [b] terre *CXQ* [c] autem] ante *supplied by author N*

[a] patria *N* [b] *sic A;* et *NI* [c] et sepultura (*sic*) *supplied by author N* [d] De . . . sculptura] De Moyse et ciconiis *CXQ* [e] seuerus *supplied by author N* [f] hereret *supplied by author N* [g] *sic Q;* breuiore *ACXI;* breriori (*sic*) *altered by author* (?) *from* breriore *N*

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[1] *Agnus castus* was a name given to the shrub *vitex*, a kind of willow. *Agnus* is a Latinization of the Greek word for this shrub, ἄγνος, which was confused with the word ἁγνός, meaning 'chaste'. Pliny describes the *agnus castus*, saying of it: 'Graeci lygon uocant, alias agnon, quoniam matronae Thesmophoriis Atheniensium castitatem custodientes his foliis cubitus sibi sternunt' (*Hist. nat.* xxiv. 38. 59). He goes on to speak of its medicinal uses, and says (61) that if one sleeps on it, it puts *uenenata* to flight. For further references, see *Dict. of Med. Latin from British Sources*, s.v. *agnus* 2.

109. *The Tree which we call Agnus Castus*[1]

[2]There is a tree which people call Agnus castus: if a branch of this tree is laid underneath someone's head while they are asleep, that person will not experience mental hallucinations in their sleep. So they say that Rebekah laid a branch of this tree under her head when, as the twins were struggling in her womb,[3] she sought counsel from the Lord, sleeping upon the skins of sacrificed animals on Mount Moriah,[4] where Abraham had built an altar.[2]

110. *The Pastures of Egypt*

I find it quite remarkable that, [1]in the land of Egypt, when failure threatens the harvest the pastures are rich, and *vice versa,* even though this is contrary to the nature of other regions. They say that this comes about because, when the river's flood-waters linger for too long on the land, they allow no opportunity for gathering the grain-crops, but they do nourish the pastures.[1]

111. *On Moses' Skill at Carving*

We read that [1]Moses' beauty was so great that no one was so insensitive as not to hang upon the sight of him, and many people abandoned whatever occupation they were engaged upon to watch him pass in the street.[1]

[2]Moses was appointed as commander of the Egyptian army, and he set off in pursuit of the Ethiopians. In order to cut them off by a shorter route and gain the upper hand, he travelled across a desert

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[2–2] Est . . . Abraham altare erexerat] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 66 (*PL* cxcviii. 1109–10).

[3] Cf. Gen. 25: 22.

[4] Cf. Gen. 22: 2; note that for 'into the land of Moriah' (A.V.) the Vulgate has 'in terram visionis'.

[1–1] in terra . . . pascua autem nutrit] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 98 (*PL* cxcviii. 1134). Pliny (*Hist. nat.* v. 10. 58) and Solinus (*Collect.* xxxii. 14) both mention the problems which arise if the flood-waters remain on the land too long or not long enough; they do not, however, constrast the needs of the harvest and the pastures, as the Comestor does.

[1–1] Moysen . . . quibus studebant deseruerunt] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 5 (*PL* cxcviii. 1144); Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 231.

[2–2] Hic . . . Maria et Aaron (p. 800)] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 6 (*PL* cxcviii. 1144); Josephus, *Ant.* 239–53.

plena serpentibus, tulit in archis papireis super plaustra ybices, hoc est ciconias Egypcias, naturaliter infestas serpentibus,[3] que rostro per posteriora misso aluum purgant.[4] Castra igitur metatus, demisit ibices ut deuorarent serpentes. Sicque preuentos et uictos[h] Ethiopes inclusit in ciuitate Meroe, que antea Sabba Regia dicebatur.[5] Quam cum diu obsedisset quia inexpugnabilis erat, iniecit oculos in eum Tharbis, filia regis Ethiopum, que ex condicto tradidit ei ciuitatem si eam duceret[i] uxorem: et ita factum est. Contra hanc et Moysen iurgati sunt[6] postea[j] Maria et Aaron.[2]

[7]Dum autem redire uoluisset Moyses, non acquieuit uxor. Proinde, tamquam uir astrorum peritus, ymagines sculpsit in gemmis huius efficacie, ut una memoriam, altera obliuionem conferret; cumque paribus anulis eas inseruisset, anulum obliuionis uxori prebuit, alterum ipse tulit: et tandem libere Egyptum ingressus est.[7]

cxii. *De ossibus Ioseph et oue*[a]

[1]Cum populus Israel exiret de Egypto, accidit quod Nilus preter solitum[b] inundabat terram in qua sepulchrum erat Ioseph. Tenebantur autem[c] ex iuramento asportare ossa eius.[2] Tunc scripsit Moyses nomen Domini in lamina aurea[3] tetragramaton in hunc modum:[d] יהוה;[e][4] que superposita[f] aque superenatauit, usquequo[g] ueniens staret supra ubi erat sepulchrum. Et ascendentes[h] sustulerunt ossa; que sublata leguntur eis profetasse, forte de difficultate itineris. Tamen Ebrei tradunt quod ouis ex inprouiso astitit iuxta eos, loquens

[h] et uictos *supplied here by author; also written by scribe after* Ethiopes *and deleted N; om. Comestor* [i] duceret *supplied by author N* [j] postea *om. CXQ*

[a] oue] de oue *supplied by author* (*correcting* nomine) *N;* nomine tetragramaton *CXQ* [b] adhuc *add. after* solitum *ACβ* [c] autem *supplied by author N* [d] in hunc modum *supplied by author N* [e] *An attempt is made in all the MSS to draw the Hebrew letters; in N, the names of the letters are also written in the margin by the rubricator as:* he uau he iot [f] que superposita *supplied by author N* [g] usque *N;* usque dum *Comestor* [h] ascendentes *MSS;* effodientes *Comestor*

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[3] Cf. Pliny, *Hist. nat.* x. 40. 75; Solinus, *Collect.* xxxii. 32–3.

[4] Cf. Pliny, *Hist. nat.* viii. 41. 97; Isidore, *Etym.* xii. 7. 33.

[5] As Josephus explains (*Ant.* ii. 249), the royal city of Saba was later named Meroe by Cambyses, after his sister; cf. *Otia*, ii. 4, nn. 101 and 105.

[6] Cf. Num. 12: 1–15.

[7–7] Dum . . . Egyptum ingressus est] Cf. Comestor, loc. cit. The same story is told of Vespasian in the *Gesta Romanorum* (c. 10). Such stories of rings, herbs, potions etc. causing forgetfulness are very common; see Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, p. 106 and n., and for further examples, *MI* D1365.

region. As this region was full of snakes, he took with him waggon-loads of rush cages containing ibises, that is, Egyptian storks, which are naturally hostile to snakes.[3] These birds plunge their beaks into their own posteriors to clean their bowels.[4] So, when Moses had pitched camp, he let out the ibises so that they would devour the snakes. Thus he overtook the Ethiopians and, having vanquished them, confined them in the city of Meroe, which was formerly called Saba Regia.[5] This city was impregnable, and he had been besieging it for a long time, when the eyes of Tharbis, the daughter of the king of Ethiopia, fell upon him. She promised to betray the city to him if he would marry her; and so it came about. Later Miriam and Aaron quarrelled[6] with this woman and Moses.[2]

[7]Meanwhile, when Moses wanted to return home, his wife would not agree. Accordingly, as a man skilled in astrology, he carved images on precious stones; the power of these images was such that one conferred remembrance, and the other forgetfulness. Having set them in identical rings, he gave the ring of forgetfulness to his wife and took the other himself, and so at last he went back to Egypt unhindered.[7]

112. *The Bones of Joseph and his Sheep*

[1]When the people of Israel were leaving Egypt, it chanced that the flood-waters of the Nile had remained for longer than usual over the region where Joseph's tomb was. Nevertheless they were bound by an oath to take his bones with them.[2] So Moses wrote on a plate of gold[3] the four letters which stand for the name of the Lord, as follows: יהוה.[4] When this plate was laid on the surface of the water, it floated along until it came to a standstill above where the tomb was. They then went up and removed the bones. We read that, when they were picked up, the bones prophesied to them, perhaps about the difficulty of the journey. On the other hand, there is a Hebrew

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[1–1] Cum . . . uelud ouem Ioseph (p. 802)] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 27 (*PL* cxcviii. 1155).

[2] Cf. Gen. 50: 25; Exod. 13: 19; Josh. 24: 32. [3] Cf. Exod. 28: 36.

[4] The tetragrammaton, or 'word of four letters' (yod he waw he), was used to represent the name of God (regarded as ineffable), and was seen as a mysterious symbol of the divinity. The words: 'in hunc modum' and the tetragrammaton itself do not appear in the chapter of the *Historia scholastica* on which Gervase is drawing here; he may, though, have copied the tetragrammaton from the Comestor's commentary on Exod. 28: 36 (*Exod.*, c. 65, *PL* cxcviii. 1186), where he gives the Hebrew forms of the letters, and names them as *iod he vau he*.

ad eos,[i] ob quam rem duxerunt eam per desertum multo tempore, appellantes eam[j] ouem Ioseph. De quo[k] in psalmo:[5] 'Qui deducis uelud ouem Ioseph.'[1]

Enimuero si licet tantis miraculis ingenia nostri temporis comparare, ecce nouum quod nostris temporibus accidit. Tempore regis Siculi Rogeri,[6] quidam magister,[7] nacione Anglus, ad regem accessit, postulans aliquid a rege munifico dari. Cumque rex, illustris genere et moribus, arbitraretur[l] aliquod a se beneficium peti, respondit: 'Pete quod uis beneficium, et dabo tibi.' Erat enim petitor summe litteratus, in triuio et quadriuio[m] potens et accutissimus, in fisica operosus, in astronomia summus. Ait ergo regi se non[n] temporalia solacia petere, sed pocius quod apud homines uile putatur, ossa uidelicet Virgilii, ubicumque possent inueniri infra metas regni sui. Annuit rex, et magister, acceptis litteris regiis, Neapolim uenit, ubi Virgilius[o] studium ingenii sui in multis exercuerat. Porrectis litteris, populus hobedientiam parat, et ignarus sepulture, libenter annuit quod pro inpossibili credebat existimandum.

Tandem magister, arte sua ad manum ducta, repperit ossa infra tumulum in medio montis cuiusdam, ad quem nec signum scissure dinoscebatur. Foditur locus,[p] et effoditur post longos labores tumulus, in quo inuenitur continuum corpus Virgilii, et ad capud liber in quo ars notaria[8] erat inscripta, cum aliis studii eius caracteribus. Leuatur puluis cum ossibus, et liber a magistro extrahitur. Ad hec populus Neapolitanus, attendens specialem affectionem quam habuerat Virgilius erga ciuitatem, timens ne ex ossium subtractione enorme dampnum ciuitas tota pateretur, elegit susceptum regis mandatum eludere, quam hobediendo tante urbis excidio occasionem
f. 84^{r} prestare.[q] Arbitrabatur enim eo consilio Virgilium sibi in | montis archano tumulum posuisse, ne ossa eius euecta artificiorum[9] suorum

[i] illos *ACβ* [j] multo . . . eam] *om. CXQ* [k] *sic MSS for* qua
[l] arbitraretur *supplied by author N* [m] quadruuio *N* [n] nondum *N*
[o] Virgilius *om. N* [p] locus *supplied by author N* [q] prestrare *N*

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[5] Ps. 79 (80): 1.

[6] On Roger II of Sicily, see *Otia*, ii. 12, n. 31; ii. 19, nn. 73–4. He succeeded to Naples on the death of its last duke, Sergius VII, in 1137.

[7] The rubricator of *N* wrote alongside this story: 'mirum ingenium astronomi Ricardi'; his identity, however, remains a matter for speculation.

[8] On the *ars notaria*, or *notoria*, see Thorndike, *History of Magic*, ii. 279–89; the art was ridiculed by Erasmus (*Colloquia*, ed. L.-E. Halkin, F. Bierlaire, R. Hoven (Amsterdam, 1972), pp. 647–9).

[9] For examples of Virgil's *artificia*, see *Otia*, iii. 10, 12, 13, 15, and 16.

tradition that a sheep unexpectedly appeared beside them and spoke to them, as a result of which they led it through the desert for a long time, calling it the sheep of Joseph. It is this sheep which is referred to in the words of the psalm:[5] 'You who lead Joseph like a sheep.'[1]

If indeed it is legitimate to compare the ingenious devices of our own age with such great miracles, here is a strange thing which happened in our times. In the time of the Sicilian king Roger,[6] a certain master[7] of English nationality came to the king, with the request that he should grant him something out of his royal munificence. The king, who was as noble in his character as in his birth, assuming that some material favour was being asked of him, replied: 'Ask what favour you will, and I shall grant it to you.' The petitioner was, in fact, a man of great learning: proficient and highly talented at the trivium and quadrivium, he had achieved much in medical studies, and was unrivalled in astronomy. He therefore told the king that he was not looking for temporal comforts, but rather for something which was accounted worthless among men, namely the bones of Virgil, wherever they could be found within the bounds of his kingdom. The king gave his consent and the master, armed with a royal warrant, came to Naples, where Virgil had put his genius to work on many projects. When he produced his warrant, the people did not hesitate to obey: since they did not know where his tomb was, they readily consented to something which they thought had to be counted as impossible.

At length the master, bringing his art to bear on the matter, found the bones inside a tomb in the middle of a certain mountain, on which not even the trace of an opening was distinguishable. The place was excavated and, after prolonged toil, the tomb was laid bare. Inside it the body of Virgil was found intact, with a book by his head in which the art of magic[8] was written down, along with other signs relating to his practice of that art. His dust and bones were gathered up, and the book was appropriated by the master. At this point, calling to mind the special affection which Virgil had had for their city, and fearing lest the whole city should suffer an enormous loss as a result of the removal of his bones, the people of Naples decided not to cooperate with the mandate they had received from the king, rather than, by obeying it, to provide an occasion for the destruction of such a great city. For they reflected that when Virgil prepared a tomb for himself in the secret depths of the mountain, it must have been his intention to guard against the chance that the removal of his bones might bring destruction upon the creations of his art.[9] Therefore the military

importarent interitum. Magister ergo militum cum turba ciuium ossa coniuncta copulat,[r] et in culleo reposita in castello maris[10] ad urbis[s] ipsius confinium deferunt,[11] ubi per medias crates ferreas intueri uolentibus ostenduntur.

Requisitus autem magister quid de ossibus facturus erat, respondit se per coniurationes effecturum quod ad eius interrogationem ossa omnem Virgilii artem ipsi panderent; quin immo satisfactum sibi proposuit si per quadraginta dies ei ossium copia daretur. Asportato ergo libro solo, magister abiit; et nos quedam ex ipso libro, per uenerabilem Iohannem Neapolitanum cardinalem,[12] tempore pape Alexandri, excerpta[t] uidimus, et probari[u] uerissima rerum experientia fecimus.[13]

cxiii. *De cherubim et figura eorum*[a]

In Exhodo[1] legitur quod [2]ex utraque parte oraculi, scilicet in duobus angulis anterioribus,[b] positi sunt duo cherubim, aurei et productiles; non scilicet fusiles,[3] sed crebris tusionibus[c] malleorum producti sunt. Sunt autem, ut dicit Iosephus,[4] animalia uolatilia, habencia figuram

[r] copulat (*corrected from* copulant) *N;* copulant *ACβ* [s] ad urbis ad *N* [t] *sic* *C;* excepta *NAβ* [u] et probari *supplied by author N*

[a] De . . . eorum] De duobus cherubin *CXQ* [b] anterioribus *om.* *N* [c] tunsionibus *XQ;* tussionibus *Comestor*

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[10] Not the Castell' a Mare (which was built by William I, after the time of this story), but the Castel dell' Uovo. A legend first recorded in the mid-thirteenth century in the *Image du Monde* relates that Virgil founded Naples on an egg, which was kept in the city; if the egg was moved, the city shook (see Spargo, *Virgil*, p. 87). In the *Cronica di Partenope* (c. 31), the egg is said to be kept in a *castello marino* which is called after it. In ancient Greece and Rome, and in Moslem countries, it was customary to place ostrich eggs in tombs, and it may be that the supposed presence of Virgil's bones in the castle led to the story of an egg talisman there (see Spargo, *Virgil*, pp. 95–9, 114).

[11] The subject is strictly speaking singular; *copulat* was corrected, in *N* only (probably by the author), from *copulant*, but *deferunt* escaped notice.

[12] John of Naples, cardinal priest of St Anastasia from 1158 to 1183, served as Pope Alexander III's envoy at the Sicilian court. See B. Zenker, *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130 bis 1159* (Würzburg, 1964), pp. 73–7; F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination Normande en Italie et en Sicilie* (Paris, 1907), ii. 312, 314, 318, 354–5.

[13] Virgil's bones are also mentioned by the two authors who preceded Gervase in recording Virgilian legends: John of Salisbury (*Policraticus*, ii. 23) mocks a certain Ludovicus who spent years in Apulia seeking to acquire the bones to take back to France; and Conrad of Querfurt (*MGH SS* xxi. 194) says that they were kept in a castle surrounded by the sea, and that if they were exposed to the air, a storm immediately blew up. Gervase gives the fullest of the early accounts, and his version was subsequently

commander, with a crowd of citizens, assembled the bones and joined them together, and placing them in a bag, they deposited[11] them in a castle out at sea,[10] on the boundary of that city. They are exhibited there behind iron gratings, to anyone who wants to see them.

When the master was asked what he had been going to do with the bones, he replied that by means of spells he would have made the bones reveal the whole of Virgil's art to him when he questioned them; indeed he maintained that it would have sufficed for him if access to the bones had been granted to him for forty days. The master therefore went away, taking the book alone. We saw some excerpts from that very book, thanks to the venerable cardinal, John of Naples,[12] in the time of Pope Alexander, and we put them to the test by infallible experimental proof.[13]

113. *The Cherubim and their Appearance*

One reads in Exodus[1] that [2]at the two ends of the mercy seat, that is to say, at the two front corners, two cherubim were placed, made of beaten gold; in other words, they were not cast,[3] but were beaten into shape by repeated hammer-blows. Cherubim, according to Josephus,[4]

adopted by Neapolitan writers (see Comparetti, *Vergil*, p. 274; and for a summary of later stories featuring the bones, see Spargo, *Virgil*, pp. 103–5).

Virgil's ancient biographers asserted that he was buried at Naples (e.g. Servius, *In Vergilii carmina commentarii*, Harvard edition (1946), ii. 3; Suetonius, *Life of Virgil* (once attributed to Donatus), c. 36, in *Ancient Lives of Virgil*, ed. H. Nettleship (Oxford, 1879), p. 17), and this was from earliest times a source of pride for the city. In the years 1130–40, when Roger II was attempting to establish his control over the south of Italy, Naples appeared to be impregnable; K. L. Roth ('Über den Zauberer Virgilius', *Germania*, iv (1859), 257–98) surmises that this led Roger to suspect that Virgil's bones were serving to protect the city. The bones of Aristotle at Palermo, and of Jeremiah at Alexandria, were similarly believed to have protective powers (see Spargo, *Virgil*, pp. 109–11; Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, p. 132). Roth suggests that Roger may have despatched someone to Naples to remove the bones, so giving rise to this story; at any rate, there may well be a connection between the city's reputation for impregnability and the legend of the bones.

The veneration of Virgil's remains as Gervase describes it is suggestive of the veneration of saints' relics; in other similar stories, however, the magical art is firmly attributed to the devil (cf. Liebrecht, pp. 160–1).

[1] Cf. Exod. 25: 18.

[2-2] ex utraque . . . sede conspexisse figurata (p. 806)] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 47 (*PL* cxcviii. 1170). [3] As were the golden calf (Exod. 32: 4) and other idols (Exod. 34: 17).

[4] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 137. Moses' vision of the cherubim, mentioned by Josephus here, is not recorded in the Pentateuch or in any known rabbinical tradition; there may be a reminiscence of Ezekiel's vision, in which cherubim upheld the firmament supporting God's throne (Ezek. 10: 1).

que a nullo hominum[d] est conspecta. Hec dixit[e] Moyses se in Dei sede conspexisse figurata.[2]

cxiv. *De lapidibus rationalis*[a]

[1]Tradunt Iudei in medio racionalis fuisse lapidem quadrum, magnitudine duorum digitorum, in quo secundum coloris mutationem perpendebant utrum Deum placatum haberent an offensum. Iosephus[2] dicit sardonicem qui in dextro humero gerebatur, cum sacrificium Deo placebat, tanto splendore micare quod etiam procul positis radius eius apparebat. Egressuris uero ad prelium, si Deus esset cum eis, tantus fulgor in lapidibus rationalis[b] apparebat quod omni multitudini erat manifestum eorum auxilio Deum adesse. Et ob hoc[3] rationale iudicii dicunt nuncupatum.[c][1]

cxv. *De facie Moisi cornuta*[a][1]

Non sine admiracione est quod legitur [2]Moysen, descendentem de monte cum tabulis, apparuisse cum facie cornuta, et ipse ignorabat: id est, radii miri splendoris ferebantur de facie eius, qui reuerberabant oculos intuencium; quos radios 'gloriam uultus Moysi'[3] appellat Apostolus. Tradunt etiam Ebrei[b] quod tercio Moyses ascenderit[c] in montem[d] ad Dominum, et quod cum eo fuerit[e] quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus ieiunans; cumque rediret, cum certitudine uenie,[f] erat nona[g] septimi mensis, et in crastino afflixerunt animas suas ieiunio,[4] in cuius uenie memoriam dictus est decimus[h] dies illius

[d] homine *QI* [e] dixit *supplied by author* (*correcting* dicit) *N; dicit CI*

[a] De . . . rationalis] De lapide rationali (rationalis *Q*) et (eius *add. X*) uirtute *CXQ* [b] rationalis *supplied by author N* [c] numcucupatum *N*

[a] cornuta *AI*, *supplied by author N; om. CXQ* [b] Ebrei *supplied by author N* [c] ascendit *Comestor* [d] in montem *supplied by author N* [e] fuit *XQ and Comestor* [f] uenie *supplied by author N* [g] nona *Nβ*; nona dies *C and Comestor* [h] dictus est decimus] dicta est decima *Comestor*

[1–1] Tradunt . . . iudicii dicunt nuncupatum] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 64 (*PL* cxcviii. 1185); Exod. 28: 15–30, 39: 8–21. Gervase has extracted this passage, on the miraculous qualities of the breastplate, from a lengthy commentary on the vestments of the high priest. The breastplate was made of gold, violet, purple, and scarlet thread woven into linen, which was folded double into a square; in it were set twelve precious stones, each engraved with the name of one of the twelve tribes. A pouch was attached to it which contained the oracle of the Urim and Thummim.

are living creatures with wings, whose appearance has been seen by no mortal. It was representations of these that Moses said he had seen on God's throne.[2]

114. *The Stones of the Breastplate*

[1]The Jews say that in the middle of the breastplate there was a square stone, two inches across, and they could tell by the changing colour of this stone whether they had pleased or offended God. Josephus[2] says that the sardonyx which was worn on the right shoulder used to shine with such dazzling brightness when a sacrifice was pleasing to God that its radiance was visible even to people a long way away. And when they were about to go into battle, if God was with them, such a bright glow appeared in the stones of the breastplate that it was clear to the whole multitude that God was with them to help them. And they say that this[3] is why it was called the breastplate of judgment.[1]

115. *The Horned*[1] *Face of Moses*

It is not without wonderment that one reads that [2]when Moses came down from the mountain with the tables, he appeared with a horned face, though he was unaware of it himself: that is, rays of wondrous splendour shone out from his face, which dazzled the eyes of beholders; the Apostle calls these rays 'the glory of the countenance of Moses'.[3] The Hebrews also record that Moses went up into the mountain to the Lord a third time, and that he was with him for forty days and forty nights fasting; when he returned, with the assurance of forgiveness, it was the ninth day of the seventh month, and on the next day they afflicted their souls with fasting.[4] In memory of this forgiveness, the tenth day of that month is called the day of

[2] Cf. Josephus, *Ant* . iii. 215–17.

[3] i.e. because it made known the mind of God in their regard.

[1] The Hebrew and the LXX say that Moses' face shone: the Latin *cornuta* is a mistranslation, responsible for the depiction of Moses with horns in medieval and renaissance art.

[2–2] Moysen . . . Helyam, et Christum (p. 808)] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 77 (*PL* cxcviii. 1192–3); Exod. 34: 29, 30, 35.

[3] 2 Cor. 3: 7.

[4] Cf. Lev. 16: 29–31.

mensis dies propiciacionis. Quod si uerum est, potest esse quod ob hoc tres sunt in eccelsia[i] penitentibus constitute quadragesime, uel, ut alii tradunt, propter[j] tres ieiunantes:[5] Moysem, Helyam, et[k] Christum.[2]

cxvi. *De serpentibus ignitis*[a] *et urentibus*[b]

In libro Numerorum[1] legitur quod, dum populus Israel circuiret montes Hor, qui iunguntur Arabie [2](preteriens Archim, metropolim Arabum, que nunc Petra dicitur),[2] [3]propter murmuracionem Israelis immisit Dominus in eos serpentes ignitos, hoc est minimos et ueloces ad modum scintillarum, uel ut alii tradunt, quia tactos ueneno inflamabant usque ad tumorem et ruborem igneum. Sed ab hoc ueneno serpentum liberati sunt ex erectione serpentis enei, quem postea celebriter obseruatum contriuit in puluerem Ezechias,[4] rex Iuda.[3] In Deuteronomio[5] uero legitur quod inter beneficia que repetiit Dominus Israeli murmuranti,[c] memorauit [6]quod euaserant serpentes flatu urentes circumstancia. Qui *dipsades* dicuntur, latine uero situle, quia perimunt hominem siti;[7] adeo parue quod si conculcantur uix uidentur. Harum uenenum ante extinguit quam sentiatur, nec tristiciam sentit moriturus.[8] Dicitur autem situla per contrarium: uas enim quod situla dicitur sitim aufert,[9] hec affert; sic faretra, quia infert mortem, et feretrum,[10] quia fert uel aufert mortuum.[6]

Sane in Tuscia est insula ad dominacionem spectans comitis Eldebrandini,[d][11] in qua sunt uermes alati ad formam serpentum, qui statim ut uolant subiecta sibi corpora hominum in tantum[e]

[i] sunt in ecclesia] in ecclesia sint *ACβ* [j] propter *supplied by author N* [k] et *supplied by author N*

[a] ignitis *supplied by author N* [b] urentibus] sticulis *C*, situlis *XQ* [c] murmuranti *supplied by author N* [d] Edelbrandini (*altered by author from* Elebrandini) *N* [e] in tantum] statim *N*

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[5] Cf. Exod. 34: 28; 3 Kgs (1 Kgs) 19: 8; Matt. 4: 2, Luke 4: 2.

[1] Cf. Num. 21: 4–9.

[2–2] Cf. Comestor, *Num.*, c. 25 (*PL* cxcviii. 1233). Petra, a city near Mount Hor, was once the capital of Edom. Under the Romans it was the centre of the province of Arabia Petraea, and by the fourth century it had a bishopric, becoming the metropolis of Palestina Tertia. In Hebrew it was normally called Sela ('rock'), but Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 83) says that its ancient name was Arke: this is possibly a corruption of Rekam, which seems to have been its name in Syriac.

[3–3] propter . . . Ezechias, rex Iuda] Cf. Comestor, *Num.*, c. 28 (*PL* cxcviii. 1234).

[4] Cf. 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 18: 4.

[5] Cf. Deut. 8: 15.

propitiation. If this is true, it is possible that it is on this account that three forty-day fasts have been instituted in the Church for penitents; or it may be, as others say, on account of the three people who fasted:[5] Moses, Elijah, and Christ.[2]

116. *The Burning Fiery Serpents*

In the book of Numbers[1] one reads that, while the people of Israel were going round the mountains of Hor, which adjoin Arabia [2](bypassing Archim, the chief city of the Arabians, which is now called Petra),[2] [3]on account of the murmuring of the Israelites the Lord sent fiery serpents among them. They were said to be fiery because they were as tiny and darting as sparks, or as others say, because they made those who were infected with their poison smart, producing a fiery red swelling. But the Israelites were freed from this poison of the serpents by the erection of the brazen serpent, which Hezekiah,[4] king of Judah, later ground into dust because it was being venerated as an object of worship.[3] One reads in Deuteronomy[5] that among the favours of which the Lord reminded the murmuring Israelites, he recalled [6]that they had escaped the serpents which were burning everything around them with their breath. They are called διψάδϵς (thirsty), or in Latin *situlae* (buckets), because they kill a person by thirst (*sitis*).[7] They are so small that if they are trodden underfoot they are hardly noticed. Their poison kills before it is felt, and the one about to die feels no distress.[8] The name *situla* arises from an association of opposites: for the container which is called a *situla* takes away thirst,[9] while this creature brings it on; even so a *pharetra* (quiver) is so-called because it brings on (*infert*) death, and a *feretrum* (bier)[10] because it bears (*fert*) or takes away (*aufert*) a dead person.[6]

There is an island in Tuscany pertaining to the domain of Count Ildebrandino,[11] in which there are winged snakes which look like dragons. As soon as they take to the air, they infect the bodies of people beneath them so severely that they strike them down with

[6–6] quod . . . uel aufert mortuum] Cf. Comestor, *Deut.*, c. 4 (*PL* cxcviii. 1250).

[7] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xii. 4. 13.

[8] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xii. 4. 32.

[9] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xx. 6. 4.

[10] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xviii. 9. 1.

[11] i.e. the island of Capraja, belonging to the Aldobrandeschi, the most powerful feudal lords of Tuscany; Ildebrandino VIII (d. 1208–12) was among the supporters of Otto IV.

inficiunt quod ipsis dissinteriam incutiunt, et demum, superueniente sompno, fluxus importunus[f] curatur. Sed et in Siria sunt uermes qui sua punctura tumorem uentositatis infligunt.

cxvii. *De agro Ebron et crucis parte*[a]

In Siria inferiore, ciuitate Ebron, terra scilicet Damascena, est ager cuius gleba rubea est,[1] que ab incolis ostenditur et[b] effossa comeditur, ac per Egyptum uenalis portatur, pro specie carissima comendata. Hic f. 84v ager, | in quantum late et profunde effossus fuerit, in tantum Dei disposicione, anno finito, reddita gleba gratus inuenitur.[2]

Cui simile dicunt esse quod quedam pars crucis dominice est apud * * *,[c][3] cuius frustula annuatim decoriantur, nutuque diuino ad caput anni lesura reintegratur.

cxviii. *De mari Pamfilico*[a]

Non est mirandum[b] aut incredibile quod in transitu filiorum Israel mare se diuiserit et hinc inde murum fecerit, [1]cum Iosephus dicat, Alexandro Darium prosequente,[c] mare Pamfilicum exercitui fuisse diuisum Domino uolente, qui per eum regnum Persarum delere uolebat.[1]

[f] importunius *N*

[a] De . . . parte] De gleba effossa et renascente *CXQ* [b] et *supplied by author* (*correcting* ac) *N* [c] *Space left after* apud *NCβ*

[a] De . . . Pamfilico] *written in margin by scribe, marked* R(ubrica) *by author N;* De diuisione maris Panfilici *CXQ* [b] mrandum *N* [c] persequente *ACβ;* insequenti *Comestor*

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[1] It was from the soil of this field that God formed Adam; Adam and Eve returned there when they were expelled from paradise, and it was there that Cain killed Abel, and Adam was buried (cf. *Otia*, i. 8, n. 5; i. 16, n. 4; i. 19, n. 7; ii. 4, n. 37).

[2] The red earth of the field of Damascus was well known to travellers in the east. Gervase's source here is probably Fretellus, *Liber locorum sanctorum terrae Jerusalem*, *PL* clv. 1039–40 (= ed. Boeren, c. 8, p. 9); see Appendix ii. 2, n. 1. Guides to the holy places proliferated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and this is one of a number of passages which were reproduced time and again, practically word for word; cf. e.g. John of Würzburg, *Descriptio terrae sanctae* (*PL* clv. 1067); Theoderic, *Libellus de locis sanctis*, c. 34

diarrhoea, and the distressing flux is only cured when sleep overtakes them. Further, in Syria there are snakes which make people swell up with flatulence by their bite.

117. *The Field of Hebron and a Piece of the Cross*

In Lower Syria, in the city of Hebron, in the territory, that is to say, of Damascus, there is a field which has red soil.[1] This soil is pointed out by the local people. It is dug up and eaten, and is taken to be sold in Egypt, where it fetches as high a price as the most costly spices. However widely and deeply this field has been dug up, when the year comes to an end it is found to be rejoicing in the restoration, by God's disposition, of the same amount of soil.[2]

They say that there is another phenomenon resembling this one: there is a piece of the Lord's Cross at * * *,[3] bits of which are chipped off in the course of each year, but by divine will the damage is repaired at the end of the year.

118. *The Sea of Pamphylia*

It is not surprising or unbelievable that for the passing of the children of Israel the sea parted and formed a wall on either side; [1]for Josephus says that when Alexander was pursuing Darius, the Sea of Pamphylia parted for his army by the will of the Lord, who wished to destroy the kingdom of the Persians through him.[1]

(ed. M. L. and W. Bulst, p. 39). Fretellus himself seems to have derived the bulk of his description from an earlier model: see P. C. Boeren, *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte: Histoire et édition du texte* (Amsterdam, 1980). The substance was not in fact earth, but a red powder consisting of the glandular hairs from the fruit-capsules of a tree (see *OED*, s.v. kamala).

[3] According to Annie Duchesne (*Livre*, p. 171, n. 337) this place is named as 'Saint-Jean d'Acre' in MS R (Cambridge, St John's College 219); however, when this MS was examined, the sentence appeared to have been omitted.

[1–1] Cf. Comestor, *Exod.*, c. 31 (*PL* cxcviii. 1158); Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 348. The incident involving the Sea of Pamphylia is narrated by a number of ancient authors, including Strabo (*Geographica*, xiv. 3. 9), Arrian (*Anabasis*, i. 26), and Appian (*Bella civilia*, ii. 21).

cxix. *De tumulo Moysi et sancte Katerine*[a]

In Arabia est mons Abarim, in quo Dominus sepeliuit Moysen, eius tumulo nusquam[b] apparente.[1] Sic alias in monte Synai ab angelis[c] collocatum sancte Katherine[d] uirginis et martyris corpus legimus.[2] Et corpus discipuli quem diligebat Iesus[3] in manna scaturiens permutatur.[4]

cxx. *De hominibus qui fiunt lupi*[a]

Sepe apud doctos questio mouetur si Nabugodonosor per iniunctum tempus penitentie in bouem uerum sit diuina uirtute mutatus,[1] cum facilius sit creaturam transmutando formare quam de nichilo creare. Scribunt plerique[b] ipsum uitam bestialem in conuictu bouis comedentis fenum sumpsisse, non naturam.

Vnum scio apud nostrates cotidianum esse, quod sic fatis hominum currentibus, quidam per lunationes mutantur in lupos.[2] Scimus enim in Aluernia, episcopatu[c] Claramoncensi,[d] Poncium de Capitolio,[3] nobilem uirum,[e] pridem exhereditasse[f] Reimbaldum[g] de Puiecto,

[a] et sancte Katerine *om.* *CXQ* [b] numquam *ACXQ* [c] in . . . angelis] ab angelis in monte Synai *N* [d] Katherine *supplied by author N*

[a] De . . . lupi] De gerulfis et eorum lunationibus *CXQ* [b] plerique *supplied by author N* [c] episcopatu *supplied by author N* [d] Claremocensi *N* [e] uirum *supplied by author N* [f] exheredasse *ACβ* [g] *sic X;* pridem . . . Remulbaldum] *supplied by author N*

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[1] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1041 (= ed. Boeren, p. 56); John of Würzburg, *Descriptio terrae sanctae* (*PL* clv. 1068); Theoderic, *Libellus de locis sanctis*, c. 31 (ed. M. L. and W. Bulst, p. 37); Deut. 32: 49, 34: 5–6.

[2] On the burial of St Catherine, see *Otia*, iii. 33, n. 4.

[3] Cf. John 13: 23, etc.

[4] Manna was the term used for the fragrant liquid or dust which some saints' bodies were said to produce; for a bibliography with special reference to St John, see Du Cange, s.v. *manna*. The Eastern church celebrated the manna of St John on 8 May (see N. Nilles, *Kalendarium manuale utriusque ecclesiae orientalis et occidentalis* (Innsbruck, 1896–7), i. 154–5). The eastern cult was sometimes incorporated in western martyrologies, generally under the main feast of St John on 27 December. It is possible that a martyrology was the immediate source of all three items in this chapter.

[1] Cf. Dan. 4: 32–3. Medieval exegesis was undecided as to whether Nebuchadnezzar actually changed into an ox or not: for a bibliography, see M. Summers, *The Werewolf* (London, 1933), p. 129, n. 90; see also P. Doob, *Nebuchadnezzar's Children* (New Haven, 1974), pp. 55–94 and *passim*.

[2] For the large bibliography on werewolves, see Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, pp. 492–4, nn. 5–7; *MI* D113. 1. 1. For a modern orientation see Charlotte F. Otten, *A Lycanthropy Reader: Werewolves in Western Culture* (Syracuse, NY, 1986), with bibliography on

119. *The Tombs of Moses and St Catherine*

In Arabia is Mount Abarim, on which the Lord buried Moses, although his tomb is nowhere visible.[1] Similarly we read that on another occasion the body of St Catherine, virgin and martyr, was laid to rest by angels on Mount Sinai.[2] And the body of the disciple whom Jesus loved[3] is transformed into a source of manna.[4]

120. *Human Beings who Turn into Wolves*

The question is often raised among the learned as to whether Nebuchadnezzar was really changed into an ox by divine power for the period of penitence imposed on him:[1] for it is surely easier to make a creature by transformation than to create one out of nothing. Many writers think that he adopted the lifestyle of a beast, feeding like an ox that eats hay, but without adopting its nature.

One thing I know to be of daily occurrence among the people of our country: the course of human destiny is such that certain men change into wolves according to the cycles of the moon.[2] We know, for instance, that in the Auvergne, in the diocese of Clermont, some time ago a noble gentleman, Pons de Chapteuil,[3] disinherited Raimbaud de Pouget, a dashing knight, well-trained in arms. This

pp. 321–4. An older study is M. Summers, *The Werewolf* (London, 1933). See also R. Eisler, *Man into Wolf* (London, 1951); M. Cheilik, 'The Werewolf', in *Mythical and Fabulous Creatures: A Source Book and Research Guide*, ed. M. South (New York, 1987), pp. 265–89. On the two stories that follow, see L. Harf-Lancner, 'La Métamorphose illusoire: des théories chrétiennes de la métamorphose aux images médiévales du loup-garou', *Annales Économies Sociétés Civilisations*, xl (1985), 208–26, esp. 217–18; F. Dubost, *Aspects fantastiques de la littérature narrative médiévale (XII^e–XIII^e siècles): L'Autre, l'Ailleurs, l'Autrefois* (Paris, 1991), pp. 547–50. Augustine mentions reputed transformations of men into wolves (*Civ.* xviii. 17, *CSEL* xl (2). 289 = *PL* xli. 573). The canon *Episcopi* and the *Corrector* both condemn the belief that anyone but God can effect such transformations (Hansen, *Quellen*, pp. 39–41; cf. *Otia*, iii. 86, n. 8; iii. 93, n. 6). But the superstition flourished; in *Otia*, i. 15 (at n. 8), Gervase asserts that werewolves existed in England as well as France, and they were also known in Ireland: see Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica*, ii. 19, and *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ii. 23; cf. Liebrecht, pp. 161–3. On their role in later literature, see K. F. Smith, 'An historical study of the Werwolf in literature', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, ix (1894), 1–42; C. Dunn, *The Foundling and the Werwolf* (Toronto, 1960).

[3] Pons de Chapteuil or de Capdueil played an important role in the wars which ravaged the Auvergne from 1198 to 1213. Afterwards he lived in Provence, distinguishing himself as a troubadour, until he left for the Holy Land in 1227, where he died (Duchesne, *Livre*, p. 172, n. 343).

militem strenuissimum et in armis exercitatum.[h] Hic uagus factus et profugus super terram,[i][4] dum solus more ferino deuia lustraret et saltus, una nocte, nimio timore turbatus, cum mentis alienacione in lupum uersus,[j] tantam patrie cladem intulit quod multorum colonorum mansiones coegit esse desertas. Infantes in forma lupina deuorabat, sed et grandeuos ferinis morsibus lacerabat. Tandem a quodam fabro lignario grauiter attemptatus, ictu securis alterum pedem perdidit; sicque specie resumpta hominem induit, nunc in propatulo confessus sibi placitam pedis iacturam, eo quod illo amputato miseriam illam et maliciam cum dampnatione perdiderit. Asserunt enim qui talia dixerunt michi[k] membrorum truncacione ab huiusmodi infortunio homines tales liberari.[5]

Sed et apud castrum Luch, in confinio Viuariensis episcopatus et Mymdensis, est accola Calcefaria numcupatus qui consimilis fati per mutaciones neomenie sorte fatigatur, asserens se, cum tempus aduenerit, uestes suas relictis omnibus sociis sub dumo uel rupe secreta seponere,[6] et cum in harena se diu nudus uolutauerit, lupi formam et ingluuiem induit, ore patulo et apertis rictibus in predam inhiat, asserens lupos[l][7] idcirco[m] aperto ore currere, quia os cum magno labore pedumque adiutorio aperit, quod[n] aperire nequit cum a persecutoribus[o] preuenitur. Tunc ergo a captura frustratur[p] et facile capitur.

cxxi. *De Chimera et decem Sibillis*

[1]Chimeram belluam esse tradunt, ore leonem, postremo drachonem, medio capellam, capite uomentem ignem; quam Bellorofons dicitur peremisse. Et hec quidam[a] poetica figmenta esse[b] asserentes,

[h] excitatum *XQ* [i] super terram *supplied by author N* [j] R. Supra decisione prima de oculis apertis post peccatum *written in margin by author N* [k] michi *CQ;* in usum *N* (in *supplied by author correcting* non), *AI;* michi usum *X* [l] lupum *CI* [m] icirco *N* [n] quia *CXQ* [o] ab insecutoribus *ACβ* [p] Tunc . . . frustratur] *om.* *CXQ*

[a] quidem *AXI* [b] esse *supplied by author N*

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[4] Cf. Gen. 4: 12. Summers (op. cit., p. 186) points to a long-standing connection between the wolf and outlawry.

[5] On the resumption of human form on the loss of a limb, see W. Hertz, *Der Werwolf* (Stuttgart, 1862), pp. 69 and 78–83; cf. *Otia,* iii. 93, n. 6. For a consideration of the significance of this, see C. Ginzburg, *Storia notturna: Una decifrazione del Sabba* (Turin, 1989), p. 229 (transl. R. Rosenthal, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath* (London, 1990), p. 247).

man became a vagabond and a fugitive upon the earth.[4] One night when he was wandering alone like a wild beast through unfrequented woodlands, deranged by extreme fear, he lost his reason and turned into a wolf. He then wreaked such great havoc upon his country that he drove many of the inhabitants to abandon their homes. While in wolf's form he devoured the young, and even mangled the old with savage bites. In the end he was boldly attacked by a certain woodcutter, and lost one paw by the blow of an axe; this enabled him to resume his former appearance, and he put on human form again. Thereupon he confessed in public that he welcomed the loss of his foot, because when it was cut off he was freed from that wretched, wicked condition which would have brought his damnation. For those who have spoken to me of such things assert that such people are delivered from this kind of misfortune by having limbs cut off.[5]

In the town of Luc as well, on the boundary of the dioceses of Viviers and Mende, there is a citizen called Chaucevaire who is tormented by having to suffer the same fate, whenever there is a new moon. He says that when the time has come he parts company from all his friends, lays his clothes under a bush or a secluded rock,[6] and then rolls naked in the sand for a long time until he takes on the shape and voracity of a wolf, gaping for prey with wide-open mouth and yawning jaws. He asserts that the reason why a wolf[7] runs with its mouth open is that it can only unlock its jaw with a great effort and with the help of its paws, and it is unable to do so when it is overtaken by hunters. It is then therefore rendered unable to catch anything and is easily caught itself.

121. *The Chimera and the Ten Sibyls*

[1]According to legend the Chimera was a monster made up of a lion in front, a dragon behind, and a goat in the middle, which belched fire from its head; Bellerophon is said to have killed it. But some people maintain that these things are poetic fictions, and explain that in its

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[6] This was standard practice: if the clothes were removed, the werewolf was condemned to remain in wolf-shape (see e.g. Marie de France's *Lai de Bisclavret*).

[7] The singular *lupum,* found (probably due to scribal corrections) in *C* and *I*, would be preferable here, in view of the singular verbs that follow.

[1–1] Chimeram . . . fingitur Chimeram occidisse (p. 816)] Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xi. 3. 36; Servius, *Commentarii,* v. 118, vi. 288. The phrase 'quam Bellorofons dicitur peremisse' is an addition by Gervase.

exponunt ad litteram Chimeram esse montem Cilicie, qui locis quibusdam leones nutrit[2] et capreas, quibusdam ardebat,[c] quibusdam plenus erat serpentibus. Hunc Bellorofons habitabilem fecit, unde fingitur Chimeram occidisse.[1] Legitur autem Sibilla que in Italia uaticinata est Chimera[3] dicta propter sua uaticinia, que mutabilitate sua uarias profecie producebat figuras.

[4]Erant enim decem Sibille, dicte sic a *syos*, quod Eolico sermone sonat 'deus', et *belos*,[d] quod est 'mens'. Inde Sibilla quasi Dei mens uel diuina mens. Sicut ergo prophete uates, ita femine Sibille appellabantur. Prima erat Persica; secunda Libissa; tercia Delfica, in templo Delfi[e] genita, que Troiana bella uaticinata est; quarta Chimera[f] in Ytalia; quinta Eritrea nomine Griffilla,[g] orta in Babilone, que Grecis Ylion petentibus uaticinata est perituram Troiam et Homerum mendacia scripturum; sexta Samia, que Seminace[h] dicta est; septima Cumana nomine Amalthea, que et Cymea; octaua Ellespontis,[i] in agro Troiano nata, que scribitur tempore Cyri et
f. 85r Solonis[j] fuisse;[k] nona Frigia, que uaticinata est Ancire;[l] | decima et ultima Tyburtina, nomine Albunea.[m]

Porro omnes hee de Christo manifestissime[n] scripserunt.[o] Celebrior autem inter omnes Eritrea,[4] [5]que uaticinata legitur tempore quo Roma condita fuit; quo tempore regnauit Achaz,[p] uel ut alii dicunt Ezechias,[5] ut supra, *De ducibus Israel et regibus Lacii*,[6] lacius diximus. [7]Huic[q] ascribit uir clarissimus Flactianus in quodam Greco codice illud celebre uaticinium, *Iudicii Signum*.[r] Tradunt alii hec dixisse Cymeam inter multa alia que contra falsos deos scripsit.[7] *Hystoria*

[c] ardebat *NC; alebat A; om. β (space left in Q)* [d] belon *ACXQ*, belen *I and MSS of Isidore* [e] Delfi *NXI*, Delphi *ACQ;* Delphii Apollinis *Isidore* [f] Cimmeria *Isidore* [g] Griffilla *supplied by author N;* Crifila *AXQ*, Trifila *C;* Erifila *I;* Herophila *Isidore* [h] Semonoe *I*, Phemonoe *Isidore* [i] Helespontia *I*, Hellespontia *Isidore* [j] Solonis *Isidore;* Salonis (*correcting* Salomónis) *N*, *CQI;* Salomonis *A* [k] fuisse *supplied by author N* [l] Ancire *supplied by author N;* nomen est Cuniatis *written by author in margin N* [m] Albulnea *N* [n] manifeste *CXQ* [o] scripserunt *supplied by author N* [p] Akaz *N* [q] hinc *N* [r] Signum *supplied by author N*

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[2] One would expect *nutriebat*. In place of the relative clause here, Isidore has: 'quibusdam locis leones et capreas nutrientem, quibusdam ardentem, quibusdam plenum serpentibus.'

[3] Varro, Lactantius, and Isidore name this Sibyl Cimmeria (see n. 4).

[4-4] Erant . . . inter omnes Eritrea] Abbreviated and adapted from Isidore, *Etym.* viii. 8. The list of Sibyls derives ultimately from Varro (*Antiquitates rerum divinarum*, ed. B. Cardauns (Wiesbaden, 1976), i. 42, frag. 56a); it was also drawn on by Lactantius (*Divinae institutiones*, i. 6. 7–12, *CSEL* xix. 20–3), Augustine (*Civ.* xviii. 23, *CSEL* xl (2). 297–300 = *PL* xli. 579–81), and others.

literal meaning Chimera is the name of a mountain of Cilicia, which supported[2] lions and goats in some parts, blazed with fire in others, and in others was full of snakes. Bellerophon made this mountain habitable, whence he is represented as having killed the Chimera.[1] One reads elsewhere that the Sibyl who prophesied in Italy was called Chimera[3] because of the nature of her oracles: she produced different kinds of prophecy, in accordance with her own changeableness.

[4]There were in fact ten Sibyls, so-called from *σιός*, which means 'god' in the Aeolian dialect, and *βουλή*, which means 'mind'. And so a Sibyl is, as it were, the mind of God, or the divine mind. Just as male prophets, then, were called *uates* or soothsayers, so female prophets were called Sibyls. The first Sibyl lived in Persia; the second in Libya; the third at Delphi, where she was born in the temple: this one prophesied the Trojan Wars; the fourth was Chimera in Italy; the fifth was the Erythraean Sibyl, called Herophila: she was born in Babylon, and prophesied to the Greeks, when they were on their way to Ilium, that Troy would fall and Homer would write lies; the sixth was the Samian Sibyl, who was called Phemonoe; the seventh was the Cumaean Sibyl, called Amalthea, or Cumaea; the eighth was the Sibyl of the Hellespont, who was born on the Trojan plain, and who is reported to have lived in the time of Cyrus and Solon; the ninth was the Phrygian, who prophesied at Ancyra; the tenth and last was the Tiburtine Sibyl, whose name was Albunea.

Now all of these Sibyls wrote quite explicitly about Christ. The most famous of them all was the Erythraean,[4] [5]who prophesied, one reads, at the time when Rome was founded, during the reign of Ahaz or, as others say, of Hezekiah;[5] we have spoken of this more fully above, in *The Leaders of Israel and the Kings of Latium*.[6] [7]The eminent Flaccianus ascribes to this Sibyl that famous oracle, *The Sign of Judgment*, found in a certain Greek book. Others say that the Cumaean Sibyl pronounced this oracle, among many others which she wrote against false gods.[7] The *History of the Romans* ascribed it to

[5-5] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* xviii. 22–3 (*CSEL* xl (2). 296–7 = *PL* xli. 578–9).

[6] *Otia*, ii. 14 ends with the founding of Rome, but the passage Gervase has in mind here would seem to be ii. 15 at nn. 30–2.

[7-7] Huic . . . falsos deos scripsit] Cf. Augustine, *Civ.* xviii. 23 (*CSEL* xl (2). 297–300 = *PL* xli. 579–81). In this chapter Augustine gives an account of a conversation he had had with Flaccianus, a former proconsul. Flaccianus showed him the prophecy which was known as the *Iudicii Signum* after its opening words in Latin. A Latin translation is quoted in full by Augustine; the Greek text may be found in *Sibyllinische Weissagungen*, ed. A. Kurfess (Munich, 1951), pp. 170–2.

Romanorum[s] hec Sibille[t] Tyburtine ascripsit, ut supra,[u] titulo *De Romano imperio*,[8] memorauimus. [9]Lactentius[v] quoque interserit apertissima de Christo uaticinia Sibille, quamuis cui[w] Sibille ascribantur non exprimat. Sed hoc certissimum est, quod in uerbis illis apertissime series passionis, de[x] felle et aceto, de cruce et colaphis, de obscuracione solis per tres horas, de morte et resurrectione continetur.[9]

cxxii. *De montibus quorum nix ad clamorem aggerata descendit et plurimos corruit*[a]

Est in regno Arelatensi et prouincia Ebredunensi locus quo per Alpium summa cacumina, facili cursu in estate et breui, sed plurimum periculoso transitu, descenditur in Ytaliam. Nomen uallis de Lentuscla[b] incole indiderunt. In cuius apice, si quis tussierit uel[c] clamauerit, statim ex altis rupibus nix coagulata descendit, et exaggerationem[d] ad se trahens, infinito cumulo transeuntes obruit et ad infinitam abissum deiectos prosternit.

cxxiii. *De auibus que ex arboribus gignuntur*[a]

Cum secundum insitam prime creationis naturam ex primis generantibus animalia prodeant per[b] generationem et corrupcionem, nouum et inauditum est apud omnes pereque nationes quod in quadam maioris Britannie parte cotidianum est. Ecce enim, in archiepiscopatu Cantuariensi, comitatu Cancio, ad confinium abbatie de Faueresham,[1] in littore maris arbuscule nascuntur ad quantitatem salicum. Ex istis nodi pullulant, uelud future germinacionis

[s] Romana *CXQ* [t] Sibille *om. CXQ* [u] supra *supplied by author N* [v] *sic MSS for* Lactantius [w] cui *supplied by author N* [x] de] et *supplied by author N*

[a] De . . . corruit] *supplied by author N;* De ualle de Lentuscla *CXQ;* De niuibus obruentibus transseuntes *I; om. A* [b] Lentuscula *N* [c] uel] aut *ACβ* [d] exaggregationem *Q,* ad exaggregationem *X,* ex aggregatione *ACI*

[a] De . . . gignuntur] *supplied by author N;* De auibus que nascuntur ex arboribus *CXQ;* De auibus nascentibus ex arboribus *I; om. A* [b] per *supplied by author N*

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[8] See *Otia*, ii. 16, at n. 5. The work referred to here as the *Historia Romanorum* is the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*.

the Tiburtine Sibyl, as we have recorded above, in the chapter *The Roman Empire*.[8] [9]Lactantius also inserts in his work some very explicit prophecies concerning Christ pronounced by a Sibyl, though he does not specify to which Sibyl they are to be attributed. But what is utterly certain is that in those words is contained quite clearly the sequence of events of the passion: there are references to the gall and the vinegar, the cross and the blows, the darkening of the sun for three hours, and the death and resurrection.[9]

122. *Mountains whose Snow Descends in an Avalanche at a Shout, and Overwhelms a Great Many People*

In the kingdom of Arles and the province of Embrun, there is a place from where it is possible to descend into Italy from among the highest peaks of the Alps. The route is easy in summer, and short, but it is very dangerous to travel along it. The locals have given this place the name of the Valley of Lantosque. If anyone coughs or shouts at its highest point, the frozen snow is immediately dislodged from the high crags and gathers volume until, in a vast mass, it overwhelms any people passing through; casting them into a bottomless abyss, it hurls them to their death.

123. *Birds which Grow out of Trees*

Complying with a property implanted in primal creation, from their first progenitors living creatures come into being through a process of generation and decay; but there is a strange thing, unheard of in any other country, that is of daily occurrence in a certain part of Great Britain. It is this: in the archdiocese of Canterbury, in the county of Kent, near Faversham Abbey,[1] small trees grow on the sea-shore, about the size of willows. From them nodes sprout, which look like the harbingers of future germination, but when they have grown for

[9–9] Lactentius . . . et resurrectione continetur] Cf. Augustine, loc. cit.; Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones*, iv. 18–19 (*CSEL* xix. 349–64). Gervase here summarizes Augustine's abridgement of Lactantius, who quotes a number of prophecies, joined together into one by Augustine, telling the story of Christ's passion and resurrection.

[1] Faversham Abbey, a Benedictine house of Cluniac observance, was founded in 1148 by King Stephen and his queen Matilda (D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales* (London, 1971), p. 65).

prenuncii, cumque secundum tempora creationis excreuerint, formantur in auiculas. Que post dies nature datos, rostro dependent et[c] uiuificate, facta[d] leui alarum succusacione, quasi puerperio consumato, in mare decidunt, et quandoque capiuntur ab indigenis, quandoque marinis fluctibus exposite humanis contactibus[e] subtrahuntur. Aues iste ad quantitatem modicorum anserum crescunt, pennis uariis et aucinis intermixte. Quadragesimali tempore assate comeduntur, considerata ad hoc pocius[f] natiua processione quam carnis sapiditate. Auem uulgus bernectam nominat.[2]

cxxiv.[a] *De racemis que[b] nullum animal comedere potest et cum faciant uinum optimum[c]*

In Galliis, prouincia Narbonensi, iuxta ciuitatem Vcetiam,[d] est uinea ad dominium episcopi[e] pertinens, de cuius racemis nec[f] canis nec porcus nec aliud animal gustare potest; et facit uinum optimum.

cxxv. *De fonte qui tempore metendorum pratorum apparet[a]*

In prouincia Narbonensi, Lodouensi episcopatu, est fons apud Spauiacum[b] [1] qui tempore metendorum et adaquandorum pratorum[c] ad pratum quoddam irrigandum scaturit affluenter, et post eiusdem prati tonsionem statim arescit et non comparet.[2]

[c] et | et *N* [d] facta *XQ;* facto *NACI* [e] contractibus *ACβ* [f] pocius *supplied by author N*

[a] *In I chapters cxxiv–cxxx appear as items 10–16 of the addenda (see Appendix i)* [b] *sic N for* quos [c] De . . . optimum] *supplied by author N;* De uinea Vcetie (Norcie *I*) *Cβ; om. A* [d] Viennam *N*, Vienniam *A* [e] dominum episcopum *Cβ* [f] nec *om. XQ*

[a] De . . . apparet] *written by rubricator at head of following chapter, and keyed to right place N, A;* De fonte qui tempore pratorum scaturit *Cβ* [b] Spanniacum *Cβ* [c] pratorum *supplied by author N*

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[2] On the barnacle-goose, see H. Büchtold-Stäubli *et al.*, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927–8), s.v. *Baumgans*, coll. 958–62; V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes* (Liège, 1892–1922), vii. 18; Liebrecht, pp. 163–4. The earliest account of the creature, dating from the tenth century, is found in an Arabic travel-book. In all the first accounts it is said to be found in England or Ireland; later it spread to the rest of northern Europe. Descriptions similar to Gervase's are given by Alexander Neckam (*De naturis rerum*, i. 48) and Gerald of Wales (*Topographia Hibernica*, i. 15). The barnacle-goose may be compared with the vegetable-lamb which grew in the east: there was said to be a shrub whose seed-pods burst open to reveal little lambs with beautiful fleeces. This was the cotton plant. See H. Lee, *The Vegetable Lamb of Tartary* (London, 1887); C. W. Bynum, 'Wonder', *American Historical Review*, cii (1997), 25 (ill.). Both these misconceptions went unquestioned for many centuries.

the time allotted in creation, they take on the shape of little birds. At the end of the number of days required by nature, these birds hang down by their beaks and come to life with a light fluttering of their wings; then, with their incubation, as it were, complete, they drop into the sea. Sometimes they are caught by the locals, but sometimes they go free on the ocean-waves, escaping human grasp. These birds grow to the size of small geese, their plumage consisting of a mixture of goose- and other feathers. In the season of Lent they are roasted and eaten, their manner of birth being taken into consideration for this rather than the fact that they taste of meat. The people call this bird the barnacle-goose.[2]

124. *Grapes which No Animal Can Eat even Though they Make Very Good Wine*

In Gaul, in the province of Narbonne, near the city of Uzès, there is a vineyard pertaining to the bishop's demesne. No dog, pig, or any other animal is able to eat the bunches of grapes in this vineyard; even so it produces very good wine.

125. *A Spring which Appears in the Hay-Making Season*

In the province of Narbonne and the diocese of Lodève, there is a spring at Spaviacum[1] which gushes up profusely to irrigate a certain meadow, at the time when meadows have to be mown and watered. Once the mowing of this same meadow is finished, it immediately dries up and disappears.[2]

[1] Perhaps Aspiran, near Lodève (Duchesne, *Livre*, p. 172, n. 355), or Les Espagnats, near Pignan (Barrière, *Contribution*, p. 133, n. 1440).

[2] Gervase here embarks on a group of chapters on the properties of springs, one of the most popular subjects of folklore; see also *Otia*, iii. 48 and 89. A similar grouping together of marvellous springs occurs in Neckam's *De naturis rerum* (ii. 3–9) and in Gerald of Wales's *Topographia Hibernica* (ii. 7–8). On the folklore of springs, see Sébillot, *Folk-Lore*, ii. 209–303. The idea that some springs only flowed at a certain time of the year was quite common; sometimes it was in honour of a particular feast day that a spring appeared (Sébillot, *Folk-Lore*, ii. 212).

cxxvi. *De aqua ex qua sanantur gutturnosi*[a]

Est in prouincia Ebredunensi, que pars est regni Arelatensis, castrum de Barles, in cuius territorio fons scaturit, ex cuius aque potu ac lauacro curantur gutturnosi.[1]

Sunt et in regno Arelatensi plurimi fontes qui estate feruente scaturiunt, yeme uero siccantur.

cxxvii. *De fonte qui repente perditur et redit*[a]

Insigne mirabile: in regno Arelatensi, comitatu Aquensi, uilla Camps,[b] [1] territorio Argentino, est[c] fons qui repentina ebullicione prodit,[d] in quo lauatur; et post modicum, cum respicitur locus scaturiginis, nullum prorsus fontis[e] apparet uestigium, usque adeo quod et[f] si signum baculi aut pallii pro nota dimiseris,[g] nec baculum nec pallium reperies, nisi forte post octo dies et sub eodem casu. Huic mirabili argumentum prestat insula perdita que Fortunatorum dicitur, ut supra, *De tercia parte orbis*, iuxta finem tituli.[2]

cxxviii. *De duobus fontibus, quorum unus numquam coquit, alius numquam bulit*[a]

Est in prouincia Narbonensi uicus Aluiganus nomine, in quo duo sunt fontes, quorum unus numquam aliquid coquit, alterius aqua numquam bullit.[1]

[a] De . . . gutturnosi] *supplied by author in margin; also written by rubricator at head of following chapter and deleted N;* (ex *om.*) *A;* De fonte quo curantur guturnosi *CQI; om. X*

[a] De . . . redit] *written by rubricator at head of following chapter, and keyed to right place N, A;* De fonte qui subito disparet *Cβ* [b] Camps *supplied by author N* [c] est *supplied by author after* fons *N* [d] prodit] scaturit *I; om. CXQ* [e] fontis prorsus *N* [f] et *supplied by author N* [g] demerseris *C*, dimerseris *XQ*

[a] De . . . bulit] *written by rubricator* (De . . . fontibus) *and author* (quorum . . . bulit) *at head of following chapter, and keyed to right place;* quorum unus numquam bullit *written by rubricator at head of chapter cxxx and deleted N;* De duobus fontibus quorum unus numquam ebullit, alius numquam coquit *A;* De fontibus Aluigani *Cβ*

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[1] On Barles, see Achard, *Description*, i. 305–6; it is perhaps the same healing spring which he mentions: 'On trouve dans son territoire une fontaine d'eau minérale qu'on dit propre à la guérison des écrouelles'—sufferers from scrofula, rather than goitre. Sébillot

126. *Water by which People who Suffer from Goitre are Cured*

In the province of Embrun, which is part of the kingdom of Arles, is the village of Barles. In the territory of this village flows a spring, by drinking and washing in whose water people who suffer from goitre are cured.[1]

There are also a great number of springs in the kingdom of Arles which gush forth in the heat of summer, but dry up in winter.

127. *A Spring which Suddenly Disappears and then Comes Back Again*

Here is an outstanding marvel: in the village of Camps,[1] which is in the kingdom of Arles and the county of Aix, in the territory of the Argens, there is a spring which appears with a sudden gush. One washes in it, and then a little while later when one looks at the place from where it was flowing, no trace of the spring is visible at all. Its disappearance is so complete that even if you have left a stick or a cloak as a sign to mark the place, you will find neither the stick nor the cloak, unless by chance you find them eight days later in the same circumstances. The lost island known as the Isle of the Blessed, which we mentioned above, in *The Third Part of the World*, towards the end of the chapter,[2] provides evidence in support of this miracle.

128. *Two Springs, One of which Never Cooks, while the Other Never Boils*

In the province of Narbonne there is a village called Le Vigan, in which there are two springs: one of them never cooks anything, while the water of the other never boils.[1]

remarks (*Folk-lore*, ii. 256): 'De toutes les croyances qui s'attachent aux fontaines, la plus répandue, la plus persistante, la plus considérée comme vraie, est celle qui leur attribue le pouvoir de guérir.'

[1] Achard (*Description*, i. 398–9) describes Camps as built on a hill-side, at the foot of which rises a beautiful spring, but he does not say that this spring is prone to disappear. The river Argens runs nearby.

[2] See *Otia*, ii. 11, at n. 34.

[1] Cf. *Otia*, iii. 48, for another spring whose water would not boil.

cxxix. *De fonte qui sola hora in die scaturit*[a]

In prouincia Arelatensi, ad confinium Massilie, est castrum Cesaresta, in cuius finibus est fons qui una tantum hora[1] scaturiens cotidie mare ingreditur.[2]

cxxx. *De fonte qui nihil sordidum admittit*[a]

f. 85^{v} Apud Narbonensem prouinciam,[b] episcopatu Vticensi, est fons[c] | in quem si quid sordidum miseris, statim fons scaturiginem suam mutat et priorem locum deserit.[d] [1]

[a]*Exitus operis. Epistola ad magistrum Iohannem Marcum,*[b] *secretarium domini imperatoris*[c] [1]

Venerabili amico, uni ex paucis, Iohanni Marco, preposito de Hyldenesham, unus ex precordialibus suis et deuotis, magister Geruasius, in regno Arelatensi imperialis aule mariscallus, salutem, et in actiua cum Martha Marie optimam partem eligere.[2]

Cum mediator Dei et hominum Christus[3] sic [d]ordinauerit rerum seriem ut non per rapinam[4] arbitremur nos[e] diuinam pertingere celsitudinem posse, sed quasi scala media diuinitatem contemplemur,

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[a] De . . . scaturit] *written in margin by author N;* De fonte Cesareste *Cβ; om. A*

[a] De . . . admittit] *written by author in margin, also by rubricator at head of following epistle and deleted N, A;* De fonte qui sordes omnes respuit *Cβ* [b] prouinciam *supplied by author N* [c] apud cenobium sancti Nycolai de Campaniaco *added after* fons *C* [d] *This chapter is followed in X by items 17–31 of the addenda, and in Q by items 17–28*

[a] *This letter appears at the end of the text in 13 MSS, including NAQI. In Q it follows the addenda; in I it precedes them* [b] magistrum . . . Marcum] *om. Q* [c] Exitus . . . imperatoris] *written by author in margin N* [d–d] ordinauerit . . . amplius erit merear (*p. 826*)] ordinem ascensionis nostre disposuerit ut, humanitatis sue beneficio uelut ad interpellandum nuncio, maiestatis eius celsitudinem pertingamus, non indignum est humiliora queque corporis membra dignioribus uti ad secreta cordis uiciniora capessenda. Inde est quod oculus superior gressus dirigit, et opera manuum quadam rationalitatis directione nunc arcet, nunc ad operandum inuitat, et dum inclusu regis, id est cordis, est nuncius, appetitum internum ad bonos extraneos actus dirigit, aspernando mala, et bona discernendo. Sic ego, considerans uestram erga dominum communem fidem, et circa eius fideles beniuolentiam, uos operis huius presentatorem elegi, ut maiestati offeratis imperiali minutum quod ex affectu ponderabit, non censu *Q* [e] ad *add. after* nos *I*

129. *A Spring which Flows for a Single Hour in the Day*

In the province of Arles, near Marseilles, is the village of Ceyreste, within whose bounds there is a spring which bubbles up and flows into the sea for only one hour[1] every day.[2]

130. *A Spring which Admits Nothing Dirty*

In the province of Narbonne and the diocese of Uzès, there is a spring which, if you throw anything dirty into it, immediately alters its flow and abandons its former site.[1]

The End of the Work. A Letter to Master John Mark, Secretary of the Lord Emperor[1]

To the venerable John Mark, provost of Hildesheim and a rare friend, Master Gervase, one of the number of his affectionate and devoted servants, marshal of the imperial court in the kingdom of Arles, sends his greetings, and desires that, in the midst of the active life which he shares with Martha, he may choose Mary's better part.[2]

Christ, the mediator between God and humankind,[3] so arranged the order of the world that we should not think that we can reach God's sublime majesty by a direct assault,[4] but should contemplate the divinity with a ladder, as it were, in between, letting his beneficent

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[1] Gervase does not always observe the proper distinction between the accusative and the ablative in expressions of time; here and in the title the ablative expresses duration.

[2] Achard (*Description*, i. 442) says of Ceyreste (the ancient Greek colony of Citharista): 'Le Pays manque d'eau, on n'y boit que celle qui se ramasse dans les citernes. On a à la vérité deux sources qui sont nommées "les fouents d'ammoun": mais quoiqu'elles soient près du lieu, on n'en profite pas.'

[1] Liebrecht (p. 164) connects this marvel with the belief in the purifying power of water. Sébillot (*Folk-lore*, ii. 192–3) gives a number of other examples of springs which remove themselves or dry up if they are sullied, and suggests that they derive either from a belief in a divinity inhabiting the spring, or from a respect for drinking-water. These stories may be compared with others which tell of water taking offence if anything is thrown into it: cf. *Otia*, iii. 66, n. 2, and iii. 89, n. 2.

[1] On the identity of John Mark, see above, p. xl.

[2] Cf. Luke 10: 38–42. [3] Cf. 1 Tim. 2: 5.

[4] Cf. Phil. 2: 6: 'non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo' ('thought it not robbery to be equal with God' (A.V. and D.V.)).

mediante sue humanitatis beneficio: dignum est ut nos, Christi exemplo, imperialem non attemptemus maiestatem pastorum sibilo,[5] si non internuncium premiserimus ad gratiam capessendam. Quoniam igitur ad tante celsitudinis beniuolentiam captandam liberalitas uestra uelud mediatrix est, opusculum quod ad ocium imperiale contexui uestre dilectioni preoffero, ut si uideritis acceptum fore, munusculum a uobis probationem capiat et oblationem, et secundum illud:

> Vox, precor, augustas pro me tua molliat aures,[6]

non quasi in aliquo demeruerim, sed ut facilius quod amplius erit merear.[d] Sit ergo inter dulcedinem principis et deuocionem subditi liberalitas uestra dextera mediatrix, ut quod in me operatur pia deuocio ad merendum, te mediatore[f] operetur effusa principis largitas ad gratificandum. Profecto non modica nostri meriti portio redundabit in uos, si gratiam augustalem ex gratia uestre interpretationis[g] senserimus augeri, cum non minor sit gratia suggerentis quam remunerantis; etenim causa[h] retributionis multotiens est instantia memorantis.

Valeat dominus et[i] amicus, liberalitatem consuetam[j] sine intermissione continuans apud deuotum.[k]

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[f] mediante Q [g] gratia uestre interpretationis] uestra suggestione Q [h] causa *supplied by author* N [i] dominus et *om.* Q [j] liberalitatem consuetam] intus assuetam liberalitatem Q [k] Explicit *add. after* deuotum *A*; Finis Q; Deo gracias. Amen *I*

human nature mediate for us; it is therefore fitting that, learning from Christ's example, we should not assail the imperial majesty with our rustic piping,[5] without having sent a herald before us to win his favour. Since, therefore, your kindness serves as a kind of mediatrix for winning the good-will of such an exalted personage, I am offering this little work which I have composed for the emperor's recreation to you first, counting on your friendship, in the hope that, if you regard it as acceptable, our offering may have the privilege of being presented with a recommendation from you, even as the verse says:

> May your voice, I pray, win the august ears to my cause.[6]

It is not that I have really done anything to deserve it, but rather that I may more easily obtain what will be more than I deserve. May your kindness, then, prove an effective mediatrix between the prince's gentleness and his subject's devotion, in order that, so far as loyal devotion makes me worthy, the prince's generosity may, through your mediation, make him lavish in bestowing favour. To be sure, no small part of our thanks will redound upon you, if we find that the emperor's approval is increased by your favourable representation, since the kindness shown in speaking on someone's behalf is no less than that shown in offering some recompense: indeed, it is very often the urging of one's advocate which procures a reward.

I bid my lord and friend farewell: may he never cease to show his accustomed kindness towards his devoted servant.

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[5] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* xiii. 785.
[6] Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, i. 2. 117.

APPENDIX I

Addenda in *β* but not in *N**

i.[a] [1]

Sunt autem hec nomina celorum: *rachia*, id est extensorium, de quo dixit Dauid: 'extendens celum sicut pelles.'[2] Hoc Latini dicunt firmamentum, in quo sunt signa, astra, et planete. Super illud est celum quod uocant *samaim*, compositum ex *sam*, quod est 'hic', et *maim*,[b] quod interpretatur 'que',[c] [3] quasi dicat: 'mira sunt in eo et soli Deo[d] cognita.' Quippe *man*[e] notat: 'quid[f] hoc?' admiratiue, unde *manna*.[4] Quia ergo celos et ea que in eis sunt fecit Dominus[g] in intellectu, quasi sibi soli intellecta, dicuntur ea *maym*,[h] id est: 'que hic?' admiratiue. Est autem *samaym* quasi nomen commune omnibus celis.[5] Super illud est celum quod dicitur *sahachim*, super illud *zeuul*,[i] super illud *maon*, super illud *machon*, super illud *arauhot*.[j] Sub *rachia* dicunt esse quasi uelum, quod Ebreus *uelon* nominat,[6] quod mane extenditur et uespere constringitur; quo collecto apparent sidera. Verum ex nimio splendore suo sol illud in die transuerberans apparet solus.

Ad hoc Ebreus septem notat esse terras, id est septem diuersitates

[a] *This passage appears as the first of the addenda in I, on f. 219*[r-v], *headed by the words:* Folio .xiii. ad hoc signum o+o, *the folio number and the sign having been inserted later by Peiresc. The sign also appears on f. 13*[r] *(in i. 3: see p. 36), with Peiresc's marginal instruction:* Hic inserendum supplementum de coelis ex fol. 219. *In X, the passage is incorporated at this point in i. 3; it is wanting in Q*   [b] *sic MSS for* man   [c] que *ed.;* quem *X; om. I*   [d] sunt *add. after* Deo *I*   [e] maun *X*   [f] quod *X*   [g] Deus *I*   [h] *sic MSS for* man   [i] zeuul] est euum *I*   [j] arauoht *I*

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* The passages in this appendix constitute the addenda which accrued to *β* (see above, pp. lxvii and lxxxiii–lxxxv). Of the 31 items attached at the end of *I*, 8 (items 9–16) were incorporated in *N* and its descendants; the others are presented in full here. The text is reconstructed from *X*, *Q*, and *I*.

[1] The source of this passage is the classical statement on the seven heavens in the Babylonian Talmud, *Hagigah* (Order *Mo'ed*) 12b; see R. Loewe, 'Midrashic Alchemy: Exegesis, Ethics, Aesthetics in Judaism', in '*Open Thou Mine Eyes . . .*': *Essays presented to Rabbi William G. Braude*, ed. H. J. Blumberg and others (Hoboken, 1992), p. 127, nn. 86–90. Professor Loewe, who kindly advised us on this passage, suggested that Gervase's immediate source was probably oral. There was in fact quite a considerable Jewish

APPENDIX I

Addenda in *β* but not in *N**

1.[1]

These are the names of the heavens: *raqia'*, which means expansion, the heaven of which David said: 'stretching out the heaven like a tent.'[2] The Latins call it the firmament, and it contains the constellations, the stars, and the planets. Above it is the heaven which they call *shamayim*, a word made up from *sham*, which means 'here', and *man*, which is translated as 'what things?',[3] as if to say: 'there are wonderful things in it which God alone understands.' For *man* is in fact an expression of wonder, meaning: 'what is this?'; it is where the word *manna* comes from.[4] So because God made the heavens and all that they contain in his understanding, in such a way that they could be understood by him alone, they are called *man*, that is: 'what things are here?', out of wonder. *Shamayim* also serves as a kind of common name for all the heavens.[5] Above *shamayim* is the heaven which is called *shehaqim;* above that is *zebul;* above that *ma'on;* above that *makhon;* above that *'araboth*. Underneath *raqia'* they say that there is a sort of veil, for which the Hebrew word is *uelon*,[6] which is stretched out in the morning and rolled up in the evening; when it has been removed, the stars are visible. During the day only the sun can be seen: its exceeding brightness enables it to pierce the veil.

The Hebrews in addition distinguish seven earths, that is, seven

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community in twelfth-century Arles, with which Gervase doubtless had some contact (cf. Caldwell, 'Addenda', p. 99).

[2] Ps. 103 (104): 2; the Vulgate has 'pellem'. The word *pellis* (a skin) was used, especially in the plural, to mean a tent, since tents were covered with skins; the Hebrew word used here means 'curtain'.

[3] Professor Loewe informed us that extraneous matter is here introduced into the Talmudic source: according to conventional rabbinic teaching, *shamayim* is derived from *'esh* (fire) and *mayim* (water). The word *sham* strictly speaking means 'there', not 'here'; *man* (not *mayim*) means 'what?' The source of this etymology was probably Christian, not Jewish.

[4] Cf. Exod. 16: 15; *Otia*, iii. 28, at n. 14.

[5] Since it serves as the name for all the heavens, *shamayim* is not used for any one of the seven in the Hebrew series: see Loewe, p. 127, n. 90.

[6] i.e. the Greek loan-word *βῆλον*, itself borrowed from the Latin *uelum;* see Loewe, loc. cit.

terrarum, dum hec culta est, illa inculta; et cum terram indistincte nominent, hanc[k] tamen cultam dicunt Ebrei *teuel*,[l] incultam *mithbar*. Vnde in psalmo uicesimo quarto: *Adonay*[m] *haareth umeloa teuel*,[n] hoc est, 'Domini est terra et plenitudo eius; terra[o] et habitatores in ea,'[7] *uiosue*[p] *bazam*.[q]

Licet ergo *maim* alibi notet aquas, tamen in opere secunde diei notat quedam corpora superlunaria et non intellecta. Vnde ait Moyses: '*Wiomer*[r] (et dixit) *Eloym* (Deus) *gehi* (sit) *rachia*[s] (id est extensorium uel firmamentum) *bethoc* (in medio) *hamaym*[t] (id est corporum superiorum et inferiorum),'[8] quasi separans[u] ea. Sicut autem superiora quedam sunt uiuentia, ut angeli, quedam non, ut astra, ita inferiora quedam sunt animata, quedam non. Sed omnia inferiora sunt uisibilia, et non superiora, de quibus supra dixerat: 'Et spiritus Domini ferebatur super aquas.'[9] Non ergo secundum Ebreos[v] sunt aque super celos, sed *maym*, id est quedam inuisibilia et non intellecta. Vnde Moyses: '*Brosith* (in principio) *bara* (creauit) *Eloym* (Deus) *et* (autem) *hassamaym* (celum) *uareth* (et terram).'[10] Cum ergo prius fecisset celum et terram indistincta et confusa[w] in yle, secunda[x] die distinxit superiora ab inferioribus, scilicet non intelligibilia ab intelligibilibus, construens[y] quasi diafragma, quod in homine separat spiritualia a uitalibus, et illud medium uocat Ebreus *rachiam*, Latinus firmamentum. Et quia terra aquis circumclusa non apparebat, congregauit aquas in locum quem Ebrei nominant *uchianos*;[11] et ita separata ab aquis apparuit arida. Dicit ergo Ebreus aquas non esse super celos, sed tantum sub celis. Terra uero, quasi centrum et ponderosa, nec ascendere potest nec descendere.[z] Cum enim corpus sit spericum, si ascenderet et descenderet, omni motu suo circumferentie medium excedens, et ita contra naturam ponderositatis sue ascenderet.

Sic ergo Deus . . .[12]

[k] harum *X* [l] tu uel *X* [m] *sic MSS for* l-Adonai [n] umeloa teuel *Loewe;* intilo ateuel *I*, intiola te uel *X* [o] terra *om. I* [p] uiosuo *I* [q] *sic MSS for* ba [r] uenio mer *I* [s] rachul *I* [t] hamalaym *X* [u] superans *I* [v] Hebreum *I* [w] confuse *I* [x] secundo *X* [y] constituentes *X* [z] nec descendere *om. X*

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[7] Cf. Ps. 23: 1; the Vulgate has: 'Orbis terrarum, et universi qui habitant in eo' after the semicolon.

[8] Cf. Gen. 1: 6: 'Dixit quoque Deus: Fiat firmamentum in medio aquarum: et dividat aquas ab aquis.'

[9] Gen. 1: 2.

[10] Gen. 1: 1.

[11] i.e. the Greek loan-word ὠκεανός.

[12] These words form a link with the text of *Otia*, i. 3, which is here resumed.

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different regions of the earth. One region is cultivated, another uncultivated; and while the Hebrews do not have separate names for all of the different regions of the earth, they do call the cultivated earth *tebhel*, and the uncultivated *midhbar*. And so in the twenty-fourth psalm we read: *l-'Adonai ha-'ares u-meloah tebel*, that is, 'The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein,'[7] *ve-yoshebe bah*.

Now although elsewhere *mayim* denotes waters, in the work of the second day it denotes certain bodies in the region above the moon, which are beyond our understanding. And so Moses wrote: '*Vay-yomer Elohim* (And God said): *yehi* (Let there be) *raqia'* (that is, an expansion or firmament) *bethokh* (in between) *ha-mayim* (that is, the upper bodies and the lower bodies),'[8] separating them, as it were. Now just as some of the upper bodies are endowed with life, like the angels, while others are not, like the stars, so some of the lower bodies are alive and others not. But all the lower bodies are visible, unlike the upper bodies, of which Moses had previously said: 'And the Spirit of God was borne over the waters.'[9] According to the Hebrews, therefore, there are not waters above the heavens, but *mayim*, that is, certain invisible bodies, beyond our understanding. And so Moses wrote: '*Bere'shith* (In the beginning) *bara' 'Elohim* (God created) *'eth hash-shamayim* (the heaven) *ve'eth ha'-ares* (and the earth).'[10] When he first made the heaven and the earth he did not separate them, but they were mixed together in the *hyle;* then on the second day he distinguished the upper bodies from the lower bodies, that is, those which are not intelligible to us from those that are, constructing something like the diaphragm which, in a human body, separates the spiritual organs from the vital organs; and the Hebrews call that dividing structure *raqia'*, while the Latins call it the firmament. And because the earth was not visible, being engulfed by the waters, he gathered the waters into the place which the Hebrews call *oceanos*;[11] and thus the dry land appeared, separated from the waters. The Hebrews, then, say that there are no waters above the heavens, but only below the heavens. But the earth, which is heavy and forms, so to speak, the centre of things, can neither rise nor fall. For since it is a spherical body, if it were to rise and fall, repudiating the mean of its circumference with every movement that it made, its rising would be contrary to its natural heaviness.

God therefore . . .[12]

ii.[a] [1]

[2]In radice montis Caspii et Caucasi habitant Dranci, Euergete,[b] Parime,[c] Parapammerii, Adaspii, quos Alexander subiugauit;[2] a quibus Indiam intrauit, ut occeano ultimoque oriente finiret imperium. Cui[d] glorie ut etiam ornamenta conuenirent exercitus, faleras equorum et arma ⟨militum⟩[e] argento induit, exercitumque suum a clipeis argenteis Argiraspidas[3] appellauit. Exhinc ad Nisam urbem uenit, a Libero[4] patre conditam. Tunc ad spectaculum sacri montis duxit exercitum, a quo, correptus repentino mentis[f][5] impetu, non tam opidanis parcendo quam exercitui consulendo recessit. Inde montes Dedalos,[g] regnum[h] Cleophidis[i] regine, petit, que cum ei se dedisset concubitu,[6] illecebris consequitur quod armis non poterat, filiumque ab eo genitum[j] Alexandrum nominauit, qui postea regno Indorum potitus est. Accedens ad saxum mire celsitudinis et asperitatis, cognoscit Herculem ab expugnatione illius per terre motum[k] fuisse prohibitum. Captus itaque cupidine Herculis acta superare, cum summo labore ac periculo omnes loci illius gentes in deditionem cepit. Vnus ex Indorum regibus Porus fuit, quem uicit[l] et captum in regnum restituit, duas ei urbes construens, Niceam et Bucifalem.[m] Inde Adrestas, Catheanos,[n] Presidas,[o] Gangaridas, cesis eorum exercitibus, expugnat. Cusites uincit.[7] Ad amnem Acesinem[p] pergit, per quem in occeanum deuehitur, ubi[q] Censonas, Afilos,[r] Sileosque,[s] quos

[a] *This passage, the second of I's addenda (ff. 219ᵛ–220ʳ), is headed by the words:* Folio ad hoc signum, *but no folio number or sign is provided. In X it is integrated in ii. 3 (see p. 184); it is wanting in Q* [b] Euergente *X* [c] Parune *I* [d] cuius *X* [e] militum *Justin; om. XI* [f] mentis *Justin;* montis *XI* [g] Daedalos *Justin;* Dedachos *I*, Dadachos *X* [h] regnaque *Justin* [i] Cleophidis *Justin;* Cleofilis *XI* [j] generatum *X* [k] per terre motum] terre *I* [l] uincit *I* [m] Bucifalan *I* [n] Catheanos *Justin;* Gesteanes *X*, Geste acies *I* [o] Praesidas *Justin;* Persidas *XI* [p] Acesinem *Justin;* Agisnem *X*, Agystiem *I* [q] ubi *written in margin X;* usque *I* [r] Censonas, Afilos] Agensonas *Justin* [s] Sibosque *Justin*

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[1] This passage is abbreviated from Justin's *Epitoma* of Trogus Pompeius' *Historiae Philippicae*, xii. 5–9 (ed. Seel, pp. 110–14). Gervase's main concern is to extract the geographical details from Justin's account of Alexander's Indian campaign, but he also takes over a few colourful details from the narrative. Gervase's text of Justin contained numerous corruptions, as can be seen also in items 4, 30, and 31 of the addenda, likewise extracted from the *Epitoma*. The proper names in particular have suffered in the process of transmission; where the original form remains discernible, it has been used in the translation, but elsewhere Gervase's version has been retained; the corresponding name in Justin may be found in the apparatus or the notes.

[2–2] The text of Justin here reads: 'Inde Drangas, Euergetas vel Arimaspos, Parapamesadas ceterosque populos, qui in radice Caucasi morabantur, subegit.'

2.[1]

[2]At the foot of Mount Caspius and the Caucasus range dwell the Drancae, the Euergetae, the Parimae, the Paropamisadae, and the Adaspii. Alexander subjugated these peoples,[2] and then entered India, with the aim of extending the boundary of his empire to the ocean and the farthest east. In order that even the trappings of his army should be consistent with such glory, he had the horses' ornaments and the soldiers' armour covered with silver, and called his army the Argyraspides[3] after their silver shields. Next he came to the city of Nysa, founded by Father Liber.[4] Then he took his army to see the sacred mountain, but, seized by a sudden impulse of the mind,[5] he withdrew from the place, not so much sparing the townspeople as having regard for his army's safety. From there he made for the Daedalian mountains, the kingdom of Queen Cleophis. She surrendered to him in carnal union,[6] achieving by her charms what she could not achieve by war. She had a son by him, whom she named Alexander; in after years he gained possession of the kingdom of India. Coming to an amazingly high and jagged rock, Alexander learnt that Hercules had been prevented by an earthquake from taking it by storm. And so, overcome with a desire to surpass the deeds of Hercules, by great exertions and at great risk he brought all the peoples of that region into subjection. One of the kings of India was Porus. Alexander conquered him and took him prisoner; he then restored him to his throne, and built two cities for him: Nicaea and Bucephala. Next he subdued the Adrestae, the Catheani, the Praesidae, and the Gangaridae, slaughtering their armies. He conquered the Cusites.[7] He came to the river Acesinus, and travelled down it to the ocean, where he brought the Censonae, the Afili, and

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[3] i.e. the Silver Shields.

[4] i.e. Bacchus.

[5] Both *X* and *I* read *montis:* i.e. Alexander was attacked by Liber's sacred mountain! According to Justin, Alexander spared the people of Nysa since their devotion to Liber prevented them from resisting him. Then he took his army to see the sacred mountain, and: 'exercitus eius, ubi ad montem accessit, repentino impetu mentis in sacros dei ululatus instinctus cum stupore regis sine noxa discurrit, ut intellegeret non tam oppidanis se parcendo quam exercitui suo consuluisse.'

[6] The ablative *concubitu* is awkard in Gervase; in Justin, it is an instrumental ablative with *redemptum*: 'cum se dedisset ei, concubitu redemptum regnum ab Alexandro recepit.'

[7] This short sentence is both an abbreviation and a corruption of a passage beginning: 'Cum ad Sophitis ⟨regnum⟩ venisset', in which Justin describes how Alexander's soldiers begged him to bring his campaign to an end.

Hercules condidit, in deditionem cepit. Hinc in Ancros[t] et Subgambros[u] nauigat.

iii.[a] [1]

Dicitur autem, ut prenotaui,[2] Germania a germinando, siquidem septentrionalis[b] plaga, quanto magis ab estu solis remota est et niuali frigore gelida, tanto salubrior corporibus hominum et procreandis gentibus est coaptata. Vnde fit ut tanta populorum multitudo arctoo sub axe oriatur ut non immerito uniuersa illa regio Germania uocetur. Sunt ergo due Germanie, superior et inferior, que tantos mortalium germinant quantos uix alere sufficiunt, e quibus egresse sunt gentes que nichilominus et partes Asie, sed maxime sibi contiguam Europam afflixerunt. Gothi siquidem et Wandali, Rugi et Eruli[c] atque Turchilingui,[d] necnon et alie feroces gentes e Germania prodierunt. Pari etiam modo et[e] Hunnulorum[f] gens ferocissima ab insula Scatanauia prodiit, que insula non tam in mari posita est quam marinis fluctibus propter planiciem marginum terrarum seuientibus[g] circumfusa. Huius insule populi, dum iam simul habitare non ualerent, in tres partes omnem cateruam diuiserunt;[h] que ex illis[i] patriam relinquere nouasque debeat sedes requirere, sorte perquirunt. Igitur pars cui sors dederat[j] duos habuit duces, Ybor et Agionem,[k] cum matre Gabbara[l] prudentissima. Nunc ad cepta redeamus.

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[t] Ambros *Justin* [u] Sugambros *Justin*

[a] *This passage, the third of I's addenda (on f.* 220^{r-v}*, with the heading:* foleo ad hoc signum, *but no number or sign*)*, is integrated by X and Q in ii. 7 (see p. 238)* [b] atrionalis *X* [c] Heroli *Paul the Deacon* [d] *sic Q;* Turchiligni *X*, Turgiltrigni *I*, Turcilingi *Paul the Deacon* [e] et *om. X* [f] Hynulorum *I;* Winnilorum, hoc est Langobardorum *Paul the Deacon* [g] terrarum seuientibus] terras ambientibus *Paul the Deacon* [h] diuidentes *Paul the Deacon* [i] pars *add. after* illis *Paul the Deacon* [j] genitale solum excedere exteraque arua sectari *add. after* dederat *Paul the Deacon* [k] Aionem *Paul the Deacon* [l] *sic Q;* Galbara *X*, Gabarup *I*, Gambara *Paul the Deacon*

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the Silei, who were descended from Hercules, into subjection. From there he sailed on to the Ancri and the Sigambri.

3.[1]

Germany takes its name, as I have just said,[2] from *germinando,* or engendering; for the northern tract is as healthful for the human constitution and as well adapted to the begetting of nations as it is far removed from the heat of the sun and chilled by the snowy cold. Hence it is the case that such a great number of peoples have come into being under the northern skies that the whole region is, not without reason, called Germany. There are in fact two Germanies: Upper Germany and Lower Germany. They produce so many people that they hardly have the resources to support them. Some tribes have left the country, and have proved no less of a burden even in parts of Asia, but especially in the region of Europe which adjoins their land. For the Goths and the Vandals, the Rugii, the Heruli, and the Turcilingi, and other fierce tribes too, have come out of Germany. In a similar manner also the exceedingly savage race of the Winnili issued from the island of Scandinavia. This island is not so much set in the sea, as engulfed by salt waves, which sweep over it on account of the flatness of its shores. When the peoples of this island found that they could no longer live together, they divided the whole population into three parts, and inquired by lot which of those parts was to leave their native land and seek a new place to live. The part to which the lot had assigned this fate had two leaders, Ibor and Aio, who took with them their mother Gambara, a very clever woman. Now let us return to the matter in hand.

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[1] This item is a condensed version of Paul the Deacon, *HL* i. 1–3 (ed. Waitz, pp. 47–9). The original is quite skilfully abbreviated until the last few lines, where there are some awkwardnesses.

[2] Cf. *Otia*, ii. 7, p. 238. The use of the first person here and again at the end of the passage strengthens the impression that these addenda were collected by Gervase himself.

iv.[a] [1]

Porro de strenuitate Gallorum ac processu ex *Epithoma*[b] Iustini super libros Pompei Trogi annexui. Galli multitudine habundanti,[c] cum eos capere non poterant terre que genuerant, trecenta milia hominum ad nouas sedes querendas miserunt. Ex quibus portio in Ytalia consedit, que et urbem Romam captam incendit, et portio Illiricos sinus, ducibus auibus (nam augurandi studio Galli pre ceteris callent), per strages barbarorum penetrauit[d] et in Pannonia consedit; gens aspera, audax, et bellicosa, que prima post Herculem, cui ea res uirtutis admirationem et immortalitatis fidem dedit, Alpium inuicta iuga et loca frigore intractabilia transcendit. Ibi domitis Pannoniis per multos annos cum finitimis bella gesserunt. Hortante demum successu, diuisis agminibus, alii Greciam, alii Macedoniam, omnia ferro prosternentes, petiuere. Tantus terror Gallici nominis erat ut etiam reges non lacessiti ultro pacem ingenti peccunia mercarentur.

Gallorum quippe tante strenuitatis[e] iuuentus fuit ut Asiam omnem uelud examine aliquo implerent.[f] Denique neque reges orientis sine mercenario Gallorum excercitu ulla bella gesserunt, neque pulsi regno ad alios quam ad Gallos confugerunt. Tantus terror Gallici nominis et armorum inuicta felicitas fuit[g] ut aliter neque maiestatem suam tutam neque amissam[h] recuperare se posse sine Gallica uirtute arbitrarentur. Verumtamen ab Antigono[2] rege apud Macedoniam tanta cedes Gallorum fuit ut Antigono pacem opinio huius uictorie non a Gallis tantum, uerum a finitimorum firmitate[i] prestiterit. Vnde a rege Bitinie uocati in auxilium, regnum cum eo parta uictoria diuiserunt, regionemque illam Gallogreciam[3] cognominauerunt.

[a] *This passage, the fourth of I's addenda (on ff.* 220^{v}–221^{v}, *with the heading:* folio ad hoc signum, *but no number or sign), is integrated by X in ii. 10 (see p. 286); it is wanting in Q*
[b] Epythomate *I* [c] abundante *Justin* [d] penetrauit *Justin;* penetrant *XI*
[e] fecunditatis *Justin* [f] implerent *I and Justin;* impleret *X* [g] fuit *X;* erat *Justin; om. I* [h] amissam *Justin;* amissa *X;* admissam *I* [i] feritate *Justin*

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[1] In this item, nine passages from Justin's *Epitoma* are rearranged to give an account of the atrocities perpetrated by the Gauls. The passages are: xxiv. 4. 1–7, xxv. 2. 8–10, xxv. 2. 7, xxv. 2. 11, xxxii. 3. 6, xxiv. 6. 4, xxiv. 6. 6–9, xxiv. 8. 9–11, xxxii. 3. 7–12 (ed. Seel, p. 195, ll. 8–24; p. 202, l. 2–p. 203, l. 1; p. 202, ll. 18–20; p. 203, ll. 1–4; p. 236, ll. 14–17; p. 197, ll. 14–17; p. 197, l. 21–p. 198, l. 11; p. 200, ll. 8–15; p. 236, l. 17–p. 237, l. 3).

[2] i.e. Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia 283–240/239 BC. The Gauls, under their leader Brennus, invaded Greece and Macedonia in 280–279; see *CAH* (1st edn.), vii. 99–108.

[3] i.e. Galatia.

4.[1]

I have added the following, concerning the might and progress of the Gauls, from Justin's *Epitoma* of the books of Trogus Pompeius. The Gauls grew in numbers until the lands which had given them birth could no longer contain them. Then they sent 300,000 people to search for a new place to live. Out of these, one group settled in Italy, capturing and burning the city of Rome, and another group, guided by birds (for the Gauls are more highly-versed than any other race in the business of augury), penetrated the Illyrian gulf, slaughtering the barbarians in their way, and settled in Pannonia; a rough, bold, and warlike race, they crossed the unconquered peaks of the Alps and regions uninhabitable from the cold, the first people to do so after Hercules, whose feat won him admiration for his courage and the certainty of immortality. There, having subjugated the Pannonians, for many years they engaged in warfare with the neighbouring peoples. Finally, encouraged by success, they divided their forces, and some of them went into Greece while others headed for Macedonia, laying low with the sword everything in their path. Such was the terror inspired by the name of the Gauls that even kings who had not yet been attacked bought peace of their own accord with huge sums of money.

Indeed the young men of the Gauls were so immensely vigorous that they filled the whole of Asia with, as it were, a swarm of offspring. Eventually the situation obtained that the kings of the east never went to war without hiring a force of Gallic mercenaries, nor did kings expelled from their kingdoms seek refuge with anyone except the Gauls. The terror inspired by the name of the Gauls, and their invincible good fortune in war, were so great that rulers believed that their sovereignty was safe in no other hands, and if they had lost it, they did not believe that they could recover it without the might of the Gauls. However, such great slaughter was inflicted on the Gauls in Macedonia by King Antigonus[2] that the report of this victory assured him of peace, not only from the Gauls, but also from his powerful neighbours. And so when the Gauls were called in by the king of Bithynia to lend him their aid, having obtained the victory, they shared the kingdom with him, and called the region which they received Gallograecia.[3]

Sed et Galli bello aduersus Delphos infeliciter gesto, in quo maiorem uim numinis quam hostium senserant, amisso duce Brennio, pars in Asiam, pars in Traciam extorres fugerunt.[4] Cum[5] enim, depredata Macedonia, inde quasi iam terrena spolia sorderent, animum ad deorum immortalium templa uerterunt, scurriliter iocato Brennio locupletes deos largiri hominibus oportere. Templum autem Appollinis positum est Delphis in monte Parnaso, in rupe quoque; non muri sed precipitia, nec manu facta sed naturalia presidia defendunt, prorsus ⟨ut⟩[j] incertum sit utrum munimentum loci an maiestas dei plus[k] ibi[l] admirationis habeat. Media saxi rupes in formam theatri cessit. Quamobrem et hominum clamor et si quando accedat[m] ⟨tubarum⟩[n] sonus, personantibus et resonantibus[o] inter se rupibus, multiplex audiri ampliorque quam editur[p] resonare solet. In hoc rupis amfractu, media ferme montis altitudine, planicies exigua est, atque in ea profundum terre foramen quod in oracula[q] patet, ex quo spiritus frigidus, ui quadam uelut uento[r] in sublime expulsus, mentes uatum in uecordiam uertit inpletasque[s] consulentibus responsa dare cogit. In huius montis concensu terre motu montis portio abrupta Gallorum sternit[t] exercitum, et confertissimi cunei non sine uulneribus hostium dissipati ruebant.[u] Sed et[v] insecuta tempestas grandine et frigore saucios ex uulneribus absumpsit. Dux ipse Brennus, cum dolorem uulnerum ferre non posset, pugione uitam finiuit.[6]

Superstites uero Galli per eadem qua[w] uenerant uestigia antiquam patriam repetiuere. Ex his manus quedam in confluente Danubii et Sabi consedit Scordicosque appellari se uoluit. Tectosagi autem, cum in antiquam Tolosam[x] uenissent comprehensique peste tabuissent, sanitatem non prius recuperauere quam auruspicum monitu aurum argentumque bellis sacrilegiisque quesitum in Tolosensem lacum mergerent; quod omne magno post tempore Cepio,[y] consul Romanus,

[j] ut *Justin*; *om. XI* [k] plus *Justin*; pluris *X*, plurisque *I* [l] ibi *X*; hic *Justin*; uim *I* [m] accedit *Justin* [n] tubarum *Justin*; *om. XI* [o] et resonantibus *om. I* [p] editur *Justin*; creditur *XI* [q] oracula *Justin*; oraculo *XI* [r] uelut uento *Justin* (*though the readings* uela mento *and* uelut amento *are also recorded by Seel, p. 198, l. 9*); uelamenti *XI* [s] inpletasque *Justin*; impletas *X*; utiplerasque *I* [t] strauit *Justin* [u] eruebant *X* [v] et *om. I* [w] qua *Justin*; que *XI* [x] coloniam *I* [y] Caepio *Justin*; Cipio *XI*

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[4] Gervase here begins his account of the attack on Delphi with a sentence which follows the narrative in Justin; the impression, as often in the addenda, is of a collection of notes which were never brought into a finished state.

[5] This *cum* has no clause depending on it.

[6] Brennus died in 278, and the Gauls retreated with great loss.

The Gauls also waged an unsuccessful war against Delphi, finding in this engagement that the power of the god was greater than that of the enemy. Having lost their leader Brennus, they fled as exiles, some of them into Asia, and others to Thrace.[4] For when[5] they had laid waste to Macedonia, then, as if earthly spoils no longer held any attraction for them, they turned their attention to the temples of the immortal gods, Brennus joking impiously that the gods, rich as they were, ought to be generous to mortals. Now the temple of Apollo at Delphi occupies a position on Mount Parnassus, on a jutting crag; it is defended not by walls but by precipices, which are not the work of human hands, but are natural fortifications, so that it is not at all certain whether the imposing nature of the place or the majesty of the deity evokes more wonder there. A rock in the middle of the cliff forms a recess in the shape of a theatre. On this account, human voices, especially when joined by the sound of trumpets, tend to be heard many times over and to resound with more volume than is originally produced, as the rocks send the sound echoing back and forth among themselves. In this curved recess of the rock, about half-way up the mountain, there is a narrow plateau, and on this plateau there is a deep fissure in the ground, which forms the opening through which the oracles issue; from it a cold blast is discharged upwards into the air with considerable force, like a wind. This blast sends the minds of the priests into a frenzy and fills them with the god's responses, which it then makes them relay to the people consulting him. While the Gauls were climbing up this mountain, part of it was dislodged by an earthquake and hurled their army to the ground; their densely-packed phalanxes, suffering wounds from the enemy as well, were broken up and routed. There then followed a storm, which killed with hail and cold men already weak from their wounds. Duke Brennus himself, finding the pain of his wounds unendurable, ended his life with his dagger.[6]

The surviving Gauls made their way back to their old native land, retracing their steps along the same route by which they had come. Of these, one band settled at the confluence of the Danube and the Save, and took the name of the Scordisci. The Tectosagi, on the other hand, went back to their old city of Toulouse, where they were infected by a plague and became sick; they did not recover their health until, on the advice of soothsayers, they threw the gold and silver which they had acquired by warfare and sacrilege into the lake of Toulouse. A long time afterwards Caepio, a Roman consul, took it

abstulit.[7] Fuerunt autem argenti pondo decem milia, auri quinquies decies centum milia. Quod sacrilegium causa excidii Cepioni[z] exercituique eius postea[a] fuit; Romanos quoque[b] Cimbrici[c] belli tumultus uelut ultor[d] sacre pecunie consequutus[e] est. Ex gente Tectosagorum[f] non mediocris populus prede dulcedine Illiricum repetiuit, spoliatisque Histris in Pannonia consedit.

v.[a] [1]

Tempore huius Iustiniani, decimus[b] rex Longobardorum, Aldoinus,[c] Longobardos in Pannoniam duxit. Qui, uictis Gepidis, cum Alboinus filius eius Turismundum[2] Turisindi[d] regis eorum filium strauisset, propter que Aldoino suggereret[e] [3] ut filium suum in conuiuio iuxta se collocaret, respondit non esse apud eos consuetum regis filium cum patre prandere, nisi prius a rege gentis extere arma suscipiat. Quibus auditis, Alboinus ad Turisindum accessit, et in conuiuio cum eo sedens in loco filii regis quem occiderat, audiuit a patre inter epulas: 'Amabilis michi locus est iste, sed persona in eo sedens satis ad uidendum grauis.' Vnde moti Geppidi in eum irruunt. Sed rex, hoc fieri acriter prohibens, ait non esse uictoriam Deo placitam cum quis in domo propria hospitem perimit. Sicque redeunte grata leticia, finito conuiuio, Turisindus filii sui arma Alboino dedit; qui ad patrem Aldoinum rediens, eius conuiua efficitur. O maxima fides hospitis!

Tunc, ut dixi, Iustinianus imperauit, qui propter uarias barbarorum uictorias Alemannicus, Goticus, Francus,[f] Germanicus, Atticus,[g] Alanus,[h] Wandalicus, Affricusque[i] dictus est, ut in titulo suarum

[z] Caepioni *Justin;* Scipionis *X,* Scipioni *I* [a] postea *Justin;* causa *XI* [b] Romanos quoque] Romanosque *I* [c] Cimbrici *Justin;* Cambrici *XI* [d] ultor *Justin;* ultimo *X;* ultio *I* [e] insecutus *Justin* [f] Tectosagorum *Justin;* Retrosagorum *XI*

[a] *This passage, the fifth of I's addenda (on ff.* 221^{v}-222^{r}*, with the heading:* foleo ad hoc signum, *but no number or sign) is integrated by X in ii. 16 (see p. 388); it is wanting in Q* [b] nonus *Paul the Deacon (though the reading* decimus *also occurs: see Waitz, p. 60, l. 12)* [c] Audoin *Paul the Deacon* [d] Turisindi *Paul the Deacon;* Turisindis *XI* [e] suggeret *X;* suggerunt *Paul the Deacon* [f] Francicus *Paul the Deacon* [g] Articus *I;* Anticus *Paul the Deacon (though the readings* Atticus *and* Articus *also occur: see Waitz, p. 63, l. 1)* [h] Alanicus *Paul the Deacon* [i] Affricusque *ed.;* Affricus que *X;* Affricus *I;* Africanusque *Paul the Deacon*

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[7] In 106 BC the treasure of Toulouse was seized by the consul Q. Servilius Caepio. In the following year he and a consul of 105 suffered catastrophic defeat from the Cimbri and Teutones at Arausio (Orange). This notorious incident is also related by Orosius, *Adversum*

all away.[7] It consisted of 10,000 pounds of silver and 1,500,000 pounds of gold. This sacrilege subsequently led to the downfall of Caepio and his army; the troubles of the Cimbrian war also came upon the Romans, as if to avenge that wealth which had been consecrated to the gods. A not inconsiderable group from the tribe of the Tectosagi went back to Illyria, lured by the prospect of booty, and having despoiled the Istrians, settled in Pannonia.

5.[1]

In this Justinian's time, Aldoin, the tenth king of the Lombards, led his people into Pannonia and conquered the Gepidi. His son Alboin killed Turismundus,[2] the son of Turisindus, king of the Gepidi. When he[3] suggested to Aldoin that in token of this he should allow his son to sit next to him at table, Aldoin replied that it was not the custom with them for a king's son to dine with his father, unless he had previously been presented with arms by the king of a foreign tribe. On hearing this, Alboin went to Turisindus, and while sitting with him at table in the place which had belonged to the king's son whom he had killed, he heard the father say in the course of the banquet: 'That place at my table holds loving memories for me, but the person sitting in it brings little joy to my eyes.' Stirred by these words, the Gepidi fell upon Alboin. But the king, sharply forbidding behaviour of that kind, said that a victory was not pleasing to God when it involved someone killing a guest in his own house. Thus a pleasant atmosphere of enjoyment was restored, and at the end of the banquet, Turisindus gave Alboin his son's arms. When Alboin presented himself before his father Aldoin again, he was awarded a place at his table. Oh what great trustworthiness in a host!

At this time, as I have said, Justinian was emperor. On account of his manifold victories over the barbarians he was known as Justinian of the Alemanni, of the Goths, of the Franks, of the Germans, of the Attici, of the Alans, of the Vandals, and of the Africans, as can be read

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paganos, v. 15. 25–v. 16. 7. On Caepio, see T. R. S. Broughton, *Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (New York, 1951–86), i. 553.

[1] This item consists of an abbreviated version of Paul the Deacon, *HL* i. 22–7 (ed. Waitz, pp. 60–70).

[2] Paul the Deacon calls him Turismodus (i. 23, ed. Waitz, p. 61, l. 4).

[3] According to Paul the Deacon (i. 23) the suggestion did not come from Alboin himself, but from the victorious Lombards.

patet *Institutionum*. [4]Idem quoque in urbe Constantinopolitana templum construxit, quod Grece dicitur Agiam Sophiam, id est sanctam sapientiam, scilicet Dei Patris.[4] Tunc claruit Cassiodorus, primo consul, deinde senator, postremo monachus factus. [5]Tunc Dyonisius tabulam compoti[j] construxit.[k][5] Tunc Priscianus Cesariensis gramaticam docuit. Tunc Arator *Apostolorum Actus* metrice conscripsit. Tunc beatus Benedictus claruit.[6]

Mortuo igitur Aldoino, Alboinus regnauit. Qui cum Gutmundo[l][7] rege Geppidorum pugnans, eum cum omni gente sua deleuit, ciphoque potorio de testa capitis eius facto, filiam eius Rosamundam, captiuam ductam, in uxorem cepit; que exinde eum proditiose perimi fecit, proprio stupro[m] necem eius mercata.[8] Alboini[n] autem et Bulgarorum Geppidi facti sunt serui, aut Humorum, qui et Auares a proprio rege postea sunt dicti. Alboini[n] sane nomen inter Hunos[o] et Bauaros et Saxones usque modo celebre fuit, sub quo arma precipua fabricata dicuntur.

vi.[a] [1]

Qui cartularius imperialis Ytalie preerat et Totilam regem Gottorum uicerat, auxilio illius[b] Alboini per mare Adriaticum a Pannonia uenientis. Rem enim publicam Narses bene gesserat contra Totilam et duces regum Francorum[2] et Simboaldum[c] regem Erulorum. Vnde Romani, inuidia moti, imperatori Iustino[d] et eius auguste Sofie scripserunt Narsetem malle Gottis seruire quam Grecis.[3] Sic Narsis Longobardos ad Ytaliam inuitat, et Longobardi Saxonum uiginti

[j] compoticon *X* [k] scripsit *X* [l] Gatmundo *I* [m] stupro *ed.*; strupo *X*, strupro *I* [n] Alboini *ed.*; Albionis *XI* [o] Humos *I*

[a] *This passage, the sixth of I's addenda (on f. 222*$^{r-v}$*, with the heading:* folio ad hoc signum, *but no number or sign) is integrated in X in ii. 16 (see p. 388); it is wanting in Q* [b] ipsius *X* [c] Simboadum *I*; Sinduald *Paul the Deacon* [d] *sic X and some MSS of Paul the Deacon (see Waitz, p. 75, l. 4)*; Iustiniano *I*

[4–4] The text of Paul the Deacon reads: 'Extruxit quoque idem princeps intra urbem Constantinopolim Christo domino, qui est sapientia Dei patris, templum, quod Graeco vocabulo Agian Sophian, id est sanctam sapientiam, nominavit' (i. 25, ed. Waitz, p. 63, ll. 10–12). In changing *nominauit* to *dicitur*, Gervase failed to change the accusatives *Agiam Sophiam* and *sanctam sapientiam* into nominatives.

[5–5] Cf. Paul the Deacon: 'Hoc etiam tempore Dionisius abba in urbe Roma constitutus pascale calculum miranda argumentatione conposuit' (i. 25, ed. Waitz, p. 63, ll. 18–19).

[6] This brief phrase replaces a long section (i. 26) in praise of St Benedict.

[7] Cunimundus in Paul the Deacon (i. 27, ed. Waitz, p. 69, l. 4).

in the title of his *Institutes*. [4]The same emperor also built a church in the city of Constantinople, which is called in Greek Ἅγια Σοφία, that is, Holy Wisdom, referring to the wisdom of God the Father.[4] At this time Cassiodorus won fame; he became a consul first, then a senator, and finally a monk. [5]Also at this time Dionysius drew up his astronomical chart;[5] Priscian of Caesarea taught grammar; Arator put the *Acts of the Apostles* into verse; and St Benedict became renowned.[6]

On the death of Aldoin, Alboin became king. In a war against Gutmund,[7] king of the Gepidi, he destroyed him along with his entire tribe, and had his skull made into a drinking-cup. He married Gutmund's daughter Rosamund, whom he had taken captive; she subsequently had him killed by treachery, buying his death at the price of dishonour to herself.[8] The Gepidi, however, became subject to Alboin and to the Bulgarians, or the Huns, who were afterwards also called the Avares after their own king. The name of Alboin has been held in honour among the Huns, the Bavarians, and the Saxons, up until the present; it is said that very fine weapons were fashioned in his time.

6.[1]

This man Narses governed Italy as imperial notary. He had conquered Totila, king of the Goths, with the help of that same Alboin, who came from Pannonia via the Adriatic Sea; indeed, he had successfully protected the state against the dukes of the Frankish kings,[2] and Sinduald, king of the Heruli, as well as against Totila. This aroused the Romans to jealousy, and they wrote to the emperor Justin and his consort Sophia that Narses would rather serve the Goths than the Greeks.[3] So Narses invited the Lombards to Italy, and

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[8] Cf. Paul the Deacon, *HL* ii. 28 (ed. Waitz, p. 88).

[1] Here again Gervase is drawing on Paul the Deacon, putting together various items of information from the early chapters of Book II: cf. *HL* ii. 1–8 (ed. Waitz, pp. 72–7).

[2] i.e. Buccellinus, Amingus, and Leutharius, who tried to subdue Italy on behalf of Theudepert, king of the Franks (*HL* ii. 2, ed. Waitz, pp. 72–3).

[3] According to Paul the Deacon, the Romans wrote to the emperor complaining that they would be better off under the Goths than they were in the empire: 'Expedierat Romanis, Gothis potius servire quam Grecis, ubi Narsis eunuchus imperat et nos servitio premit; et haec noster piissimus princeps ignorat. Aut libera nos de manu eius, aut certe et civitatem Romanam et nosmet ipsos gentibus tradimus' (ii. 5, ed. Waitz, p. 75, ll. 5–8).

milibus in auxilium uocatis Ytaliam occupant, et in locum Saxonum reges Francorum Sueuos et alias gentes instituunt. Egressi sunt[e] Longobardi a Pannonia, quam amicis suis[f] Hunis concedunt. Anno Domini quingentesimo sexagesimo quarto,[4] mense Aprili, ingressus est autem in[g] Ytaliam Alboinus,[h] per montem Alpium altissimum qui exinde mons Regis[5] appellatur; in quo bisontes animalia occisa sunt, quorum corium sic amplum erat ut quindecim homines seriatim in eo cubare possent. Hec breuiter de gestis diximus.

vii.[a] [1]

Quo[2] mortuo, diuiditur regnum in duces triginta, qui per Briuntium[3] Gallias inuadunt iuxta Ebredunum, sed a Mummulo patricio regis Francorum per Burgundiones uincuntur. Post hec Saxones, qui cum Longobardis ⟨in⟩[b] Ytaliam uenerant, Regensem urbem inuadunt, apud Stublonem uillam castra metati; quos et Mummulus uicit. Sed iterum[c] regressi, diuisis cuneis, depredantur Niceam[d] urbem et Ebredunum.[4] Et hinc Valentiam, illinc Grationopolim obsident; inde [5]Auinionem et Aurasicam, Vasionem et Vapincum (cuius presul ad Modoliensem[e] montem inexpugnabilem fugit),[5] et Arelatem capiunt usque ad campum Lapidosum,[6] urbe euersa; sed in reditu omnes a Mummulo uincuntur. Tunc beatus Gregorius *Moralia* scripsit, diaconus factus. Tunc Tiberius,[7] uiso signo crucis in pauimento Constantinopolitano, illic deprehendit Narsetis

[e] ergo *add. after* sunt *I*   [f] suis *om. I*   [g] in *om. I*   [h] Alboinus *ed.*; Albion *XI*

[a] *This passage, the seventh of I's addenda* (*on f.* 222^{v}, *with the heading:* folio ad hoc signum *but no number or sign*) *is integrated in X and Q in ii. 16* (*see p. 388*)   [b] in *Paul the Deacon; om. MSS*   [c] *At this point X misplaces a passage from earlier in the chapter; the remainder of this addendum is incorporated in the following chapter, in a context in which it makes no sense*   [d] Nicensem *QI*   [e] Vodoliensem *Paul the Deacon*

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[4] Cf. Paul the Deacon: 'cum iam a Domini incarnatione anni quingenti sexaginta octo essent evoluti' (*HL* ii. 7, ed. Waitz, p. 76, l. 12 f.); i.e. in 568.

[5] Monte Maggiore, called 'Monte del Re' (*HL* ii. 8, ed. Waitz, p. 76, n. 6).

[1] This passage outlines some of the events described by Paul the Deacon in *HL* iii. 4–12 (ed. Waitz, pp. 94–100), with more brevity than clarity.

[2] i.e. Cleph, king of the Lombards, assassinated in AD 574.

[3] Cf. Paul the Deacon: 'Inruentibus autem iterum Langobardis in Gallias et usque Mustiascalmes accedentibus . . .'; MS I 3, however, reads *Brientum* for *Mustiascalmes* (Waitz, p. 94, ll. 16–17).

summoning 20,000 Saxons to help them, they took possession of the country; the kings of the Franks settled the Suevi and other tribes in the land vacated by the Saxons. When they left Pannonia, the Lombards handed it over to their friends the Huns. In the year of our Lord 564,[4] in the month of April, Alboin entered Italy, via a very high mountain in the Alps which was thereafter called the King's Mountain.[5] Bison were killed there; the hide of one of these animals was so large that fifteen men could lie down in a row on it. This concludes our brief account of these events.

7.[1]

On his[2] death the kingdom was divided among thirty dukes. These dukes invaded Gaul, and got as far as Briuntium,[3] near Embrun, but they were conquered by Mummolus (who had been made a patrician by the king of the Franks), with a force of Burgundians. After this the Saxons, who had gone to Italy with the Lombards, attacked the town of Riez, pitching camp at the village of Estoublon; Mummolus conquered them too. But they came back again, and dividing their forces, they ransacked the towns of Nice and Embrun.[4] One force attacked Valence and another Grenoble; then they went on to [5]Avignon and Orange, Vaison and Gap (whose governor fled to an impregnable mountain, Mont Vodolien),[5] and captured Arles, overthrowing the city and getting as far as the Stony Plain;[6] but on their way back they were all defeated by Mummolus. It was at this time that St Gregory became a deacon, and wrote his *Moralia*. Also at this time Tiberius[7] saw the sign of the cross on a paving slab in Constantinople, and found the treasure of Narses there; this he thesaurum, quem pauperibus distribuit, quia uir erat totus elemosinis[f] expositus.

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[4] In iii. 6–7, on which this sentence is based, Paul describes how the Saxons, after devastating the region around Nice and Embrun, returned to their former homelands, which they had abandoned to accompany the Lombards into Italy (cf. Appendix i. 6). Then in iii. 8 Paul narrates a further attack on Gaul led by three Lombard dukes: it is this Lombard expedition which is summarized in Gervase's next sentence.

[5–5] Gervase here gives an abbreviated form of a passage which, according to Waitz (p. 96, ll. 21–30) is only found in MS I 3 of Paul the Deacon (cf. n. 3 above); he describes this MS (Parisiensis 5315) as 'olim, ut videtur, Arelatensis'. It was presumably therefore this MS which Gervase consulted when he composed these addenda.

[6] A stony area called La Crau, near Marseilles.

[7] i.e. Tiberius II, AD 578–582. Gervase has so abbreviated his source as to obscure the fact that there were two hoards of treasure: one hidden under a flagstone carved with the cross, and the other buried by Narses (*HL* iii. 12, ed. Waitz, pp. 98–9).

viii.[a][1]

In *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem* ita legitur: Profecto ad oceanum in Ethiopia[b] accepi ab incolis esse duas arbores, solis et lune: [2]'quarum una robur uirile, altera femineum habet,[2] et ab hiis que instant[3] bona uel mala nosse poteris.'[4] Cum ad dictam regionem appropinquassemus, uidimus feminas uirosque pantherarum tigridumque pellibus contectos, qui se Indos esse Indica lingua dixerunt. Locus[c] autem erat largus, mirra[d] et balsamo habundans, que plurima ramis arborum innascebantur, quibus uesci incole solebant. Illic inuenimus arbores duas antiquitus ab Indorum maioribus consecratas soli et lune, que in solis et lune eclipsi uelut uberrimis lacrimis mouentur, de statu suorum numinum timentes. Solis elocutio lingua Greca et Indica pronunciat futura, luna Greco sermone incipit, et Indico finit. Iam radii solis utrarumque arborum cacumina percusserant cum sacerdos ait: 'Sursum intueamini,[e] et de quibuscumque rebus quis[f] consulturus est, oculto cogitet silencio: nemo palam pronunciet.' Cogitabam si, deuicto orbe terrarum, in patriam ad Olimpiadem sororesque meas reuerti possem, cum subito Indico sermone tenuissime respondit:[5] 'Inuicte bellis Alexander, ut consuluisti, unus eris dominus terrarum,[g] sed uiuus amplius in patriam non reuerteris, quoniam fata ita de capite tuo statuerunt.' Consultaque arbor lune ubi moriturus essem, ad primum lune ortum,

[f] et caritati datus et *add. after* elemosinis *I*

[a] *This passage is found only in I, where it appears as the eighth item of the addenda, on f.* 224^{r-v}. *There is no heading, but Peiresc wrote in the margin:* Inserendum supra fol. 194 verso. *On f.* 194^{v}, *after the chapter* De Ethiopia et palatiis duobus (*iii. 78*), *Peiresc similarly wrote:* Hic inserendum capitulum de arboribus solis et lune (*see p. 706*) [b] in Aethiopia *Epistola Alexandri;* in (termin?)is (*first part of word indecipherable*) Ethiopiam *I* [c] lucus *Epistola Alexandri* [d] mirra] ture *Epistola Alexandri* [e] intuemini *Epistola Alexandri* [f] quibuscumque rebus quis] quibus quisque rebus *Epistola Alexandri* [g] dominus terrarum] orbis terrarum dominus *Epistola Alexandri*

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[1] In this passage, and also in items 17–24 of the addenda, Gervase ransacks for its marvels the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem;* cf. *Otia*, i. 10, n. 9; i. 14, n. 4; iii. 72, n. 1). The frequently unorthodox Latin of the *Epistola* is clearly not merely a result of the many corruptions it underwent in transmission; Gervase often omits and sometimes corrects its obscurities. Here he joins together seven brief excerpts from the *Epistola* (ed. Boer, pp. 36–50), with minor verbal alterations. The trees of the sun and moon are also described (following the Comestor's account) in *Otia*, i. 14, at n. 6.

distributed to the poor, being a man totally dedicated to helping the needy.

8.[1]

In the *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle* one finds the following story: In Ethiopia near the ocean I heard from the inhabitants that there were two trees, the trees of the sun and moon: [2]'one of these is masculine, the other feminine,[2] and you will be able to learn from them what the future holds in store,[3] good or bad.'[4] When we had reached the region of which they had spoken, we saw women and men clothed in the skins of panthers and tigers, who told us in their native speech that they were Indians. It was a prolific place, producing an abundance of myrrh and balsam, great quantities of which grew on the branches of the trees; these constituted the regular diet of the inhabitants. There we found the two trees which the ancestors of these Indians had consecrated long ago to the sun and moon; whenever the sun and moon are in eclipse, the trees are moved, as it were, to copious weeping, out of fear as to what has become of their gods. When the sun foretells the future it speaks in the Greek and Indian tongues; the moon begins in Greek speech and ends in Indian. The rays of the sun had just touched the tops of both trees when the priest said: 'Lift up your eyes, and let anyone who wishes to consult the tree meditate silently within himself on whatever questions he has for it; let no one speak out loud.' I was wondering whether, having completed my conquest of the world, I would be able to return to my native land, to Olympias and my sisters, when suddenly the tree[5] responded in the lightest whisper, in the Indian language: 'Alexander, unconquered in war, in answer to your question, you will indeed be the sole lord of all the earth, but you will nevermore return alive to your native land, since this is what the fates have decreed concerning your life.' I consulted the tree of the moon as to where I was to die, and as soon as

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[2–2] Cf. *Epistola Alexandri:* 'quarum lignum virile est solis, alterum femineum est lunae'.

[3] Some of the MSS of the *Epistola* have the subjunctive *instent*, suggesting an indirect question rather than a relative clause; Gervase himself sometimes fails to use the subjunctive where it would be expected.

[4] Gervase here reproduces the direct speech of the original, although he has omitted the introductory details of Alexander's conversation with the two old men who told him about the trees.

[5] i.e. the tree of the sun.

percussa cornu splendoreque accepto, respondit Grece: 'Alexander,' inquit, 'plenum iam finem etatis habens, sequente anno, mense Maio,[h] in Babilone morieris, et a quo minime speras decipieris.'[6] Postero die, excitatus diluculo, sacerdotem adhuc uelatum pellibus ferinis quiescentem inueni, positaque ante eum in tabula eburnea[i][7] ingens cliba (uel gleba)[8] thuris erat, que illi ex pridiana cena[j] superfuerat, et culter eburneus. Opobalsamo et thure uescitur, [9]candentemque ex riuo puro a monte cadente potat aquam;[9] uiuit .ccc. annis.[10]

[ix–xvi][1]

xvii.[a] *De calice aque et arundinibus*[1]

In libro de situ Indie et generibus hominum et ferarum ita legitur: Accidit nobis siti laborare, quam cum iam ferre non possem, Zephirus miles aquam e concauo[b] lapide in galea aurata porrexit, et ipse sitiens, qui magis anime mee quam uite sue consulebat. Quam ego, conuocato excercitu, palam effudi, ne me bibente magis sitire milites inciperent. Insuper Zephirum dignis muneribus honoraui. Que res cum animequiorem fecisset exercitum, ceptum iter institui. Nec longe in desertis locis flumen[c] apparuit, cuius ripas pedum sexagenorum arundo uestiebat, pinorum abietumque robora uincens in grossitudine, qua Indi materia ad edificia conficienda utebantur.

[h] Maio] nono *Epistola Alexandri* [i] eburnea *om. or* (*in some MSS*) ebenina *Epistola Alexandri* [j] pridiana cena *Epistola Alexandri;* prediante seria *I*

[a] *The seventeenth of I's addenda, on f. 226^{v}; iii. 131 in X and Q* [b] concavo *Epistola Alexandri;* cauo *X;* contrario *I* [c] fluuius *I*

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[6] Alexander died of fever in Babylon in the summer of 323. Boer (p. 84, note on 48, 5) speculates as to whether these words may be connected with the rumour that Alexander was poisoned by Aristotle (Plutarch, *Alex.* 77; Arrianus, vii. 27. 1–2; Pliny, *Hist. nat.* xxx. 53. 149). The romantic history of Alexander attributed the cause of his death to poison (e.g. Julius Valerius, iii. 56; cf. *Otia*, ii. 15, n. 69).

[7] It was actually the knife that was made of ivory (see below); according to those MSS of the *Epistola* which specify the material of the table, it was ebony.

[8] The words *uel gleba* are a gloss by Gervase on the vulgar form *cliba*, used in the *Epistola*.

[9–9] Cf. *Epistola Alexandri:* 'Cadenteque rivo puram ex vicino monte potant aquam homines.'

[10] Gervase makes the priest the subject of this sentence (cf. *Otia*, i. 14, at n. 6), whereas in the *Epistola* all the people of the place are said to share this diet and life-expectancy.

the moon rose, touching the tree with its horn and shedding its brightness upon it, the tree replied in Greek, saying: 'Alexander, your span of life is now complete: next year, in the month of May, you will die in Babylon, and you will be deceived by someone from whom you least expect it.'[6] The following day, waking at dawn, I found the priest still asleep, clad in his animal-skins; lying on an ivory[7] table before him was a huge clod (or lump)[8] of frankincense, which had been left over from his meal the day before, and an ivory knife. For he lives on balsam and frankincense, [9]and drinks sparkling water from a pure stream which falls down the mountain;[9] he lives for three hundred years.[10]

[9–16][1]

17. *The cup of water and the reeds*[1]

In the book describing India and its various peoples and animals, one reads as follows: It happened that we were tormented by thirst. When I was no longer able to bear it, the soldier Zephyrus offered me some water which he had taken from a hollow stone and carried in a golden helmet; he was thirsty himself, but he was more concerned for my well-being than for his own life. Calling the army together, I poured the water away in front of them all, lest the soldiers should become even more thirsty from seeing me drink. Moreover, I honoured Zephyrus with worthy gifts. Since this incident had served to strengthen the army's resolve, I decided that we should continue on our way, and we had not gone far in that desert region when a river came into view. The banks of this river were clothed with a reed which grew to a height of sixty feet, and surpassed the trunks of pines and firs in its thickness; the Indians used to use it as a building-material.

[1] Items 9–16 of the addenda in *I* are incorporated in the text of *N* and its descendants, as well as in *X* and *Q*. Item 9 (on f. 225^{r-v}, with the heading: *folio*, but no number) forms part of iii. 103 (see pp. 784–9). Items 10–16 (ff. 225^{v}–226^{v}) appear as iii. 124–130 (pp. 820–5). The remainder of *I*'s addenda are incorporated in *X* and *Q* as further chapters following on from iii. 130. In *I* item 10 has the heading: *foleo*, but no number. Underneath is the title of the chapter (*De uinea Norcie*); the remaining items appear as additional chapters, with titles but no further folio references.

[1] This passage is copied largely verbatim from the *Epistola Alexandri* (ed. Boer, pp. 8–9).

xviii.[a] *De yppotamis*[1]

Pecudum[b][2] mecum erant qui[c] aurum uehebant elephantes admodum magni mille,[d] quadrige .cccc. equorum, omnes falcate, bige .mcc., equitum turme .xxx.[e] milia, peditum .ccl. milia sub armis,[f][3] mulorum castrensium et ad[g] sarcinas militum uehendas circiter duo milia. Ripam igitur[h] fluminis sequentes, ad oppidum peruenimus quod in medii amnis insula ex hiis arundinibus erat edificatum, in quo paucos Indorum seminudos homines notauimus qui, uisis nobis, intra tectorum culmina declinauerunt.[i] In flumen milites .cc. misi qui,[4] cum quartam partem fluminis enatassent, maiores elephantorum corporibus ypotami inter profundos aquarum gurgites emersi apparuerunt, raptosque in uerticem crudeli pena uiros, flentibus nobis, absumpserunt.[j] Dehinc maior decemplicato beluarum numerus affuit.[5]

xix.[a] *De scorpionibus*[1]

Cum ad stagnum dulcis aque peruenissem,[b] ab hominibus in rotundis ex illis arundinibus nauiculis confectis nauigantibus preostensum, inter epulas, ad primos lune radiantis ortus, subito erectis caudarum aculeis a pascualibus Indicis[c] scorpiones, consuetam petentes aquationem, ad castra innumeri confluxerunt, quidam[2] rubentibus squamis, quidam nigri candidiue coloris, alii aurei. Ad horam noctis terciam, binorum ternorumque[d] capitum cristati serpentes Indici

[a] *The eighteenth of I's addenda, on ff.* 226^{v}–227^{r}; *iii. 132 in X and Q* [b] secundum *XI* [c] que *XQ* [d] admodum . . . mille] ingentis magnitudinis admodum mille *Epistola Alexandri* [e] viginti *Epistola Alexandri* [f] sub armis *Epistola Alexandri;* subarmalia *placed after* castrensium ad *β* [g] et ad *Epistola Alexandri;* ad subarmalia et *β* [h] ergo *Q* [i] delituerunt *Epistola Alexandri* [j] absorpserunt *I*

[a] *The nineteenth of I's addenda, on f.* $227^{r–v}$; *iii. 133 in X and Q* [b] peruenissent *X;* (Tandem . . .) pervenimus *Epistola Alexandri* [c] Indici *Epistola Alexandri* [d] trinorumque *I*

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[1] Drawing again on the *Epistola Alexandri* (ed. Boer, pp. 10–13), Gervase has here concentrated on the hippopotami for their marvellous value, omitting the need for drinking water which formed Alexander's motive in sending men to speak to the Indians on the island.

[2] The somewhat clumsy opening of this item springs from Gervase's minimal adaptation of his source. Alexander, having discovered that the water of the river was

18. *The hippopotami*[1]

The animals[2] with me included a thousand very large elephants which were carrying the gold, 400 four-horse teams, all armed with scythes, and 1,200 two-horse teams; there were 30,000 cavalry troops, 250,000 foot soldiers bearing arms,[3] and about 2,000 mules to transport the camp and also to carry the soldiers' baggage. Following the bank of the river, therefore, we came to a town which had been built out of those reeds on an island in midstream. On it we observed a few people, half-naked Indians who, at the sight of us, withdrew into the shelter of their huts. I sent 200 soldiers into the river, but when they[4] had swum a quarter of the way across, hippopotami with bodies larger than those of elephants appeared, surfacing amidst the eddies of deep water; they dragged the men down into the swirling depths and consumed them, inflicting cruel suffering on them while we stood and wept. Thereafter the number of those beasts in that part of the river increased tenfold.[5]

19. *The Scorpions*[1]

I found a lake of sweet water, having been told about it by some people sailing in little round boats made out of the reeds I mentioned. We were having a meal there when, with the appearance of the first rays of moonlight, countless scorpions suddenly swarmed into the camp from their Indian feeding-grounds, with the stings in their tails held aloft, making for their accustomed watering-place; some[2] had red scales, some were black or white in colour, others golden. At the third hour of the night, crested Indian snakes arrived, which had two

undrinkable, was more worried about the animals than the men, 'durabiliorem hominem cunctis in rebus recognoscens quam pecudem; quippe mecum erant . . .'

[3] The reading *sub armis,* adopted by Boer (p. 10), seems to make the best sense; however, many of the MSS of the *Epistola* contain the reading given by Gervase, or a variant of it.

[4] In abbreviating his source Gervase introduces this *qui,* but fails to complete its clause.

[5] Gervase has here omitted the information that Alexander was so angry at the loss of his men that he punished a hundred of his guides with the same fate: it was the guides who met the vastly increased number of hippopotami.

[1] Here again Gervase extracts the marvellous elements from a section of the *Epistola Alexandri* (ed. Boer, pp. 14–23).

[2] In the *Epistola* the scorpions are succeeded by horned serpents, and it is these serpents which are described as being of many different colours (ed. Boer, p. 17).

aduenerunt, columpnarum grossitudini consimiles, quorum pectora erecta erant, et de faucibus trisulcas linguas exserebant, scintillantibus oculis ueneno, quorum etiam alitus erat pestifer. Quibus discedentibus, cancri immodice[e] multitudinis uenerunt, cocodrillorum[f] pedibus uecti[g] ad castra. Quinta noctis hora affuere leones albi taurorum corporibus comparandi, nec minus horrendi apri ingentis forme mixti lincibus maculosis tigridibusque et horribilibus pantheris; sed et uespertiliones columbis corpore equales, habentes dentes quibus artus militum uiolabant. Preterea noui generis bestia maior elephante comparuit, tribus armata in fronte cornibus, quam Indi appellant ydontaurannum,[h] equo simile caput gerens, atri coloris. Ante lucanum denique tempus [3]de celo pestes uenere candido uerse colore in modum zonarum,[3] cum quibus mures Indici in castra pergebant, uulpibus similes, quorum morsu uulnerata quadrupedia statim expirabant. Appropinquante luce nicticoraces uenere, uulturibus similes, colore fuluo, rostro pedibusque[i] nigris. [4]Relictis periculosis inuisisque locis montium, in Bactrianorum arua[4] auro diuitiisque opulenta peruenimus.[j]

xx.[a] *De miranda belua maris Indici*[1]

Victo federatoque Poro, ab eo ad Herculis Liberique trophea deductus sum. In orientis ultimis oris aurea utraque[2] deorum simulacra sunt constituta, que uictimis placaui.[b] Exhinc pergebam ad mare si possem [3]orbem terrarum circumfluo nauigare occeano,[3] sed quoniam mare illud tenebrosum uadosumque incole asserebant, et quod[c] Herculi ac Libero ultra uisum non esset accedere, prestantissimis deis,[d] ego maiorem me illis[e] uideri nolens, immortalium sacra

[e] non modice *Q* [f] crocodrillorum *I* [g] pedibus uecti] pellibus contecti *Epistola Alexandri* [h] ydontaurannum *I*, ydontadi ramium *X*, ydomaurannum *Q for* odontotyrannum [i] -que *om.* *X* [j] deuenimus *I*

[a] *The twentieth of I's addenda, on ff.* 227^{v}*–*228^{r}*; iii. 134 in X and Q* [b] complacaui *XQ* [c] hoc *X* [d] prestantissimos deos *XQ* [e] illis] simul *I*

[3–3] There are many variant readings at this point in the *Epistola*, none of them satisfactory. Boer conjectures (p. 21; cf. p. 74, note on 21, 3): 'caelo pestes venere candido versicolores in modum ranarum' ('particoloured pests resembling frogs came from the white sky').

[4–4] Cf. *Epistola Alexandri:* 'Relictis periculosissimis locis munitum vix tandem iter calcavimus et in loca Bactrianorum . . .' (ed. Boer, p. 23).

or three heads each; as thick as columns, they held their breasts upright, and darted three-forked tongues from their throats; their eyes sparkled with venom, and even their breath was poisonous. When they went away, a countless horde of crabs came scuttling into the camp on crocodiles' feet. At the fifth hour of the night we were visited by white lions with bodies like those of bulls, and by boars of huge size which were no less terrifying, along with spotted lynxes, tigers, and fearful panthers; there were also bats equal in size to doves, possessing teeth with which they mangled the limbs of the soldiers. After this a strange kind of beast appeared, larger than an elephant, and armed with three horns on its brow: the Indians call this creature the odontotyrannus. It has what looks like a horse's head, and is black in colour. Then in the hour before dawn [3]pests came from the sky, with brightly-coloured stripes encircling them like belts;[3] at the same time Indian mice marched into the camp: they resembled wolves, and any animals which were mauled by their teeth died at once. With the approach of daylight nycticoraces came: resembling vultures, they were of a tawny hue, with a black beak and black claws. [4]Leaving this dangerous mountainous area which we had learned to hate, we came to the plains of Bactria,[4] rich in gold and all wealth.

20. *A Remarkable Beast which Inhabits the Indian Sea*[1]

When I had conquered Porus and made a treaty with him, I was conducted by him to the monuments of Hercules and Liber. A pair[2] of golden images representing these gods stood on the furthest boundaries of the east; I appeased them with sacrifices. From there I was going to proceed to the sea, to see if I could [3]sail round the world on the ocean which encircles it,[3] but since the local people told me that that sea was dark and full of shoals, and bearing in mind that it had not seemed good to those most excellent deities, Hercules and Liber, to proceed any further, not wishing to appear greater than them, I decided not to pass beyond the sacred tracks left by those

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[1] Here, though Gervase abbreviates the corresponding passage in the *Epistola Alexandri* (ed. Boer, pp. 26–30), he retains the surrounding narrative as well as the *miranda belua*.

[2] One would expect *utrorumque*, and this reading is found in some of the MSS of the *Epistola;* but Boer (p. 77, note on 26, 18) comments that in later Latin *utrique* sometimes means *duo*, citing Luke 7: 42 as an example.

[3–3] Cf. *Epistola Alexandri:* 'orbi terrarum circumfluum navigare oceanum' (ed. Boer, pp. 27–8).

nolui preterire uestigia. Diis[f] honoratis collaudatisque, [4]in sinistram partem me uerti,[4] ubi pallus erat sicca et canna[g] habundans. Ex qua noui generis belua prosiliit, serrato[h] tergo, [5]duo capita habens, alterum simile ypotami ⟨in⟩[i] pectore, alterum cocodrillorum[j] simillimum,[5] duris munitum dentibus; que duos milites uno et repentino ictu occidit. Exhinc ad ultimas siluas Indorum peruenimus iuxta amnem Buebar[k][6] ubi, elephantes aduenire conspiciens, iussi[l] Thessalicis equitibus ut equis ascensis tollerent sues, quorum grunnitus timere bestias noueram.

xxi.[a] *De Iociofagis*[b] *et Cinofalis*[c][1]

Primo deinde aurore diluculo in campo patenti mulieres uirosque pilosos in modum ferarum toto corpore uidimus, pedum altos[d] octo,[e] sine ueste nudos. Hos Indi Iecifanos[2] appellant, magis undis quam terris assuetos, crudo pisce et haustu aque uiuentes. [3]Hos cum uidere uellemus, Obimaridis[f] fluminis uiui immersere[g] se uoraginibus.[h][3] Cinofalis[i][4] ingentibus plena deinde loca[j] reperimus. Igitur[5] aditurus Fasciacem unde ueneram urbem,[k] rursus ad occidentem signa conuerti.

[f] diis] his *X*; quibus *Epistola Alexandri* [g] canna] coeno *Epistola Alexandri* [h] serrato *Epistola Alexandri;* serram β [i] in *ed.; om. MSS* [j] crocodillorum *I* [k] Huebar *XI* [l] iussi] imperavi *Epistola Alexandri*

[a] *The twenty-first of I's addenda, on f. 228ʳ; iii. 135 in X and Q* [b] iociofagis *I*, iecifanis *XQ for* Ichthyophagis [c] cinofalis *I*, cenofalis *XQ for* Cynocephalis [d] altos *Epistola Alexandri;* altiorem *XQ;* altitudine altiorem *I* [e] *sic XQ;* xiii° *I;* novem *Epistola Alexandri* [f] obimaridis *I;* ob imaridis *X;* ob maridis *Q* [g] emersere *XQ* [h] *sic I;* uorantibus *X;* uoracibus *Q* [i] cenofalis *XQ* [j] loca] nemora *Epistola Alexandri* [k] ueneram urbem *ed.;* veneram *Epistola Alexandri;* uenerem urbem *I;* uenit amurberti *X;* ueneramur berti *Q*

[4–4] Cf. *Epistola Alexandri:* 'sinistram partem Indiae scrutari institui' (ed. Boer, p. 28).

[5–5] Confusion reigns in the text of the *Epistola* at this point. Boer conjectures (p. 29, and p. 78, note on 29, 2): 'hippotami pectore, duo capita habens, unum leaenae simile, corcodrillo gerens alterum simillimum' ('its breast was that of a hippopotamus, and it had two heads, bearing one resembling a lioness, and another very like a crocodile'). However, the words *hippotami pectore* follow *simile* in all the MSS, and since prepositions were

immortals. Having rendered honour and praise to the two gods, [4]I turned aside into the left-hand part of the country,[4] where there was a dry marsh full of reeds. Out of this marsh leapt a strange kind of beast: its back was serrated, [5]and it had two heads, one of them on its breast, and resembling a hippopotamus, while the other was just like a crocodile's head,[5] and was fortified with powerful teeth. This beast killed two soldiers with one sudden blow. From here we went on to the remotest forests of India, alongside the river Buebar.[6] There, seeing that elephants were approaching, I ordered the Thessalian cavalry to mount their horses and carry pigs with them, since I knew that wild elephants took fright at the grunting of pigs.

21. *The Ichthyophagi and the Cynocephali*[1]

Then with the first rays of dawn we saw women and men on the open plain who were hairy all over, like wild animals; they were eight feet tall, and wore no clothes, but were naked. The Indians call these people the Ichthyophagi;[2] they spend more of their time in water than on dry land, and live on raw fish and draughts of water. [3]When we tried to take a look at them, they flung themselves alive into the depths of the river Obimaris.[3] Next we discovered a region full of huge Cynocephali.[4] So[5] I decided to move on to Fasciaces, the city from which I had come, and I turned the standards west again.

omitted elsewhere in the version of the *Epistola* used by Gervase (see e.g. Appendix i. 22), it seems unnecessary to change the word order.

[6] The place-names in the *Epistola* are mostly corrupt; Gervase's version has therefore been retained.

[1] Here again the *Epistola Alexandri* (Boer, pp. 32–3) serves as a source of marvels.

[2] i.e. fish-eaters.

[3–3] Cf. *Epistola Alexandri*: 'Quos cum adire vellemus vicinius, marini fluminis se immersere verticibus' ('When we tried to get closer to them, they threw themselves into the eddying salt-water of the river').

[4] i.e. dog-headed creatures.

[5] Gervase has omitted Alexander's account of how the Cynocephali were put to flight; he was then told that there was nothing more to see, and it was for this reason that he returned to Fasciaces.

xxii.[a] *De ualle Iordia et eius lapidibus*[1]

Peruenimus deinde[b] in[c] uallem Iordiam, in qua serpentes habitabant ⟨in⟩[d] collo habentes lapides qui smaragdini[e] appellantur, qui lumen in oculis perfusum accipiunt.[2] Hii uallem hanc nullo adeunte incolunt, ac lasere alboque pipere uescuntur. Supra uallem hanc sunt piramides institute pedum tricenum,[f] que munimina[g] ab antiquis Indorum ad[h] hanc causam[3] sunt edificata. Sed hii serpentes predicti inter se anni[i] primo uere pugnant, multique morsibus depereunt.

xxiii.[a] *De griffis et aliis bestiis*[1]

[2]Per magna deinde pericula incedimus[b] et citas noui generis bestias inuenimus,[2] habentes capita leonum et[c] caudas, unguibus binis, latas[d] ad ⟨mensuram⟩[e] sex pedum, quibus uerberabantur homines et inutiles fiebant. Hiis intermixti erant griffi, rostra habentes aquilarum et alia ex[f] parte corporis leonibus non[g] dissimiles.[h]

xxiv.[a] *De arundinibus et spongiis et piscibus*[1]

Inde ad Odiuam flumen uenimus, quod sine flexu rectum ad occeanum ferebatur, latum ad stadia uiginti ad alteram ripam. Vestiebant arundines per littora crescentes, quarum unam triginta milites uix ferre possent; excedebant autem procerarum arborum[b] altitudinem. In hiis arundinetis stratum iter ebore plurimo uidimus.

Ex altera parte fluminis inuenimus Indos beluarum ferarumque[c]

[a] *The twenty-second of I's addenda, on f. 228^{r}; iii. 136 in X and Q* [b] itaque *X*; demum *Q* [c] *ad I* [d] in *Epistola Alexandri; om. β* [e] smaragdi *Epistola Alexandri* [f] tricenum quinum *Epistola Alexandri* [g] que munimina *ed.*; que numina *XQ*; que nomina *I*; *om. Epistola Alexandri* [h] ob *Epistola Alexandri* [i] anni] quotannis *Epistola Alexandri*

[a] *The twenty-third of I's addenda, on f. 228^{r-v}; iii. 137 in X and Q* [b] incedimus *some MSS of Epistola Alexandri*; incidimus *β and Boer* [c] et *om. Epistola Alexandri* [d] latus *XI* [e] mensuram *Epistola Alexandri; om. β* [f] alia ex] alias ex reliqua *I*; alia *Epistola Alexandri* [g] leonibus non *I*; *om. XQ and Epistola Alexandri* [h] dissimili *XQ*

[a] *The twenty-fourth of I's addenda, on ff. 228^{v}–229^{r}; iii. 138 in X and Q* [b] abiectum *I* [c] ferarum *Epistola Alexandri*

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[1] A passage of the *Epistola Alexandri* (ed. Boer, pp. 53–4) is here reproduced in a slightly more concise form.

22. *The Jordia Valley and its Gemstones*[1]

Next we came to the Jordia valley, the home of snakes which wear the stones called emeralds on their necks; their eyes glow with light reflected from the stones.[2] They live in this valley which no one ever enters, and feed on asafoetida and white pepper. Overlooking this valley stand pyramids thirty feet high; these fortifications were built for this reason[3] by past generations of Indians. But the snakes of which I have spoken fight among themselves at the beginning of spring each year, and many die from their bites.

23. *The Griffins and Other Creatures*[1]

[2]We then marched on through many dangers, and came upon some fast-moving creatures of a strange kind:[2] they had lions' heads and tails and a single pair of claws, and they were six feet wide. Some of my men were assaulted by them, and were left good for nothing. In amongst them were griffins, which have eagles' beaks and are not unlike lions in the rest of their body.

24 *Reeds, Sponges, and Fish*[1]

From there we came to the river Odiva, which flowed straight to the ocean without meandering; it was about twenty stades across to the other bank. The river was fringed with reeds growing along its shores, a single one of which could hardly be carried by thirty soldiers; their height exceeded that of tall trees. We noticed a road, paved with a great quantity of ivory, running through this jungle of reeds.

On the other side of the river we found Indians clad in the skins of contectos pellibus. Hii nobis spongias albas purpureasque in manus dedere, cum bucinis et genere coclearum capientes[2] binos ternosque[d] congios,[3] et stragulas[e] mollesque tunicas ex uitulorum marinorum pellibus factas; item uermes ex ipso flumine extractos,[f] femore humano grossiores, qui nobis omni genere piscium preferendi sunt, et fungos immense magnitudinis, uiginti pedum, et cocco[4] rubriores. Posuerunt et nobis murenas[5] habentes pedes[g] .cc., affirmantes esse maiores in uicino ipsis occeano, quod erat ad tercium et uicesimum miliarium;[h] pisces preterea scaruos[i] [5] pedum .cl.,[j] qui in gurgitibus uasis[k] eburneis capiebantur, ne arundines morsu confringerent. Deinde[l] mulieres capillatas que pisce uiuebant aquis immerse[m] ostendebant, que ignaros regionis homines in flumine natantes aut tenendo in gurgite suffocabant, aut tractos in arundineta, cum essent ⟨specie⟩[n] mirabiles, ⟨in⟩[o] affectu suo auide rumpebant aut Veneris exanimabant uoluptate; ex quibus nos duas tantummodo[p] cepimus, colore niueas, nimphis similes, diffusis per terga capillis. Et in Gange erant admirabiliora[q] portenta.

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[2] For the association of emeralds with clear sight, cf. *Otia*, iii. 28 (pp. 614–15).

[3] i.e. to keep people away, in order to protect the emeralds. Gervase omits the information that Alexander and his men managed to steal some emeralds from the dead snakes; as a result, the point of the final sentence is not entirely clear.

[1] This passage follows straight on from the previous one in the *Epistola Alexandri* (ed. Boer, p. 54).

[2–2] Cf. *Epistola Alexandri:* 'Per magna deinde pericula incidimus inscitas talis generis bestias.'

[1] A fairly close rendering of a passage of the *Epistola Alexandri* (ed. Boer, pp. 55–9).

Inde[r] ad castellum quod Indi incolunt peruenimus; inde ad Seres, que gens iustissima omnium gentium esse perhibetur,[6] ubi nec homicidium nec adulterium nec periurium nec ebrietas committi dicitur. Pane tantummodo et oleribus et aqua uescuntur. Qui nos optimis commeatibus suscipientes, recto itinere per Caspias portas[7] in Fasciadem ad Porum regem deducebant. [8]Nos auditis hiis nullum dolum suspicantes,[8] flatus euri secuti, in ceteras feras incidimus, de quarum capitibus uelut gladii a uertice acuti[s] serrata cornua[t] eminebant; et inuicte[u] fere plurimorum militum clipeos cornu suo transuerberabant. Quibus occisis, admodum octo millium .ccccl. itinere[v]

[d] trinosque *I* [e] stragula *Epistola Alexandri* [f] extractos *Epistola Alexandri;* extracti *β* [g] pedes] pondera *Epistola Alexandri* [h] uiginti tria miliaria *I* [i] *sic MSS for* scaros [j] pedum .cl.] pondus centenum quinquagenum *Epistola Alexandri* [k] nassis *Epistola Alexandri* [l] Denique *Q* [m] intermerse *Q;* immersas *I* [n] specie *Epistola Alexandri; om. β* [o] in *Epistola Alexandri; om. β* [p] tantum *I* [q] mirabilia *Epistola Alexandri* [r] De Seribus *add. as title before* Inde *Q;* De Seribus R. *written in margin X* [s] acuta *I; om. Epistola Alexandri* [t] cornua *I; om. XQ;* ossa *Epistola Alexandri* [u] et invictae *Epistola Alexandri;* tunc uicte *β* [v] octo millium .ccccl. itinere *I;* octo milium .ccccl. *XQ;* novem milibus quadringentis quinquaginta *Epistola Alexandri*

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[2] The participle *capientes* is in apposition to *coclearum,* in spite of the disagreement of case; for other examples, see Boer, p. 86, note on 54, 6.

[3] The *congius* was a liquid measure, a little less than six English pints.

[4] i.e. the kermes, source of scarlet dye; cf. *Otia,* iii. 55.

[5] The murena and the scar were fish which were regarded as great delicacies by the

various wild animals. They filled our hands with gifts: red and white sponges, along with conchs, and another kind of whorled shell which had a capacity[2] of two or three *congii;*[3] also blankets and soft tunics made from seal-skins. They served us with worms which they had fished out of the river: thicker than a human thigh, they tasted better to us than any kind of fish; also with mushrooms of enormous size, twenty feet high and redder than the scarlet berry.[4] They also put before us murenas[5] 200 feet long, claiming that there were even larger ones in the ocean near them, about twenty-three miles away; besides these, they offered us scars[5] 150 feet long, which were caught in ivory traps on the river-bed, lest they should destroy the reeds with their teeth. Then they showed us women with long hair who lived on fish, diving underwater for them; if men who were unaware of the dangers of that region swam in the river, they would either suffocate them by holding them underwater, or, dragging them into the reed-beds, would tear them apart in the eagerness of their desire, or make passionate love to them until they died: for they were remarkably beautiful. We caught just two of them; white in colour, they were like nymphs, with hair cascading down their backs. And there were still more remarkable creatures in the Ganges.

Then we came to a fortress inhabited by Indians. From there we went among the Seric people, who have the reputation of being the most righteous of all races;[6] it is said that murder, adultery, perjury, and drunkenness are unknown among them. Their diet consists only of bread, herbs, and water. But they welcomed us with excellent hospitality, and led us by a direct route through the Caspian Gates[7] to King Porus at Fasciaces. [8]When they made this offer we suspected no guile,[8] but while following the path of the east wind we fell among more wild beasts, from the top of whose heads there projected horns with serrated edges, like sharp swords; and before we conquered these beasts, they pierced the shields of a great many of the soldiers with their horns. Leaving them dead, I travelled about 458 miles to join

Romans; in the *Epistola Alexandri* the figures refer to their weight in pounds, not their length in feet.

[6] Cf. Pomponius Mela, *De chorographia,* iii. 7. 60.

[7] Boer points out (p. 88, note on 58, 5) that Alexander passed through the Caspian Gates to reach the interior of India after conquering Darius and Porus (6, 4), and now returns to Porus through them; the author must therefore have thought they were further east than they are.

[8–8] This phrase is a variant of one found only in Boer's third and fourth manuscript-groups ('Non (*or* Nos) auditis his semper dolum suspicantes'); it does not improve the sense of the text.

ad Porum perueni. Ibique precepi legato meo quem Perside prefeceram ut principes Pori Persarumque et Babiloniorum pilas solidas aureas duas pedum uiginti quinque facerent, et in hiis omnia facta mea conscriberent, ponerentque in ultima India ultra Liberi et[m] Herculis trophea.

xxv.[a] *De signis in morte Alexandri*[1]

Memini pridem me scripsisse signa que in morte Iulii Cesaris apparuerunt,[2] et quia que in ortu Alexandri mater Olimpias per quietem uidit supra notauimus,[3] signa mortis eius annectenda iudicaui. Cum igitur, Babilone in potestate sua redacta, inde proficisci disponeret, contingit[b] ut quedam mulier infantem pareret cuius superior pars, ad hominem pertinens, iam putrefacta ac semiuiua uidebatur, inferior uero[c] beluinis capitibus, qualem Scillam ferunt fabule poetarum,[4] preterquam quod non lupinis caninisue,[d] enimuero leonum, ursorum, pardorumue atque draconum capitibus inguina infantuli cingebantur. Quod cum Alexandro ostensum esset, accersito prodigiorum interprete, sic expositum est: 'Superior pars signat quod in promptu est ut moriaris; inferior pars principes tuos inter se post mortem tuam discordes[e] ostendit.'

xxvi.[a] *De signis in morte Caroli*[1]

Nunc quoque[b] signa que ante mortem excellentissimi regis Caroli Magni apparuerunt annectamus, ut acuatur pia fides principum ad timenda iudicia Dei, que sunt abissus multa.[2] Per tres ergo annos morti proximos uisa est solis et lune creberrima eclipsis, et in sole

[m] ac *Q*

[a] *The twenty-fifth of I's addenda, on f. 229^{r-v}; iii. 139 in X and Q* [b] contigit *Julius Valerius* [c] uero *om. XI* [d] aut caninis *I* [e] discordantes *XQ*

[a] *The twenty-sixth of I's addenda, on ff. 229^{v}–230^{r}; iii. 140 in X and Q* [b] quoque] quedam *I*

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[1] Apart from the introductory remarks, this passage is a paraphrase of Julius Valerius, *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis*, iii. 54.

[2] *Otia*, iii. 53. This opening phrase confirms the impression that the addenda were collected by Gervase himself.

[3] See *Otia*, ii. 15, p. 366, apparatus; Olympias' dream is only narrated in *X* and *Q*.

Porus. On my arrival, I gave orders to the governor whom I had set over Persia that Porus' princes and those of the Persians and the Babylonians should make two pillars of solid gold, twenty-five feet high, and should inscribe on them all my deeds, and set them up on the remotest border of India, beyond the monuments of Liber and Hercules.

25. *The Signs on the Death of Alexander*[1]

I recall describing earlier the signs which were seen at the death of Julius Caesar,[2] and since we have noted above the things which his mother Olympias saw in her sleep when Alexander was conceived,[3] I have decided that the portents of his death should be recorded too. So, when he had subjugated Babylon to his rule and was planning to leave the city, it happened that a certain woman gave birth to a child: the upper part of this child, which was human in form, seemed already to be decaying and only half-alive, while its lower part was girded with animal-heads, as Scylla is depicted in the tales of the poets,[4] except that the baby's loins were encircled with the heads not of wolves or dogs, but of lions, bears, leopards, and snakes. When this thing was shown to Alexander, he summoned an interpreter of prodigies, and was given the following explanation: 'The upper part signifies that your death is at hand; the lower part represents your officers quarrelling among themselves after your death.'

26. *The Signs on the Death of Charlemagne*[1]

Let us now also add the signs which were seen before the death of that most excellent king, Charlemagne, in the hope that they may serve to arouse a dutiful faith in rulers, leading them to fear the judgments of God, which are a great deep.[2] So, in the three years leading up to his death, eclipses of the sun and moon were seen very frequently, and a black-coloured spot was visible on the sun for a

[4] e.g. Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 424–32.

[1] This item contains a slightly abbreviated version of Einhard, *Vita Caroli*, c. 32 (ed. H. W. Garrod and R. B. Mowat (Oxford, 1915), pp. 32–4).

[2] Cf. Ps. 35 (36): 7 (6). This preamble bears the stamp of Gervase's attitude to his imperial patron, as expressed elsewhere in the work.

macula atri coloris uisa est septem dierum spatio.[3] Porticus inter basilicam et regiam Aquis Granis ab ipso operosa mole constructa, die ascensionis Domini subita ruina usque ad fundamenta collapsa est.[c][4] Pons Reni apud Maguntiacum, per decem annos ingenti labore et opere mirabili de lignis constructus ut peremnis uideretur, ita quatuor[d] horis fortuito incendio conflagrauit quod, preter id quod aqua tegebatur, ne quidem una astula remaneret.[5] Ipse quoque,[e] cum in Saxoniam ultimam ageret expeditionem contra Godofredum, regem Danorum,[6] castris egressus, uidit repente delapsam celitus cum ingenti lumine facem a dextra ad sinistram per serenum aeris[f] transmissam. Cunctisque admirantibus,[g] subito Carolus equo delapsus, capite equi deorsum uerso, ut, fibula sagi rupta balteoque gladii dissipato, [7]uix a circumstantibus exanimis leuatur;[7] iaculumque, quod forte tunc manu gestabat, uiginti ampliusque pedum spatio prosiliit. Accessit ad hoc[h] creber palatii Aquensis tremor et in domibus ubi morabatur laquearium frequens crepitus; malumque aureum,[8] quod culmen tecti tenebat, ictu fulminis dissipatur et supra contiguam pontificis domum proicitur. Epigrama continens litteras constructoris basilice, cuius finis erat CAROLUS PRINCEPS, paucis ante mortem eius mensibus penitus abrasum est in hoc nomine PRINCEPS, ceteris in sua integritate manentibus.

xxvii.[a] *De septem dormientibus in Germania*[1]

In extremis Germanie finibus circium uersus, in ipso occeani littore, antrum sub eminenti rupe conspicitur ubi septem, nescitur a quo

[c] est *om.* I [d] tribus *Einhard* [e] quidem I [f] aera *Einhard*
[g] id mirantibus Q [h] hec I

[a] *The twenty-seventh of I's addenda, on f. 230r; iii. 141 in X and Q*

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[3] 'According to the *Annales regni Francorum*, there were in the year 806–7 three eclipses of the moon, one of the sun and a spot on the sun which lasted for eight days. There was an eclipse of the moon in 809, two eclipses of the moon and two of the sun in 810 and an eclipse of the sun in 812. Einhard tidies this up!' (L. Thorpe, *Two Lives of Charlemagne* (Harmondsworth, 1969), p. 187, n. 86). Charlemagne died in 814.

[4] The portico fell in 817.

[5] The bridge burned down in May 813.

[6] 810.

[7–7] Cf. Einhard: 'a festinantibus qui aderant ministris exarmatus et sine amiculo levaretur' ('he was lifted up, unarmed and cloakless, by the attendants who were at hand and hurried to help him').

[8] This apple actually adorned the roof of the cathedral, not that of the palace; cf. Einhard: 'Tacta etiam de caelo, in qua postea sepultus est, basilica, malumque aureum, quo tecti culmen erat ornatum, ictu fulminis dissipatum et supra domum pontificis, quae basilicae contigua erat, proiectum est' ('The cathedral in which he was subsequently buried

period of seven days.[3] At Aachen on Ascension Day there was a sudden crash, and the massively-constructed portico which he had built between the cathedral and his palace collapsed, right down to its foundations.[4] The bridge over the Rhine at Mainz, which had been constructed over a period of ten years, a wooden structure, but built with such immense labour and marvellous workmanship that it seemed as though it would stand for ever, accidentally caught fire and burned down in four hours so entirely that not a single splinter remained, except for the part that was underwater.[5] Furthermore, in the course of the last expedition which he led into Saxony against Godefrid, king of Denmark,[6] on leaving camp, he suddenly saw a shooting-star fall from heaven and travel from right to left across a clear sky with a great flash of light. While everyone stood marvelling at this, Charlemagne's horse suddenly lowered its head, causing him to fall so violently that the clasp of his cloak was broken, and his sword-belt came undone: [7]he was lifted up barely alive by those around him;[7] the javelin, too, which he chanced to be holding in his hand at that moment, sped a distance of twenty feet or more from him. Besides all this the palace at Aachen was shaken by frequent tremors, and in the apartments where he lived the panelled ceilings kept giving out a creaking-noise; and the golden apple,[8] which the highest point of the roof supported, was knocked off by a thunderbolt and came crashing down onto the bishop's house next door. There was an inscription including the name of the builder of the cathedral, its final words being CAROLUS PRINCEPS; a few months before his death, PRINCEPS was completely obliterated from this designation, while the other words remained undamaged.

27. *The Seven Sleepers in Germany*[1]

In the northernmost reaches of Germany, on the very edge of the ocean, a cave can be seen under an overhanging rock where, for no

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was struck by lightning, and the golden apple, with which the highest point of the roof was adorned, was knocked off by a thunderbolt and came crashing down onto the bishop's house, which was next to the cathedral').

[1] For this item and the next two Gervase returns to Paul the Deacon, drawing here on *HL* i. 4 (ed. Waitz, p. 49). Paul describes how the sleepers were revered because no harm came to them: someone once tried to undress one of them, but his arms withered, and this deterred others from touching them. Gervase as usual concentrates on the marvellous element, reducing the narrative to a bare minimum. These sleepers may be compared with the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus: see *Otia*, ii. 23, n. 89.

tempore, requiescunt dormientes, non solum corporibus sed etiam uestibus incorruptis; unde cuiusdam eos exuere nitentis brachia aruerunt.

xxviii.[a] *De Scriptobonis et umbra hominis*[1]

Huic sane loco Scriptoboni uicini sunt, apud quos nix perpetua, ubi in[b] solstitio brumali nulla dies, et in[c] estiuali nulla nox uidetur;[d] et umbra meridiana hora longissima. Sic in Ytalia circa diem natalis Domini nouem pedes in hora sexta umbram metiuntur; in Gallia Belgica decem nouem et semis repertam legimus.[2] In Egypto et Ierosolimis nulla est umbra.[3] In Arabia hoc ipso tempore sol supra medium celi a parte aquilonis cernitur, umbreque uersa uice contra meridiem uidentur.

xxix.[a] *De Caribdi et uoragine maris Britannici*[1]

Triginta ferme milibus[b] a Sequanico[2] littore prope Burdegalim[c][3] est Euodia[d] insula, in qua uergentium in Caribdim aquarum garrulitas auditur. Est et consimilis absorbensque uorago in Adriatico mari Calabriam Siciliamque distinguens, que Farus dicitur.[e]

[a] *The twenty-eighth of I's addenda, on f.* 230^{r}*; iii. 142 in X and Q* [b] in *om. X* [c] in *om. XQ* [d] uideatur *QI*

[a] *The twenty-ninth of I's addenda, on f.* 230^{r-v}*; iii. 143 in X and Q* [b] miliaribus *I* [c] prope Burdegalim (Burdegalum *I*) *om. Paul the Deacon* [d] *The text of Q breaks off after* est Euo-, *evidently the result of the loss of a leaf in its source; the scribe explains in the margin:* Nec plus inueni, *and another hand (which has supplied marginal notes throughout the MS) adds:* et alia exempla que legi tantum non protenduntur [e] que Farus dicitur *om. I*

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[1] Cf. Paul the Deacon, *HL* i. 5 (ed. Waitz, pp. 49–50), where these people are called the *Scritobini*.

[2] This is an adaptation of Paul's account of how he measured his own shadow when he was in Gallia Belgica.

[3] In abbreviating his source here Gervase has omitted the crucial phrase: 'solsitio aestivali'; cf. Paul the Deacon: 'Sic quoque contrario modo, quanto propinquius meridiem versus ad solem acceditur, tantum semper umbrae breviores videntur, in tantum ut

one knows how long, seven sleepers have been resting. Not only their bodies but even their clothes are preserved intact; and so, when someone tried to strip them, his arms withered.

28. *The Scritobini, and a Person's Shadow*[1]

Near this place dwell the Scritobini. There is perpetual snow where they live; at the winter solstice there is no day, while at the summer solstice no night is observed. One's shadow is very long there, even at noon. In Italy at Christmas time a person's shadow measures nine feet at midday, while in Gallia Belgica we read that it has been found to be nineteen and a half feet long.[2] In Egypt and Jerusalem there is no shadow.[3] In Arabia at this same time the sun is perceived to be to the north, rather than directly overhead; the shadows, on the other hand, are thrown to the south.

29. *Charybdis and the Whirlpool in the British Sea*[1]

About thirty miles off the coast of northern Gaul,[2] near Bordeaux,[3] lies the island of Alderney; here the roar of waters being sucked into a whirlpool can be heard. There is another whirlpool which similarly sucks down water in the Adriatic Sea, between Calabria and Sicily, called Calofaro.

solstitio aestivali, respiciente sole de medio caeli, in Aegipto et Hierosolimis et in eorum vicinitate constitutis locis nullae videantur umbrae' ('so too in the opposite way, as one gets closer to the sun in the south, the shadows keep getting shorter, until at the summer solstice, when the sun beats down from the middle of the sky, no shadows are visible in Egypt and Jerusalem and the places situated in their vicinity') (i. 5, ed. Waitz, p. 50). On this lack of shadows, cf. *Otia*, i. 10, n. 26, and ii. 4, n. 104.

[1] The first sentence of this item is from Paul the Deacon, *HL* i. 6 (ed. Waitz, p. 51). Having mentioned that Virgil calls the whirlpool off Sicily Charybdis (p. 50), Paul then goes on to use this proper name as a synonym for *uorago*. This prompts Gervase to add a sentence about the Sicilian Charybdis; in his title, the word has its proper signification.

[2] The Sequani were the people who lived on the Seine (*Sequana*).

[3] The phrase 'prope Burdegalim', added by Gervase to his source, does little to clarify the location of the Channel Island of Alderney.

xxx.[a] *De statu Iudorum et balsamo*[1]

Quoniam circa Iudeorum conuersationem et uitam Ioseph multa notabilia ex *Epitoma*[b] Iustini super libros Pompeii Trogi reperi, digna duxi ipsa quoque annectere. Igitur Antiochus,[2] memor quod et pater propter superbiam inuisus et frater[c] propter segniciem contemptus fuisset, ne in eadem uicia incideret,[d] recepta in matrimonium Cleopatra[3] uxore fratris, ciuitates que[e] inicio fraterni imperii defecerunt[f] summa industria persequitur, domitasque rursus terminis regni adiecit. Iudeos, qui in Macedonico regno sub Demetrio patre armis se in libertatem uendicauerant, subegit.[4] Quorum uires tante fuere ut post hec nullum Macedonie regem tulerint, domesticisque imperiis usi, Siriam magnis bellis infestauerunt.[g]

Namque Iudeis origo Damascena, que est Sirie nobilissima ciuitas, unde et Asyriis regibus genus ex regina Semirami fuit. Nomen urbi[h] a Damasco rege inditum, in cuius honorem Sirii sepulcrum Atarathes[i] uxoris eius pro[j] templo coluerunt, deamque[k] exhinc sancte religionis habuerunt. Post Damascum Azelas,[l] mox Adores et Abraham et Israel reges fuere. Sed Israelem felix decem filiorum prouentus clariorem maioribus suis fecit. Itaque populum in decem regna diuisum filiis tradidit, atque ex nomine Iude, qui post diuisionem discesserat,[m] Iudeos appellauit colique memoriam eius ab omnibus iussit, cuius portio omnibus accesserat.

Minimus etate inter omnes Ioseph fuit, cuius ingenium excellens fratres ueriti clam interceptum peregrinis mercatoribus uendiderunt. A quibus deportatus in Egiptum, dum magicas ibi artes sollerti ingenio percepisset, breui ipsi regi percarus fuit. Nam et prodigiorum

[a] *The thirtieth of I's addenda, on ff.* 230^{v}*–*231^{v}*; iii. 144 in X* [b] epithomate *I* [c] et frater *Justin;* insuper *XI* [d] incideret *Justin;* incidere *X;* incidisset *I* [e] que *Justin;* -que *X;* aque in *I* [f] defecerant *Justin* [g] infestauerint *Justin* [h] urbis *X* [i] Atarathes *Justin;* Mararis *I*, Mararem *X* [j] pro templo *Justin;* in templo *I;* exemplo *X* [k] deamque *Justin;* dictamque *XI* [l] Azelus *Justin* [m] decesserat *Justin*

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[1] This passage is taken over almost verbatim from Justin, *Epitoma*, xxxvi. 1–3 (ed. Seel, pp. 246–9).

[2] i.e. the Seleucid Antiochus VII, king of Syria 138–129 BC, called Pius; he was the son of Demetrius I (162–50), and the brother of Demetrius II Nicator (145–138 and 129–125). When Demetrius II was imprisoned by Mithridates of Parthia in 138, Antiochus took over the kingdom, and reigned until his death in 129. This period of history is narrated by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 389–xiii. 253).

[3] Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, married first Alexander Balas (who ruled

30. *The Jewish State, and Balsam*[1]

Since I have found much important information on the customs of the Jews and the life of Joseph in Justin's *Epitome* of the books of Pompeius Trogus, I have decided that it too deserves a place here. Antiochus,[2] then, mindful that his father had been hated for his pride and his brother despised for his inactivity, was anxious not to fall into the same failings. So he married Cleopatra,[3] his brother's wife, took prompt and energetic measures against the cities which had revolted at the beginning of his brother's reign, and extended the bounds of his empire to bring them once again under its sway. He subdued the Jews, a people in the Macedonian empire who had won their freedom by armed conflict in the time of his father Demetrius.[4] The power of this nation was so great that after this time they tolerated no more Macedonian overlords; rather, asserting their own power, they embroiled Syria in serious warfare.

The Jews, in fact, originally came from Damascus, which is Syria's most celebrated city; this was also the place of origin of the Assyrian kings, descended from Queen Semiramis. The city took its name from King Damascus; to show respect to this king, the Syrians honoured the tomb of his wife Atarathe as a shrine, and have regarded her ever since as a goddess to be revered in worship. Azelus was king after Damascus, and subsequently Adores, Abraham, and Israel. Israel's good fortune in having ten sons has made him more famous than his ancestors. He divided the people into ten kingdoms, and handed it over to his sons; he called the people the Jews, after Judah, who had broken away after the division, and ordered that his memory should be held sacred by them all, since they had all received his portion.

The youngest of them all was Joseph. His brothers feared him because of his outstanding gifts, so they secretly seized him and sold him to foreign merchants, who carried him off into Egypt. There with his quick intelligence he mastered the magical arts, and soon he was a valued friend of the king himself. For he also possessed a great

Syria 150–145 BC, claiming to be a natural son of Antiochus IV), then Demetrius II, and finally Antiochus VII.

[4] The harsh measures against Judaism introduced by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–163) sparked off a resistance movement which eventually flared up into a full-scale war, under the leadership of the Hasmonaean family. The Jews achieved important victories in the time of Demetrius I (brother of Antiochus IV), and then maintained their independence through a succession of wars and more or less favourable agreements until the coming of Pompey to Jerusalem in 63 BC.

sagacissimus erat et sompniorum intelligenciam primus condidit, nichilque illi diuini iuris uel humani incognitum uidebatur, adeo etiam ut sterilitatem agrorum ante multos annos prouiderit, periissetque omnis Egiptus fame nisi monitu eius rex edicto seruari per multos annos fruges iussisset;[n] tantaque eius experimenta fuerunt ut non ab homine, sed a Deo, responsa dari uiderentur.

Filius eius Moyses fuit, quem preter paterne scientie hereditatem etiam forme pulcritudo commendabat. Sed Egypcii, cum uitiliginem[o] et scabiem paterentur, responso moniti, cum egris, ne pestis ad plures serperet, Moysem[p] terminis Egypti pellunt. Dux igitur exullum[q] factus, sacra Egyptiorum furto abstulit, que repetentes armis, Egypcii domum redire tempestatibus compulsi sunt. Itaque Moyses, antiqua patria Damascena repetita, montem Syna occupat, in quo septem dierum ieiunio per deserta Arabie cum populo fatigatus, septimum diem, more gentis appellatum sabbatum, in omne euum ieiunio sacrauit, quoniam[r] illa dies famem erroremque finierat. Et quoniam metu contagionis pulsos se ab Egypciis meminerant, ne eadem causa inuisi apud incolas fierent, cauerunt ne cum peregrinis conuiuarentur;[s] quod ex causa factum paulatim in disciplinam religionemque conuertit. [5]Post mortem etiam eius Aaron sacerdos, filius eius, sacris Egypciis mox rex creatur,[5] semperque hinc apud Iudeos hic mos fuit, ut eosdem reges et sacerdotes haberent;[6] quorum iusticia in[t] religione permixta incredibile quantum coaluere.[u]

Opes genti ex uectigalibus opobalsami creuere, quod in hiis tantum regionibus gignitur. Est namque uallis que continuis montibus uelud quodam muro instar castrorum clauditur: spacium loci .cc. iugera;[7] nomine Arcus[v] dicitur. In eo[w] silua est, et ubertate et amenitate insignis; siquidem palmeto opobalsamoque[x] distinguitur. Et arbores opobalsami similem formam piceis[y] arboribus habent nisi quod sunt

[n] fecisset et *add. before* iussisset *I* [o] uitiliginem *Justin;* uliginem *XI* [p] Moysem *om. X;* eum (*after* moniti *above*) *Justin* [q] exul *X* [r] quia *X* [s] *sic I;* conuiuarent *X;* conuiuerent *Justin* [t] in *om. Justin* [u] coaluere *Justin;* coluere *XI* [v] Aricus *Justin* [w] ea *Justin* (*but the reading* eo *also occurs*) [x] opobalsametoque *Justin* [y] formam piceis *Justin;* speciem *XI*

[5–5] Cf. Justin, xxxvi. 2. 16: 'Post Moysen etiam filius eius Arruas sacerdos sacris Aegyptiis, mox rex creatur' (ed. Seel, p. 248, ll. 22–3).

[6] It was in fact the Hasmonaean dynasty which first combined civil and religious authority in the office of high priest.

[7] A *iugerum* was an area of land measuring 240 feet by 120 feet, i.e. 28,800 square feet (as compared to 43,560 square feet in an English acre).

understanding of prodigies, and he first established the art of interpreting dreams; indeed, nothing in the divine or human scheme of things seemed to be beyond his knowledge. And so he even foresaw a failure of the crops many years in advance: the whole of Egypt would have perished from famine had it not been that the king, acting on his advice, issued an edict requiring food to be stored over many years. Indeed, the results he achieved were so impressive that it seemed as though his pronouncements were not human, but divine.

Moses was his son, graced not only with his father's wisdom, which he inherited, but also with a remarkably beautiful appearance. But when the Egyptians were suffering from boils and sores, acting on an oracle, they drove Moses out of their land, and all the sick with him, to prevent the infection from spreading further. Moses therefore, having been appointed as leader of the exiles, secretly stole the sacred utensils of the Egyptians. The Egyptians set out to recover them by force, but were compelled to return home by stormy weather. And so Moses, on his way back to his old homeland of Damascus, took possession of Mount Sinai. There, exhausted after seven days of fasting with the people on their way through the Arabian desert, he consecrated the seventh day, called the Sabbath in the custom of his race, as a day of fasting for all time, because it was the day which had brought an end to their hunger and wandering. And since they remembered that they had been driven away by the Egyptians for fear of contagion, they took care not to share a table with foreigners, lest they should for the same reason incur the hatred of the people among whom they had come to live; this custom, initiated for such a reason, gradually turned into a matter of religious observance and discipline. [5]Shortly after Moses' death his son Aaron, who served as priest in the rites which they had brought from Egypt, was made king as well.[5] From this time on it was always the custom with the Jews to have the same people ruling them as kings and priests;[6] their justice was therefore inextricably bound up with their religion, and the extent to which the two became one was quite unparalleled.

This race amassed wealth by imposing taxes on opobalsam, a substance which is only produced in these regions. There is a valley which is enclosed by a kind of wall of unbroken mountains, like a fortress; the area of the place is 200 *iugera*,[7] and its name is Jericho. In it there is a wood, remarkable both for its productiveness and for its pleasantness; among its attractions are a grove of palm-trees and another of balsam-trees. The balsam-trees have a similar

humiles magis, et in uinearum morem excoluntur, et certo anni tempore balsamum sudant. Sed non minor loci eius apricitatis[z] quam ubertatis admiratio est. Quippe cum toto orbe regionis illius ardentissimus sol sit, ibi tepidi aeris naturalis quedam ac perpetua opacitas inest. ⟨In ea regione latus lacus est,⟩[a] qui[b] propter magnitudinem aque et immobilitatem Mortuum mare dicitur. Nam[c] neque uentis[d] mouetur resistente turbinibus bitumine, quo aqua omnis stagnatur, neque piscationis[e] patiens est, quoniam[f] omnia uita carentia in profundum merguntur; nec materiam ullam sustinet, nisi quod[g] allumine[h] illustratur.[8]

Primum Xerses rex Persarum Iudeos domuit; postea cum ipsis Persis in dicionem Alexandri Magni[i] uenere, diuque in ⟨potestate⟩[j] Macedonici[k] imperii subiecti Sirie regno fuere. A Demetrio cum desciuissent, amicitia Romanorum petita, primi omnium ex orientalibus libertatem acceperunt, facile tunc Romanis de alieno largientibus.

xxxi.[a] *De Parthis et eorum ortu*[1]

Parthi, penes quos, uelut diuisione orbis[b] cum Romanis facta, nunc orientis imperium est, Scitarum exules fuere, quod etiam[c] ipso uocabulo monstratur: nam Scythico[d] sermone *parthi* exules uocantur. Hii et[e] Assiriorum et Medorum temporibus inter orientales populos obscurissimi fuerunt. Postquam est imperium orientis a Medis ad Persas translatum, uelud uulgus sine nomine, uictorum[f] preda fuere.[2] A Romanis quoque trinis bellis per maximos duces florentissimis temporibus lacessiti, soli ex omnibus non pares solum uerum etiam

[z] apricitatis *Justin;* apricitas *XI* [a] In . . . est] *Justin; om. XI* [b] qui *Justin;* qua *X;* que *I* [c] Nam *om. X* [d] uentis *om. I* [e] piscationis] nauigationis *Justin and Isidore* [f] quoniam *I and Justin;* quia *X and Isidore* [g] qui *I;* quae *Justin and Isidore* [h] *sic X for* alumine; a lumine *I;* bitumine *Isidore* [i] Magni *om. I* [j] potestate *Justin; om. XI* [k] Macedonici *Justin;* Macedonice *X;* Macedonia *I*

[a] *The thirty-first of I's addenda, on ff.* 232^{v}–233^{r}*; iii. 145 in X* [b] divisione orbis *Justin;* diuisio orbis est *XI* [c] etiam] in *I* [d] Scythico *Justin;* Serico *XI* [e] et *om. I* [f] uictorum *Justin;* uitiorum *X;* uicinorum *I*

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[8] There are a number of variant readings in the text of Justin here; Seel (p. 249, l. 16) adopts a conjecture by Ieep, giving 'alumine incrustatur'. Elsewhere, however, the substance in question is said to be not alum but bitumen. The reading 'bitumine inlustratur' is found in Isidore, *Etym.* xiii. 19. 3 (where this sentence is reproduced practically verbatim); cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 53 (*PL* cxcviii. 1101); *Otia*, iii. 107, n. 2.

shape to pine-trees, except that they do not grow so tall; they are cultivated like vines, and at a certain time of year they exude balsam. But the sunniness of that spot is no less a cause for wonder than its richness. Indeed, since the sun blazes down on that region more fiercely than anywhere else in the world, the warm air always has a certain natural opacity there. There is a broad lake in that region, which is called the Dead Sea on account of the large volume and the stillness of its water. For neither is it stirred by the winds, since the bitumen which renders all its water stagnant resists their force, nor does it tolerate any fishing, since everything that has no life in it sinks to the bottom: it does not keep any object afloat, unless it is smeared with alum.[8]

Xerxes, king of Persia, was the first to conquer the Jews; later they came under the rule of Alexander the Great, along with the Persians themselves, and for a long time they were subject to the kingdom of Syria, as part of the Macedonian empire. When they revolted against Demetrius they sought an alliance with the Romans, and became the first of all the peoples of the east to receive their freedom; for at that time the Romans were quite ready to give away what belonged to another.

31. *The Parthians and their Origin*[1]

The sovereign power in the east is now in the hands of the Parthians, who have divided up the world, as it were, with the Romans; they were exiles from Scythia, as one can tell from their very name: for in the Scythian language exiles are called *parthi*. In the era of the Assyrians, and also in that of the Medes, they were the most insignificant among all the eastern peoples. After the imperial power in the east passed from the Medes to the Persians, they became booty for the victors, as a mere mass of people without a name.[2] But then when the Romans also attacked them, in three wars in which they fielded their greatest generals, at the time when they were at the height of their power, the Parthians alone of all peoples not only proved their equals, but even became their conquerors.

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[1] This final item derives from Justin, *Epitoma*, xli. 1–5 (ed. Seel, pp. 276–81); Gervase follows his source closely, but with some rephrasing.

[2] At this point a sentence recalling the subjection of the Parthians to the Macedonians is omitted.

uictores fuere, quamquam plus glorie est inter Assiria et Media Persicaque memorata olim regna et[g] opulentissimum illud ⟨mille⟩[h] urbium Bactrianum imperium emergere potuisse quam longinqua bella uicisse, preterea[i] cum, grauibus Scythicis[j] et uicinalibus bellis uexati, uariis periculorum certaminibus urgerentur. Hii domesticis seditionibus Scithia pulsi, solitudines inter Yrcaniam et Dahas et Areos[k] et Spartanos et Maggianos[l] furtim occupauere. Fines deinde, non intercedentibus primo finitimis, postea etiam prohibentibus, in tantum protulere ut non immensa ⟨tantum⟩[m] ac profunda camporum, uerum etiam prerupta collium montiumque ardua occupauerint. Ex quo fit ut Parthie plerique[n] finium aut estus aut frigoris magnitudine premantur.

Administratio gentis post defectionem Macedonici imperii sub regibus fuit. Proximus maiestati regum probulorum[o] ordo est, quia ex hoc duces in bello, ex hoc rectores in pace habent. Sermo his inter Sciticum Medicumque medius et[p] utrisque mixtus. Vestis olim sui moris; postea quam accessere opes, ut Medis perlucida ac fluida. Armorum patrius ac ⟨Scythicus⟩[q] mos. Excercitum non, ut alie gentes, liberorum, sed maiorem partem seruorum habent, quorum uulgus nulli manumittendi potestate permissa ac per hoc omnibus seruis nascentibus in dies crescit. Hos pari liberos ac seruos[r] cura et equitare et sagittare magna industria docent. Locupletissimus ut quisque est, ita plures in bello equites regi suo prebet. Denique Antonio bellum Parthis inferenti cum quinquaginta milia equitum occurrerent, soli .cccc. liberi fuere. Cominus in acie preliari aut obsessas expugnare urbes nesciunt. Pugnant aut procurrentibus equis aut terga dantibus; fugam etiam sepe simulant. Signum his in prelio datur non tuba, sed tympano. Nec pugnare diu possunt; ceterum intollerandi forent, [s]si quantus hiis est impetus, tanta uis et perseuerancia foret.[s] Plerumque in ipso ardore certaminis prelia deserunt, ac paulo post pugnam ex fuga repetunt, ut, cum maxime uicisse te putes, tunc tibi discrimen subeundum sit. Munimentum

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[g] et *om. I* [h] mille *Justin; om. XI* [i] quas partes Parthi occupauerunt situsque illarum cuiusque sint lingue *add. after* preterea *XI* [j] Scythicis *Justin;* Sitis *X,* Schitis *I* [k] Dahas et Areos *Justin;* daastareos *X;* de hastareos *I* [l] Margianos *Justin* [m] tantum *Justin; om. XI* [n] pleraque *Justin* [o] probulorum *Justin;* populorum *XI* [p] et] ex *I* [q] Scythicus *Justin; om. XI* [r] liberos ac seruos *XI;* ac liberos suos *Justin* [s–s] si . . . foret] si quanta his est impetus vis, tanta et perseverantia esset *Justin*

There is, however, more to admire in the fact that the Parthians were able to establish themselves in the midst of the once celebrated kingdoms of the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians, and the enormously wealthy Bactrian empire of a thousand cities, than in their having conquered enemies from far away, especially as, troubled as they were by serious wars with the Scythians and other neighbours, they were hard pressed in a variety of dangerous conflicts. Having been expelled from Scythia as a result of civil discord, they unobtrusively took over the uninhabited region between Hyrcania and the Dahae, the Arei, the Spartani, and the Margiani. They then extended their territory until they controlled not only the vast low-lying plains, but also the steep hills and high mountains; at first the neighbouring peoples did nothing to prevent them, and later their resistance proved vain. It is therefore the case that most of the territory of Parthia labours under extreme heat or extreme cold.

Since the time when Macedonian rule came to an end, the race has been governed by kings. Next in rank to the kings is the order of *probuli:* from this order they take their generals in wartime, and their leaders in peacetime. Their language is half-way between Scythian and Median, being in fact a mixture of the two. They once had their own native style of dress, but when they became wealthy, they adopted the diaphanous, flowing robes of the Medes. They have retained the Scythian way of fighting, handed down to them by their forefathers. Their army is not composed of free men, like those of other races, but the majority of their soldiers are slaves; the power of freeing this multitude of slaves is granted to none, and consequently it increases daily by the number of all the children born into slavery. They put great effort into teaching free men and slaves, with equal care, how to ride and to shoot. According to each man's wealth, he supplies his king with a proportionate number of horsemen in time of war. Accordingly, when Antony came to make war on the Parthians, 50,000 horsemen went out to meet him, but only 400 of them were free men. They have no skill at fighting hand-to-hand in a line of battle, or at besieging cities and taking them by storm; their mode of fighting is either to charge ahead or to turn tail on horseback; often they actually feign flight. They are given their battle-signals by a drum, not a trumpet. They are not able to fight for long at a time; otherwise they would be irresistible, if their strength and staying-power matched the vigour of their first assault. They very often abandon a conflict in the very heat of battle, and a little later return from flight ready to renew the fighting, so that, just when you think you have won, the critical moment is upon you.

ipsis equisque lorice plumate sunt, que utrumque toto corpore tegunt. Auri argentique nullus nisi in armis usus.

Vxores[t] dulcedine uarie libidinis[u] singuli plures habent, nec ulla delicta grauius adulterio puniunt. Quamobrem feminis non tantum conuiuia uirorum uerum etiam conspectum interdicunt. Carne non nisi uenatibus quesita uescuntur. Equis omni tempore uectitantur: illis bella, illis conuiuia, illis publica ac priuata officia obeunt; super illos ire, consistere, mercari, colloqui. Hoc denique discrimen inter seruos liberosque est, quod serui pedibus, liberi non nisi[v] equis incedunt. Sepultura uulgo aut auium aut canum laniatus est; nuda demum ossa terra obruunt. In superstitionibus curaque deorum precipua omnibus ueneratio est. Ingenia genti tumida, seditiosa, fraudulenta, procacia; quippe uiolentiam uiris, mansuetudinem mulieribus assignant. Semper aut in externos aut in suos[w] motus inquieti, natura taciti,[x] ad faciendum quam ad dicendum promptiores; inde secunda aduersaque silencio contegunt. Principibus metu, non pudore, parent. In libidine prouecti, in cibo parci. Fides dicti promissique nulla, nisi quatinus illis expedit.

Post mortem Alexandri Magni, cum inter successores eius orientis regna diuiderentur, nullo Macedonum dignante, Parthorum imperium Stagnori,[y] externo socio, traditur. Postea deductis Macedonibus[z] in bellum ciuile cum ceteris superioris Asie populis, Eumenem[3] secuti sunt; quo uicto ad Antigonum[4] transiere.[a] Post hunc a Nicanore[b] Seleuco[5] ac mox ab Antiocho et successoribus eius possessi, a cuius pronepote Seleuco ⟨primum defecere, primo⟩[c] Punico bello, Lucio Manlio Vulsone[d] et M. Atilio[e] Regulo consulibus.[6] Huius defectionis inpunitatem[f] illis duorum regum,[g] Seleuchi ⟨et Antiochi⟩,[h] discordia

[t] Uxores *Justin;* Vxoris *XI* [u] libidinis *Justin;* libidines *XI* [v] non nisi] uero *I* [w] suos] domesticos *Justin* [x] nam *add. after* taciti *I* [y] Staganori *Justin* [z] Macedonicis *X* [a] transiere *Justin;* transire *XI* [b] Nicatore *Justin* [c] primum defecere primo *Justin; om. XI* [d] Vulsone *Justin;* Pusilione *X*, Pusione *I* [e] M. Atilio *Justin;* Matiolo *X*, Manlio *I* [f] inpunitatem *Justin;* impunita res *X;* impunitates *I* [g] fratrum *add. before* regum *Justin* [h] et Antiochi *Justin; om. XI*

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[3] Eumenes, one of Alexander's generals, was allotted the satrapy of Cappadocia after Alexander's death in 323 BC.

[4] Antigonus received the satrapy of Great Phrygia on Alexander's death, and soon emerged as the leading figure in the struggle for the empire; but he was defeated and killed at Ipsus in Phrygia in 301, and his territories were divided between the victors, Seleucus and Lysimachus.

[5] The Seleucid era began when Seleucus I Monophthalmos, called Nicator, captured Babylon in 312 BC.

Plumed cuirasses afford protection to men and horses alike, giving complete body coverage to them both. They use silver and gold on their weapons, but nowhere else.

Each man has several wives, for they enjoy variety in their sexual pleasure; and there is no crime they punish more severely than adultery. On this account they prohibit their women not only from dining with men but even from setting eyes on them. They do not eat meat, except what they can procure by hunting. They ride horses all the time: they go to war on horseback, they attend banquets on horseback, they conduct their business, public or private, on horseback; whether they are going somewhere or standing still, buying and selling or carrying on a conversation, they do it on horseback. This in fact is the distinction between their slaves and free men, that the slaves go on foot, but the free men only ever go on horseback. The burial custom they commonly observe is to allow the flesh to be stripped off by birds or dogs; only then do they cover the bare bones with earth. In the matter of superstitions and worship of the gods they are all conspicuously respectful. The national character is excitable, quarrelsome, untrustworthy, and insolent; indeed they regard violence as a natural quality in men, while they expect meekness of women. They are always restless, seeking activity either at home or abroad; naturally silent, they are quicker to act than to speak; and so they conceal everything, whether good or bad, under a cloak of silence. They obey their leaders out of fear, not respect. They are extravagant in their sexual pleasures, but sparing in their eating habits. They never keep their word or promise, except in so far as it is expedient to them.

After the death of Alexander the Great, when the kingdoms of the east were being divided among his successors, no Macedonian would condescend to accept the kingdom of Parthia; it was therefore handed over to a foreign ally, Stasanor. Afterwards, when the Macedonians had been withdrawn to fight a civil war with other peoples of Upper Asia, the Parthians attached themselves to Eumenes;[3] when he was defeated they went over to Antigonus.[4] After him they came under Seleucus Nicator,[5] then Antiochus and his successors; they first revolted from Seleucid rule in the time of Antiochus' great-grandson Seleucus, during the First Punic War, when L. Manlius Vulso and M. Atilius Regulus were consuls.[6] The struggle between the two kings, Seleucus and Antiochus, saved the Parthians from being

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[6] i.e. in 256 BC. The reigning Seleucid at this time was in fact Antiochus II (261–246), son of Antiochus I.

dedit,[7] qui dum inuicem eripere sibi regnum uolunt, persequi defectores omiserunt. Eo tempore etiam Theodotus[i] mille urbium Bactrianorum[j] defecit prefectus, regemque se[k] appellari iussit;[l][8] quod exemplum secuti, tocius orientis populi a Macedonibus defecere. Erat eo tempore Arsaces,[9] uir sicut incerte originis, ita uirtutis experte. Hic regnum adeptus,[10] non minus memorabilis Parthis diuturna probitate[m] quam Persis Cyrus, Macedonibus Alexander, Romanis Romulus, Britonibus Arturus, Francis Karolus, Penis Hanibal,[n][11] matura senectute decedit; cuius memorie hunc honorem tribuerunt Parthi, ut omnes exinde reges suos Arsacis nomine nuncuparent.[o]

[i] Theodotus *Justin*; Theodorus *I*, Teodorus *X* [j] Bactrianarum *Justin* [k] se *om. X* [l] fecit *I* [m] diuturna probitate *om. Justin* [n] Britonibus . . . Hanibal] *om. Justin* [o] *The title only of another chapter* (De arbore que die dominico non crescit et per totam ebdomadam crescit) *follows in X: evidence of the unfinished state of these addenda*

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[7] Seleucus II, son of Antiochus II, made over Asia Minor north of Taurus to his brother Antiochus Hierax, not as co-regent but as an independent king. Later he tried to take it back: hence the 'War of the Brothers'. Peace came sometime before 236 BC. See *CAH*, vii (1) (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1984), pp. 428–34.

[8] The province of Bactria (Afghanistan) became an independent Greek kingdom in 256 BC; Parthia emerged as a kingdom *c.*238.

punished for this defection;[7] for while they were each trying to wrest the kingdom from the other, they neglected to take revenge on the rebels. Also at that time Theodotus, the governor of the thousand cities of the Bactrians, staged a revolt, and gave orders that he should be addressed as king;[8] following this example, the peoples of the whole of the east defected from the Macedonians. It was at this time that Arsaces[9] came to fame, a man whose ability was as tried and tested as his origin was uncertain. He took over the kingdom[10] and, proving his worth over a long period, became no less a name to be remembered for the Parthians than Cyrus was for the Persians, Alexander for the Macedonians, Romulus for the Romans, Arthur for the Britons, Charlemagne for the Franks, or Hannibal for the Carthaginians.[11] He died in a ripe old age, and the Parthians paid tribute to his memory by calling all their subsequent kings by the name of Arsaces.

[9] On Arsaces I, previously the leader of a nomadic tribe, see Smith, *Dictionary*, s.v.; *CAH*, vii (1), p. 214.

[10] The phrase 'Hic regnum adeptus' summarizes a passage (xli. 4. 7–5. 4, ed. Seel, p. 280, ll. 1–25) in which Justin describes how Arsaces took over the kingdoms of Parthia and Hyrcania, defeated Seleucus II, and set about building up the power of the Parthians.

[11] Gervase has added Arthur, Charlemagne, and Hannibal to Justin's list.

APPENDIX II

Other Addenda not in *N*[*]

i.[1]

Lodoueus primus, Clotarius, Dagobertus, Pipinus, Karolus Marcellus, Carolus Caluus, Lodouicus, et Carlomannus partim Yspaniam acquisierunt; sed Carolus Magnus totam subiugauit, bello, miraculo, uel arte: terram Andalus, Portugallorum, Sarranorum,[a] Pardorum, Castellanorum, Maurorum, Nauarrorum, Alanorum,[b] Biscaiorum, Blascorum,[c] Palargorum. Vrbem Besertum, ubi sunt fortissimi milites, arauit.[d] [2] Sunt autem urbes Yspanie centum et in Affrica ultra mare,[e] Berugia,[f] Agabila[g] insula, Goharam,[h] urbes Barbanie,[i] Maloidia,[j] Euicia, Furmentaria,[k] Alcarchz,[l] Almaria, Moenta,[m] Gibeltaria, Gartago, Zepta, Gesyt,[n] et Taruth.[o] Sunt et urbes quas acquisitas maledixit et ideo non sunt habitate: Lucerna in Valle[p] Viridi (cuius muri ad eius preces ceciderunt, et statim in eius medio factum est stagnum[q] atrum in quo magni pisces habentur: ibidem Ventosaque dicitur Carcesa),[3] Cappara, Adania. Porro ydola omnia destruxit, preter ydolum quod est in terra Alandalus, quod dicitur Salemgades,[r] quia Cadis est locus ubi est, Salem[s] Arabice dicitur Deus. Tradunt autem Sarraceni quod Maumeth ydolum istud sub proprio nomine fabricauit, et quandam legionem demonum in ipsa[4] arte magica sigillauit, que tanta ui illam[4] optinuit quod a nullo unquam frangi potuit. Cum enim christianus appropinquat, statim periclitatur;

[a] Sarracenorum *Pseudo-Turpin* [b] Alarvarum *Pseudo-Turpin* [c] Basclorum *Pseudo-Turpin* [d] arauit *ed.;* arait *X* [e] Sunt autem urbes . . . mare] *om. Pseudo-Turpin* [f] Bugia *Pseudo-Turpin* [g] Agabiba *Pseudo-Turpin* [h] Boaram *Pseudo-Turpin* [i] urbes Barbanie] que est urbs in Barbaria *Pseudo Turpin* [j] Melodia *Pseudo-Turpin* [k] Formenceria *Pseudo-Turpin* [l] Alcoror *Pseudo-Turpin* [m] Moneka *Pseudo-Turpin* [n] Gesir *Pseudo-Turpin* [o] Tharuph *Pseudo-Turpin* [p] *sic Pseudo-Turpin;* ualde *X* [q] stagnum *ed.;* stanum *X;* gurges *Pseudo-Turpin* [r] Salancadis *Pseudo-Turpin* [s] Salan *Pseudo-Turpin*

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[*] This appendix contains passages which were attached to the work at some stage, and almost certainly came from the author's pen; they do not, however, appear in *N*.

[1] This passage appears in *X* (f. cii^{v}) as part of *Otia*, ii. 18 (following the words 'a papa Leone suscepit' on p. 450). It is derived from Pseudo-Turpin, cc. 3–4 (ed. Meredith-Jones, pp. 96–103), with some adaptation and rearrangement.

APPENDIX II

Other Addenda not in *N*[*]

I.[1]

Clovis I, Chlotar, Dagobert, Pippin, Charles Martel, Charles the Bald, Louis, and Carloman gained possession of parts of Spain; but Charlemagne, by means of warfare, miraculous help, or cunning, subdued the whole country, including the lands of the Andalusians, the Portuguese, the Saracens, the Pardi, the Castilians, the Moors, the Navarri, the Alarvae, the Biscaii, the Basques, and the Palargi. He turned the city of Besertum, home of the bravest soldiers, over to arable land.[2] Now there are a hundred cities in Spain and across the sea in Africa, including Bugia, the island of Agabiba, Boaram and the cities of Barbaria, Melodia, Evicia, Formenceria, Alcoror, Almería, Moneka, Gibraltar, Cartagena, Zepta, Gesir, and Tharuph. In addition, there are the cities which Charlemagne cursed after taking them, as a result of which they are uninhabited; among these are Lucerna in Vallis Viridis (where the walls fell before his prayers, and a dark pool immediately appeared in the middle of the town, containing large fish: this place is also called Ventosa, or Carcensa),[3] Cappara, and Adania. Further, he destroyed all the idols, except one in the region of Andalusia: this one is called Salancadis, because Cadiz is the place where it is found, and Salan means God in Arabic. According to the tradition of the Saracens, Mahomet made this idol under his own name, and by magical art sealed within it[4] a legion of demons, which possessed it[4] with such great power that it could never be broken by anyone. For whenever a Christian approaches it, he

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[2] In Pseudo-Turpin the mention of Besertum occurs in the course of a long list of the cities of Spain; it is qualified: 'in qua milites fortissimi, qui vulgo dicuntur Arabites, habentur' ('in which the soldiers of great courage commonly called Arabs are found'). The word *arait* in *X* (see apparatus) clearly derives from *Arabites* or *Arabit* in MSS of Pseudo-Turpin, but in this context it appears to be intended as a verb.

[3] This awkward phrase is adapted from the first of the three mentions of Lucerna in c. 3 (ed. Meredith Jones, pp. 96–7), where it is called 'Lucerna Ventosa, quae dicitur Karcesa, quae est in Valle Viridi'.

[4] As in some MSS of Pseudo-Turpin (see c. 4, ed. Meredith-Jones, p. 101), the idol is here treated as feminine, although the word *idolum* is properly neuter.

Sarraceni adorant et colunt, ideoque incolumes recedunt; [5]auis superuolans statim moritur.[5] Est autem in maris margine lapis antiquus, opere Sarracenico admodum operatus, super terram situs, deorsum latus et quadratus, desursum strictus et altissimus; in summo effigies[t] hominis de auricalco erecta,[6] faciem ad meridiem tenens, in manu dextra clauem tenens ingentem: que secundum uaticinium Sarracenorum cadet anno quo rex futurus in Gallia natus fuerit, qui totam Yspaniam christianis legibus subiciet in nouissimis temporibus; atque[u] ut uiderint clauem corruere, gazis[v] suis sub terra reconditis, Sarraceni fugient.

ii.[1]

In[a] Arabia sunt quadraginta mansiones.[2] Nam et Arabia tempore filiorum Israel solitudo erat et desertum, terra inuia et inaquosa.[3] In Arabia est mons Regalis, quem Baldewinus, primus rex Francorum in ciuitate Ierusalem, ad tuendum regnum Dauid firmum reddidit.[4]

In Arabia quadraginta annis errauit populus. In Arabia sunt[b] castra filiorum Israel in deserto, in quo fontes duodecim et septuaginta palme de mari Rubro exeuntes reperti sunt.[5] In Arabia uallis Moysi, in qua percussit bis silicem, et exeuntes duo riuuli totam terram irrigant.[6] In Arabia mons Synai. In Arabia fuit columpna nubis per diem et ignis per noctem.[7]

[t] effigies *ed.*; efficiens *X* [u] atque *ed.*; auxque *X*; mox *Pseudo-Turpin* [v] *sic Pseudo-Turpin*; zazis *X*

[a] De Arabia *add. as title before* In *C* [b] sunt *MSS*; Elmon *Fretellus* (*ed. Mansi*)

[5–5] Cf. Pseudo-Turpin: 'Si forte super illud avis quaelibet se deposuerit, illico moritur' ('If any bird happens to alight on it, it dies on the spot').

[6] i.e. the idol called Salancadis ('imago illa . . . in effigie hominis' in Pseudo-Turpin).

[1] This passage is inserted at the end of *Otia*, ii. 24 in all MSS except *N*, *A*, *H*, *R*, *V*, *b* (that is, *N* and Group I; see ii. 24, n. 12); in *B*, *O*, *P*, and *S* of Group III it is also partially duplicated after the letter of presentation at the end. The text presented here is a reconstruction of *β*, collated with *C*. The passage is drawn, with some omission and adaptation, from the description of the holy places written by Fretellus, archdeacon of Nazareth. This work survives in two main versions, one dating from 1137 (ed. P. C. Boeren, in *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte: Histoire et édition du texte* (Amsterdam, 1980), pp. 1–44), and the other from 1148 (ed. J. D. Mansi, *PL* clv. 1039–54); it is this later version which was known to Gervase. He also drew on it for parts of *Otia*, ii. 4, and for iii. 117 and 119.

[2] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1041 (= ed. Boeren, p. 56). The theme of the forty *mansiones* in

immediately incurs danger; the Saracens adore and worship it, and so they retire again in safety; [5]any bird which flies overhead dies at once.[5] There is an ancient stone on the sea-shore, elaborately carved with Saracen workmanship; it rests on the ground, and is broad and square at the bottom, narrow and very high at the top. It is surmounted by that standing figure of a man,[6] made of brass, with his face turned to the south, holding a huge key in his right hand; according to a prophecy of the Saracens, the key will fall in the year when a future king is born in Gaul, who will subject the whole of Spain to Christian laws in the last days. When they see the key fall, the Saracens will bury their treasure in the ground and take flight.

2.[1]

There are forty places where the Israelites camped in Arabia.[2] In the time of the children of Israel, Arabia was a wilderness and a desert, a trackless and waterless land.[3] Montréal is in Arabia; Baldwin, the first French king in the city of Jerusalem, made this mountain into a stronghold to defend the kingdom of David.[4]

The people wandered in Arabia for forty years. In Arabia is the place where the children of Israel pitched camp in the desert, where they found twelve fountains and seventy palm-trees after coming out of the Red Sea.[5] In Arabia is the Valley of Moses, where he struck the rock twice, and two streams flowed forth and watered the whole land.[6] Mount Sinai is in Arabia. It was in Arabia that the pillar of cloud appeared by day and the pillar of fire by night.[7]

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the desert (Num. 33), corresponding to the forty days of fasting (by Moses, Elijah, and Jesus), was first treated by Eusebius of Caesarea (see Boeren, p. 56; cf. *Otia*, ii. 23, n. 142).

[3] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1041 (= ed. Boeren, p. 55); Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 53, Additio 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1101); *Otia*, iii. 107.

[4] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1041 (= ed. Boeren, p. 56). In 1115 Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem 1100–18, built 'the castle of ash-Shaubak, or Krak de Montréal as it was called in his honor. This was on a commanding height south of the Dead Sea eighty-five miles from Jerusalem and eighty miles north of the Red Sea. Its fine strategic position enabled the Franks not only to protect the kingdom in that quarter, but to levy tribute upon the Moslem caravans passing between Damascus and Egypt and also between Damascus and the holy cities of Medina and Mecca' (Setton, *Crusades*, i. 406).

[5] i.e. Elim; cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1041 (= ed. Boeren, p. 55); Exod. 15: 27; Num. 33: 9. The participle *exeuntes* must refer to the children of Israel, in spite of the disagreement of case.

[6] Cf. Fretellus, loc. cit.; Num. 20: 11.

[7] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1041 (= ed. Boeren, pp. 55–6); Exod. 13: 21, etc.

Arabie iungitur Idumea in confinibus Botoron.[8] [9]Idumea est terra Damasci, et est sub Siria; capud enim Sirie Damascus. Ydumeam et Feniceam diuidit Libanus. Phenicea, in qua urbs nobilissima Fenicum Tyrus metropolis, in qua Christus non fuit receptus; que tot martires Deo reddidit, quorum numerum solius Dei sciencia collegit. Tirus Origenem tumulatum celat. Ante Tirum est lapis super quem sedit Iesus, marmoreus, usque ad expulsionem gentium ab urbe manens illesus, sed postea confractus a Francis et Venetis. Sane supra[c] residuum lapidis fundata est ecclesia in honore Saluatoris.[9]

[10]Octauo miliario a Tyro contra orientem supra mare est Sarfent, quod[d] est Sarepta Sidoniorum.[11] Sexto miliario a Sarfent est Sidon, ciuitas egregia, ex qua fuit Dido, que Cartaginem condidit in Affrica.[10] Sextodecimo miliario a Sidone est Beruthus, opulentissima ciuitas, in qua est ymago Saluatoris.[12] [13]Arphat est urbs Damasci. Bosra est pars Ydumee, que alio nomine uocatur Hus, ex qua[e] beatus Iob; que et alio nomine Sueta dicitur, a qua Baldac Suites. Theman[f] metropolis Ydumee, ex qua Elifat Themanites. Naman est oppidum ex quo Sofar Naamanites.[13] In Ydumee finibus, secundo miliario a Iordane, est fluuius Iaboc, quem transuadauit Iacob cum, rediens a Mesopotamia, luctatus est cum angelo.[14] [15]In Ydumea est mons Seyr sub Damasco. Secundo miliario a Damasco est locus in quo Christus apparuit Saulo, cum dixit: 'Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris?'[15]

[16]Ad radicem Libani oriuntur duo fluuii, Farfar et Albanan,[g] fluuii Damasci.[17] Montes Libani et planiciem Arcades[h] [18] preterfluit Albana, Magno mari se copulans. In finibus illis sanctus Eustachius ab uxore et liberis suis recessit.[19] Pharfar per Siriam tendit ad Reblatam, hoc est Antiochiam, labensque secus muros eius, decimo miliario ab

[c] super *X* [d] que *C and some MSS of Fretellus* [e] fuit *add. after* qua *C and Fretellus* [f] Theman] Thema est *C;* Theman est *Fretellus* [g] fluuii . . . Albanan] *om. XQ* [h] Arcados *Fretellus*

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[8] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1041 (= ed. Boeren, p. 56).

[9–9] Idumea . . . in honore Saluatoris] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1041 (= ed. Boeren, c. 25, p. 18); Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 79, Additio 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1578); *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 139. Tyre was taken by the patriarch Gormond de Picquigny in 1124; non-Christians were expelled from the city the following year (see Boeren, p. 19, n. 30).

[10–10] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1041–2 (= ed. Boeren, c. 26, p. 19).

[11] Cf. 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 17: 9; Luke 4: 26.

[12] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1042 (= ed. Boeren, c. 27, p. 19). This is the image from which blood and water flowed when it was subjected to a mock crucifixion; see *Otia*, iii. 25, n. 7; Boeren, p. 19 f., n. 34.

[13–13] Arphat . . . quo Sofar Naamanites] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1042 (= ed. Boeren, c. 33, p. 23); Job 1: 1 and 2: 11.

Idumaea borders on Arabia in the region of Beth-horon.[8] [9]The land of Idumaea belongs to Damascus, and is part of Syria; for Damascus is the capital of Syria. Lebanon divides Idumaea from Phoenicia. In Phoenicia is the metropolis of Tyre, the noblest city of the Phoenicians; Christ was not accepted in this city, and it has given God so many martyrs that the knowledge of God alone has kept account of their number. Tyre contains Origen's tomb. In front of the city is a marble stone on which Jesus sat; it remained undamaged up to the time when the heathens were driven out of the city, but then it was smashed by the French and the Venetians. A church dedicated to the Saviour has been built over the remains of the stone.[9]

[10]Eight miles east of Tyre Sarphent, that is, Sarepta of the Sidonians,[11] overlooks the sea. Six miles from Sarphent is the famous city of Sidon, birthplace of Dido, who founded Carthage in Africa.[10] Sixteen miles from Sidon is Beirut, a very wealthy city, where there is an image of the Saviour.[12] [13]Arpad is a city of Damascus. Bozrah is a region of Idumaea; it is also known as Uz, where the blessed Job came from, or Shuah, home of Bildad the Shuhite. Teman is the chief city of Idumaea; Eliphaz the Temanite came from there. Naamah is the town where Zophar the Naamathite was born.[13] In the territory of Idumaea, two miles from the Jordan, is the river Jabbok, which Jacob forded when, on his way back from Mesopotamia, he wrestled with the angel.[14] [15]In Idumaea, below Damascus, is Mount Seir. Two miles from Damascus is the place where Christ appeared to Saul, when he said: 'Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting me?'[15]

[16]At the foot of Lebanon are the sources of the two rivers of Damascus, the Pharpar and the Abana.[17] The Abana flows past the mountains of Lebanon and the plain of Arca[18] to join the Great Sea. In that region St Eustace parted from his wife and children.[19] The Pharpar follows its course through Syria to Reblata, that is, Antioch, and flowing past its walls, it empties into the harbour of St Simeon

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[14] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1042 (= ed Boeren, c. 28, p. 20); Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 80 and Additio (*PL* cxcviii. 1120); Gen. 32: 22.

[15–15] Cf. Fretellus, loc. cit.; Acts 9: 4; 22: 7; 26: 14.

[16–16] Ad radicem . . . mari se commendans (p. 884)] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1042 (= ed. Boeren, c. 29, p. 21).

[17] Cf. 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 5: 12; *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 43.

[18] For Arca, also called Arcas, Arcados or Archis by the crusaders, see *Otia*, ii. 26, n. 26.

[19] According to legend St Eustace (feast day 20 September, suppressed in 1969) was a general under Trajan; he lost both fortune and family as a result of his conversion to Christianity. Later, however, he was reunited with his family, and suffered martyrdom with them. See *AASS*, Sept. vi. 127–9; *Butler's Lives*, iii. 606–7.

Antiochia in portum soluitur[i] sancti Simeonis, Mediterraneo mari se commendans.[j] [16]

[20]Ad radicem[k] Libani Paneas ciuitas sita est, que nunc Belinas, olim Cesarea Philippi. Ad radicem quoque Libani oriuntur illi preclari fontes Ior et Dan, ex quibus sub montibus Gibel fluuius Iordanis conficitur.[20] [21]A montibus usque ad lacum Asfaltidis uallis illa per quam Iordanis labitur Gorrus appellatur aulon (quod est nomen Ebreum),[22] et uallis illa grandis atque campestris ex utraque parte uallatur montibus continuis a Libano usque ad desertum Pharan. Diuidit Iordanis Galileam et Ydumeam terramque Bothoron, que[l] est Ydumee secunda metropolis.[21]

[23]Dan fere ab ortu suo subterraneum ducit gurgitem suum usque ad Meddan[m] planiciem, in qua satis patenter alueum suum ostendit. Vocatur autem planicies illa Meddan,[n] quia in ea medius[o] est. Sarracenice *Meddan*[p] plateam, Latine forum sonat, sic dicta quia intrante estate innumerabilis populus omnimoda uenalia secum deferens illuc conuenit, et Parthorum et Arabum turba ad tuendum populum et ad pascendos greges in pascuis, nam et ibi[q] tota morantur estate. Componitur autem *Meddan*[r] ex *med* et *Dan*, hoc est 'aqua Dan'. Iuxta hanc planiciem piramis est beati Iob, a Grecis et gentibus sollempnis habita. Dan, contra Galileam gentium[24] se obliquans, et ab urbe Cedar, secus medicabilia balnea,[25] spineti plana transiliens, Ior copulatur. Ior haud longe accipiens lacum, reddit ex se postea mare Galilee, sumens inicium inter Bethsaidam et Capharnaum. A Bethsaida uero fuerunt Petrus et Andreas et Iacobus Alphei.[23]

[26]Quarto miliario a Bethsaida est Corozaim, in qua nutrietur Antichristus, seductor orbis.[27] Vnde in euangelio: 'Ve tibi, Corozaim! ue tibi, Bethsaida!'[28] Quarto[s] miliario a Corozaim est excellentissima

[i] soluitur *MSS;* Solymi *Fretellus* [j] commendans *MSS;* commendat *Fretellus* [k] a radice *X* [l] quod *X* [m] *sic I;* mediam *CX; om. Q* [n] Meldan *CXQ* [o] melius *CXQ* [p] Meldan *CXQ* [q] illic *I* [r] *sic Q;* Meldan *C*, Medan *X*, Meddam *I* [s] quarto *MSS;* quinto *Fretellus*

[20–20] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1042 (= ed. Boeren, c. 31, p. 22); Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 85 (*PL* cxcviii. 1580); *Otia*, iii. 52.

[21–21] A montibus . . . Ydumee secunda metropolis] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1043 (= ed. Boeren, c. 32, p. 22).

[22] The Jordan Valley from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea was called the αὐλών ('channel') by Greek writers, or el-Ghor ('sunken plain') by the Arabs: see A. P. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine* (London, 1889), pp. 283, 291 n., and 487; G. A. Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (25th edn., London, 1966), pp. 53, 81, and 310–11.

[23–23] Dan . . . et Iacobus Alphei] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1043 (= ed. Boeren, c. 33, pp. 22–

ten miles from Antioch, entrusting its waters to the Mediterranean Sea.[16]

[20]At the foot of Lebanon stands the city of Paneas, now called Belinas, once Caesarea Philippi. Also at the foot of Lebanon rise the famous springs, the Jor and the Dan, which join together beneath the mountains of Gilboa to form the river Jordan.[20] [21]From the mountains down to Lake Asphaltites the valley through which the Jordan flows is known by the Hebrew name of the Valley of the Ghor;[22] it is a wide, flat valley, walled in on both sides by unbroken mountains from Lebanon to the wilderness of Paran. The Jordan passes through Galilee and Idumaea and the territory of Beth-horon, which is the second city of Idumaea.[21]

[23]The Dan sends its stream underground almost the whole distance from its source to the plain of Meddan, where it reveals its channel quite openly again. That plain is called Meddan, because the Dan reappears in the middle (*medius*) of it. In the language of the Saracens *Meddan* signifies an open space, like *forum* in Latin; it acquired this meaning because at the beginning of summer countless people gather there, bringing with them all kinds of goods for sale, while a band of Parthians and Arabs come to protect the people and to pasture their flocks on the land: for they stay there all summer long. The name *Meddan* is formed from *med* and *Dan*, that is, 'the water of Dan'. Near this plain is the tomb of blessed Job, held sacred by the Greeks and the heathens. The Dan, turning aside from Galilee of the Gentiles,[24] flows from the city of Kedar past the medicinal baths,[25] crossing the plain of thorns to join the Jor. The Jor receives the waters of a lake not far from its source; it subsequently restores them to form the Sea of Galilee, which has its beginning between Bethsaida and Capernaum. Peter and Andrew, and James the son of Alphaeus, came from Bethsaida.[23]

[26]Four miles from Bethsaida is Chorazin, where Antichrist, the world's deceiver,[27] will be reared. And so we read in the gospel: 'Woe to you, Chorazin! woe to you, Bethsaida!'[28] Four miles from Chorazin

3). Meddan is the fertile plain to the east of the Sea of Galilee; cf. Theoderic, *Libellus de locis sanctis*, p. 77, n. 9.

[24] Cf. Matt. 4: 15; Isa. 9: 1.

[25] Cf. *Otia*, iii. 52; Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 85 (*PL* cxcviii. 1580). The name 'plain of thorns' alludes to the thick scrub which grew on the land watered by these springs; cf. Fetellus, *Description of the Holy Land c. 1130 A.D.*, transl. J. R. Macpherson, Palestine Pilgrims' Texts Society, Publications vol. v (London, 1896), 27, n. 4.

[26–26] Quarto . . . puerum sanauit Iesus (p. 886)] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1043 (= ed. Boeren, c. 34, p. 23).

[27] Cf. 2 John 7.

[28] Matt. 11: 21; Luke 10: 13.

ciuitas Cedar,[t] de qua in psalmo: 'Habitaui[u] cum habitantibus[v] Cedar.'[w] [29] Capharnaum in dextra parte maris sita est, ciuitas centurionis[30] cuius puerum sanauit Iesus.[26]

[31]Secundo miliario a Capharnaum est montis illius descensus in quo fecit Dominus sermonem ad turbas, ubi et curauit leprosum.[32] Miliario a descensu est locus in quo pauit Dominus quinque milia hominum,[33] qui et Mensa uocatur. Huic subiacet locus in quo Christus, post resurrectionem apparens discipulis, comedit partem piscis assi.[34] Illic Dominus super mare ambulauit; illic Petro dixit: 'Modice fidei, quare dubitasti?'[35,31]

[36]In sinistra parte stagni Genezareth, in concauo montis, est Magdalum oppidum, a quo Maria Magdalena. Hec autem regio dicitur Galilea gentium in tribu Zabulon et Neptalim.[37] In superioribus huius Galilee partibus fuerunt uiginti ciuitates, quas Salomon Yram regi, amico suo, dedit.[38] Secundo miliario a Magdalo ciuitas est Tiberias, a Tiberio Cesare dicta, quam in iuuentute sua Christus[x] frequentare solebat. Quarto miliario a[y] Tiberiade[z] Betulia ciuitas, ex qua Iudith, que pro gente sua in obsidione urbis Olofernem peremit.[39] Quarto miliario a Tiberiade [a]contra meridiem est Dotaim, ubi Ioseph inuenit fratres[40] pascentes oues.[36]

[41]Decimo miliario a Tyberiade[a] Nazareth ciuitas Galilee, in qua nutritus fuit Dominus. Secundo miliario a Nazareth Sephorus ciuitas, uia que ducit Acon; ex Sefora Anna, mater matris Domini.[42] Quarto miliario a Nazareth est Cana Galilee contra orientem, a qua Philippus et Nathanael,[43] in qua[b] puer Iesus conuertit aquam in uinum.[44] In Nazareth labitur fons exiguus, ex quo puer Iesus aquam matri ministrabat.[41]

[45]Miliario a Nazareth contra meridiem est locus qui Precipicium dicitur, ex quo Iesum precipitare uoluerunt parentes eius, sed ab eis

[t] ciuitas Ismaelis *add. after* Cedar *C* [u] ego qui cum ex Isaac *add. after* habitaui *C* [v] in *add. after* habitantibus *X* [w] In ecclesia sunt mali cum bonis, quamuis a malis boni patiantur. Interpretatur enim Cedar 'tenebre', ubi fuerunt tabernacula Ysmaelis *add. after* Cedar *C* [x] Christus *C; om. β;* Jesus *Fretellus* [y] a *om. C* [z] est *add. after* Tiberiade *C and some MSS of Fretellus* [a–a] contra . . . miliario a Tyberiade] *om. XQ* [b] in qua] ubi *C*

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[29] Ps. 119 (120): 5.

[30] Cf. Matt. 8: 5–13; Luke 7: 1–10.

[31–31] Secundo . . . fidei, quare dubitasti?] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1043–4 (= ed. Boeren, c. 35, p. 24); Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 74 (*PL* cxcviii. 1575).

[32] Cf. Matt. 5: 1; 8: 1–4.

[33] Cf. Matt. 14: 15–21; Mark 6: 35–44; Luke 9: 12–17; John 6: 5–13.

[34] Cf. John 21: 1–14.

[35] Matt. 14: 31.

is the fine city of Kedar, which is referred to in the psalm: 'I have dwelt with the inhabitants of Kedar.'[29] On the right-hand side of the sea stands Capernaum, the city where the centurion[30] lived whose servant Jesus healed.[26]

[31]Two miles from Capernaum is the mountainside where the Lord preached a sermon to the crowds; he also cured a leper there.[32] A mile from that mountainside is the place where the Lord fed five thousand people;[33] this place is called the Table. Below this is the place where Christ, appearing to his disciples after the resurrection, ate part of a broiled fish.[34] There the Lord walked on the water; there he said to Peter: 'O you of little faith, why did you doubt?'[35,31]

[36]On the left-hand side of the lake of Gennesaret, in a hollow of the mountain, is the town of Magdala; Mary Magdalene came from there. This region is called Galilee of the Gentiles, in the land of Zabulon and Nephthalim.[37] In the upper part of this region of Galilee were the twenty cities which Solomon gave to his friend, King Hiram.[38] Two miles from Magdala is the city of Tiberias, named after Tiberius Caesar; Christ often used to visit this city in his youth. Four miles from Tiberias is the city of Bethulia, where Judith came from; Judith killed Holofernes to save her people when the city was under siege.[39] Four miles south of Tiberias is Dothan, where Joseph found his brothers[40] pasturing their flocks.[36]

[41]Ten miles from Tiberias is the city of Nazareth in Galilee, where the Lord was brought up. Two miles from Nazareth, on the road to Acre, is the city of Sepphoris; Anne, the mother of the Lord's mother, came from there.[42] Four miles east of Nazareth is Cana in Galilee, where Philip and Nathanael came from,[43] and where the boy Jesus converted water into wine.[44] In Nazareth there flows a small spring, from which the boy Jesus used to fetch water for his mother's needs.[41]

[45]A mile south of Nazareth is the place called the Precipice, from which Jesus' relatives wished to cast him down, but he disappeared

[36–36] In sinistra . . . fratres pascentes oues] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1044 (= ed. Boeren, c. 36, p. 24).

[37] Cf. Matt. 4: 15; Isa. 9: 1.

[38] Cf. 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 9: 11.

[39] Cf. Judith 7, 13.

[40] Cf. Gen. 37: 17.

[41–41] Decimo . . . aquam matri ministrabat] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1044 (= ed. Boeren, c. 37, p. 25).

[42] Cf. Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 47, Additio 2 (*PL* cxcviii. 1564).

[43] Cf. John 21: 2.

[44] Cf. John 2: 1–11.

[45–45] Miliario . . . suscitauit filium uidue (p. 888)] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1044 (= ed. Boeren, cc. 38–9, pp. 25–6); Comestor, *Evan.*, c. 86, Additio 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1582).

in momento disparuit.[46] Quarto miliario a Nazareth contra orientem est mons Tabor, in quo transfigurauit se Iesus.[47] Secundo miliario a Thabor contra orientem est mons Hermon. In descensu montis Thabor obuiauit Melchisedech Abrahe reuertenti a cede quatuor regum.[48] Secundo miliario a Thabor est ciuitas Naym, ubi[c] Christus suscitauit filium uidue.[49,45]

[50]Secundo miliario a[d] Naym est mons Endor, ad cuius radicem, supra torrentem Cison, cum filio Delbore prophetisse Barac filius ⟨Abinoem⟩[e] deuicit Ydumeos, occiso Sisara.[51] Vnde in psalmo:[f] 'Tabor et Hermon exultabunt,'[g] etc.[52] Quinto miliario a Naym est ciuitas Iezrael, que et Zaram, ex qua impiissima Iezabel regina, que abstulit uineam Naboth,[53] que et pro importunitate sua precipitata fuit a summo palacii,[54] cuius adhuc piramis superstes est. Iuxta Iezrael est campus Magodo, in quo Iozias rex, a rege Samarie subactus, occubuit.[55] Miliario a Iezrael montes Gelboe, in quibus ceciderunt Saul et Ionathas.[56] Secundo miliario a Gelboe contra orientem est Scitopolis ciuitas, Galilee metropolis, supra cuius muros suspenderunt capud Saul.[57,50]

[58]Quinto miliario a Iezrael Genium[59] oppidum illud a quo incipit Samaria, que et Sebasten et Augusta (ab Augusto Cesare) dicta.[60] Porro Samaria nomen est urbis et patrie. Quinto[h] miliario a Sebaste est Neapolis, que et Sichem, a Sichem patre[i] Emor,[61] qui Dinam filiam Iacob deambulantem in finibus illis rapuit.[62] Illuc delata sunt ossa Ioseph ex Egypto.[63] Ibi[j] iuxta fontem fabricauit Ieroboam uitulos aureos, ex quibus unum posuit in Luza[k] et alium in Bethel.[64] Sichar, ante Sichem, 'iuxta predium quod dedit Iacob Ioseph filio suo',[65] in quo fons Iacob qui puteus dicitur, ad quem sedisse dicitur[l] Iesus

[c] ibi *X* [d] secundo miliario a *MSS;* supra *Fretellus* [e] Abinoem *ed.;* Abineech *Fretellus; om. MSS* (*space left in I*) [f] 'Fac enim sicut Madian et Cisare,' et iterum *add. after* psalmo *C* [g] tuum *add. after* exultabunt *C* [h] quinto *MSS;* quarto *Fretellus* [i] a Sichem patre *MSS;* ex Sichem fuit *Fretellus* [j] ubi *X* [k] Luza *MSS;* Dan *Fretellus* [l] legitur *CI;* evangelizatur *Fretellus*

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[46] Cf. Luke 4: 29–30.

[47] Cf. Matt. 17: 1–8; Mark 9: 2–8; Luke 9: 28–36.

[48] Cf. Gen. 14: 18.

[49] Cf. Luke 7: 11–15.

[50–50] Secundo . . . suspenderunt capud Saul] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1045 (= ed. Boeren, cc. 39–40, p. 26).

[51] Cf. Judg. 4–5; it was Deborah herself, not her son, who fought with Barak.

[52] Cf. Ps. 88 (89): 13 (12)

[53] Cf. 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 21.

[54] Cf. 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 9: 30–7.

[55] Cf. 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 23: 29–30; 2 Chr. 35: 20–4. Josiah was actually fighting Pharaoh Nechoh of Egypt, not the king of Israel.

[56] Cf. 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 31: 8.

from their midst in a moment.[46] Four miles east of Nazareth is Mount Tabor, on which Jesus was transfigured.[47] Two miles east of Tabor is Mount Hermon. It was on the slopes of Mount Tabor that Melchizedek met Abraham when he was on his way back from killing the four kings.[48] Two miles from Tabor is the city of Nain, where Christ raised the widow's son.[49,45]

[50]Two miles from Nain is Mount Endor; at the foot of this mountain, beside the river Kishon, Barak, the son of Abinoam, with the son of the prophetess Deborah, defeated the Idumaeans, while Sisera was killed.[51] And so we read in the psalm: 'Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice' etc.[52] Five miles from Nain is the city of Jezreel, which is also called Zaram; Jezebel lived there, the wicked queen who stole Naboth's vineyard,[53] and who, in return for her insolence, was thrown from the top of the palace;[54] her monument is still standing. Near Jezreel is the plain of Megiddo, where King Josiah died,[55] brought low by the king of Samaria. A mile from Jezreel are the mountains of Gilboa, where Saul and Jonathan fell.[56] Two miles east of Gilboa is the city of Scythopolis, the chief city of Galilee; upon its walls they hung Saul's head.[57,50]

[58]Five miles from Jezreel is the town of Genium;[59] here Samaria begins. Samaria is also called Sebaste or Augusta (after Caesar Augustus);[60] for Samaria is the name of a city as well as a country. Five miles from Sebaste is Neapolis, also called Shechem, after Shechem the father of Hamor;[61] Shechem raped Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, when she was out walking in those parts.[62] The bones of Joseph were brought there from Egypt.[63] There, beside a spring, Jeroboam fashioned the golden calves, one of which he set up in Luz and the other in Bethel.[64] At Sychar, previously called Shechem, 'near to the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph,'[65] is the spring called Jacob's well, beside which Jesus is said to have sat down, weary from his journey, when he spoke with the Samaritan

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[57] Cf. 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 31: 10; in fact it was the headless body of Saul that was hung from the wall of Bethshan (= Scythopolis).

[58–58] Quinto . . . Iacob abscondit ydola (p. 890)] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1045–6 (= ed. Boeren, cc. 41–3, pp. 27–8).

[59] Probably the biblical En-gannim, whose Greek name was Ginae (now Jenin).

[60] Cf. *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 141. Sebaste is the Greek equivalent of Augusta.

[61] Cf. Gen. 33: 19; Acts 7: 16. Hamor was actually the father of Shechem.

[62] Cf. Gen. 34.

[63] Cf. Josh. 24: 32.

[64] Cf. 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 12: 25–33; there and in Fretellus the calves are said to have been set up in Bethel and Dan; Luz is another name for Bethel (Gen. 28: 19; Judg. 1: 23).

[65] John 4: 5.

fessus ab itinere, quando loquebatur cum Samaritana.[66] Iuxta Sichem est terebintus sub qua Iacob abscondit ydola.[67,58]

[68]Supra Sichem uiginti miliaribus, et quatuor a Ierusalem, uia que ducit Diospolim,[69] mons Sila et ciuitas que dicitur Iarama;[70] ubi[71] archa testamenti et tabernaculum manserunt ab aduentu filiorum Israel usque ad tempus Samuelis[m] et Dauid. Vicesimo miliario a Sichem et sexto decimo a Diospoli et sexto decimo ab Ebron et quarto[n] decimo a Ierico et quarto a Bethleem et septimo decimo a Bersabee et uicesimo quarto ab Ascalone totidemque a Ioppe et sexto a Ramatha, Ierusalem ciuitas, Iudee metropolis, que et Sion dicta est, de qua in psalmo: 'Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, ciuitas Dei!'[72,68]

Huic proxima[o] Bethleem ciuitas Iuda, que et Effrata dicitur.[73] Quarto miliario a Bethleem contra meridiem est ecclesia beati Scarioth[p] ubi,[q] ipso transeunte ex hoc mundo ad Dominum eius, monachi cum eo pariter agonizauerunt,[r] quod ab eo deuote prescierant,[s] eo quod eorum pius pater extiterat, nec post eum in mundo uiuere uolebant, eius amore feruentes; quorum singulorum ymagines[t] in ecclesia uideri possunt, eo modo quo se habuerant in dissolutione[u] patris agonizantes, translati postea in Ierusalem.[74] [75]Miliario a Bethleem, uia que ducit Bethleem, locus in quo Rachel, cum peperisset Beniamin, a uiro suo tumulata est.[76] Illic Iacob duodecim lapides in numerum duodecim[v] filiorum suorum tumulo supposuit,[w] cuius adhuc piramis apparet.[75]

[77]Secundo miliario a Ierusalem, uia que ducit Sichem, mons Gabaa in tribu Beniamin. Miliario a Ierusalem in accubitu montis Olíueti, mons Offensionis, dictus Offensionis quia in eo rex Salomon adorauit ydolum Moloch.[78] Bethania collateralis est montis Olíueti et mons[x]

[m] Samuelis *Fretellus;* Salomonis *MSS* [n] quarto *MSS;* tertio *Fretellus* [o] est a sex miliaribus *C*, est *I*, *add. after* proxima [p] Caritot *Fretellus* [q] ibi *C* [r] *sic C;* agnouerunt *XI;* cognouerunt *Q* [s] quod ab eo deuote prescierant *MSS;* id quidem a Deo devote petierant *Fretellus* (*ed. Boeren*) [t] compagines *Fretellus* [u] desolatione *Fretellus* [v] duodecim *om. C* [w] superposuit *C and some MSS of Fretellus* [x] montis *C*

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[66] Cf. John 4: 6–42. [67] Cf. Gen. 35: 4.

[68–68] Supra . . . te, ciuitas Dei] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1046 (= ed. Boeren, c. 45, p. 29).

[69] i.e. Lydda.

[70] Otherwise known as Ramathaim-zophim (e.g. 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 1: 1), or in N.T. times, Arimathaea.

[71] i.e. in Shiloh; cf. Josh. 18: 1; 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 3: 3. [72] Ps. 86 (87): 3.

[73] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1046 (= ed. Boeren, c. 46, p. 29); Mic. 5: 2.

[74] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1046 (= ed. Boeren, c. 48, p. 30). St Chariton, founder of colonies of hermits, died *c*.350; see G. Garitte, in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie*

woman.[66] Near Shechem is the turpentine-tree under which Jacob hid the idols.[67,58]

[68]Twenty miles above Shechem and four miles from Jerusalem, on the road which leads to Diospolis,[69] are Mount Shiloh and the city called Ramah;[70] the ark of the covenant and the tabernacle were kept there[71] from the time when the children of Israel arrived in the land until the time of Samuel and David. Twenty miles from Shechem, sixteen from Diospolis, sixteen from Hebron, fourteen from Jericho, four from Bethlehem, seventeen from Beer-sheba, twenty-four from Ascalon, the same from Joppa, and six from Ramah, is the city of Jerusalem, the chief city of Judaea; it is also called Zion, and is referred to in the psalm: 'Glorious things are spoken of you, O city of God!'[72,68]

The city of Bethlehem of Judah, which is also called Ephratah, is very close to Jerusalem.[73] Four miles south of Bethlehem is the church of St Chariton. There, when the saint was passing from this world to join his Lord, the monks suffered their own death agonies along with him. They had learnt from him in advance that this would happen, through their devotion to him; for he had been their loving father, and they did not wish to go on living in the world after his death, because of their fervent love for him. Images of them all can be seen in the church, in the various postures in which they were suffering when their father died; their bodies were subsequently translated to Jerusalem.[74] [75]A mile from Bethlehem, on the road leading to the town, is the place where Rachel was buried by her husband, after she had given birth to Benjamin.[76] Jacob laid twelve stones under her tomb there, corresponding to the number of his sons; her monument can still be seen.[75]

[77]Two miles from Jerusalem, on the way to Shechem, is Mount Gibeah in the tribe of Benjamin. A mile from Jerusalem, adjoining the Mount of Olives, is the Mount of Offence, so-called because King Solomon worshipped an idol of Molech on it.[78] The Mount of Offence is a continuation of the Mount of Olives, which has Bethany

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ecclésiastiques, ed. A. Baudrillart, A. Vogt *et al.*, xii (Paris, 1953), 421–3; Boeren, p. 31, n. 77. This passage also shows affinities with John of Würzburg, *Descriptio terrae sanctae*, *PL* clv. 1060: the monks' advance knowledge of their death, omitted by Fretellus (see apparatus), is found there.

[75–75] Miliario . . . adhuc piramis apparet] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1047 (= ed Boeren, c. 49, p. 30). [76] Cf. Gen. 35: 16–20.

[77–77] Secundo . . . Iosaphat per Bethfage (p. 892)] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1048–9 (= ed. Boeren, c. 58, p. 35). [78] Cf. 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 11: 7; 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 23: 13.

Offensionis continuus.[y] Diuidit autem eos uia que ducit de Iosaphat per Bethfage.[77]

[79]In monte Syon lauit Dominus pedes discipulorum;[z] [80] ibidem cenauit cum discipulis, ubi[a] et beatus Iohannes supra pectus Domini recubuit.[81] Ad sinistram montis Syon est ager peregrinorum, qui dicitur Acheldemac.[82] Secus uiam que ducit Effrata, mons Gion, in quo fuit unctus rex Salomon[83] et regium diadema suscepit.[79]

[84]In Ierusalem, in accubitu montis Oliueti, uendidit Dominum Iudas, contra orientem trans Cedron, iactu lapidis a Gethsemani. Ibi orauit Christus ad Patrem; ibi[b] dixit Petro: 'Non potuisti[c] una hora uigilare mecum?'[85] Deinde regressus est Gethsemani. Dato fraudis osculo, Iesus uinctus ducitur in Sion, in pretorium Pilati, ubi eum Petrus negauit et fugit ad locum qui modo uulgariter nuncupatur[d] Gallicantus, et est uia Galilee que ducit in descensum Iosaphat, sub porta montis Syon.[84]

[86]In monte Syon illusus, flagellatus, et[e] consputus, in Golgotha, qui est Caluarie locus,[87] crucifixus est; diciturque Caluaria quia ibi decaluabantur rei, hoc est puniebantur.[88] Sub loco Caluarie ad dexteram locus est in quo Ioseph petiit a Pilato dari sibi corpus Iesu, quod et[f] in monumento haud longe in orto, de petra nouo exciso, posuit.[89] Sub loco Caluarie in capite ecclesie crux Domini ab Helena reperta est.[90] Secundo miliario a Ierusalem creuit arbor illa dignissima que meruit ferre precium seculi, et in qua uerus Leo[91] pependit.[86]

[92]Locus qui modo Carcer dicitur in passione Domini campestris erat, sed in eo moram habuit dum ei machinabantur supplicium.[g] Sexto miliario a Ierusalem est Eleuteropolis, que dicitur Emaus, ubi Dominus apparuit discipulis duobus.[93] In monte Oliueti Dominus celos ascendit. In monte Syon uirgo Maria transiit ex hoc mundo, et

[y] conterminus *C* [z] suorum *add. after* discipulorum *X and Fretellus* [a] ubi *om. C* [b] ubi *X* [c] potuistis *C, Matt. 26: 40, and Fretellus* [d] appellatur *C and Fretellus* [e] et *om. C* [f] et *om. CI* [g] supplicium *MSS;* crucis suspendium *Fretellus*

[79-79] In monte . . . regium diadema suscepit] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1049 (= ed. Boeren, c. 61, p. 36).

[80] Cf. John 13: 1–17.

[81] Cf. John 13: 23.

[82] i.e. the field of blood; cf. Matt. 27: 7–8; Acts 1: 19.

[83] Cf. 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 1: 32–40.

[84-84] In Ierusalem . . . porta montis Syon] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1049–50 (= ed. Boeren, c. 62, p. 36).

[85] A conflation of Matt. 26: 40 and Mark 14: 37.

alongside it. The road which leads from Jehoshaphat through Bethphage runs between these two hills.[77]

[79]On Mount Zion the Lord washed his disciples' feet;[80] there too he had supper with his disciples, and there St John leant on the Lord's bosom.[81] To the left of Mount Zion is the field of strangers, which is called Aceldama.[82] On the way to Ephratah is Mount Gihon, on which Solomon was anointed king[83] and received the royal diadem.[79]

[84]In Jerusalem, on the slopes of the Mount of Olives, to the east beyond Cedron, a stone's throw from Gethsemane, Judas sold the Lord. There Christ prayed to the Father, and there he said to Peter: 'Could you not watch with me one hour?'[85] Then he returned to Gethsemane. When the treacherous kiss had been given, Jesus was led bound to Zion, to Pilate's judgment hall, where Peter denied him and fled to the place which is now popularly known as Cock-crow, on the Galilean road which leads down into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, beneath the gate of Mount Zion.[84]

[86]After being mocked, scourged, and spat upon on Mount Zion, Jesus was crucified at Golgotha, that is, the place of a skull, or Calvary;[87] it is called Calvary because criminals had their heads shorn (*decaluabantur*) there, as a sign of their punishment.[88] Below Calvary, to the right, is the place where Joseph requested of Pilate that the body of Jesus should be given to him; he then laid it in a new tomb hewn out from the rock, in a garden not far off.[89] Beneath Calvary, in the apse of the church, the Lord's cross was found by Helena.[90] Two miles from Jerusalem grew that most worthy tree which merited to bear the ransom of the world, on which the true Lion[91] hung.[86]

[92]The place which is now called the Prison was open country at the time of the Lord's passion, but he waited there while they fashioned his cross. Six miles from Jerusalem is Eleutheropolis, also called Emmaus, where the Lord appeared to the two disciples.[93] On the Mount of Olives is the place from where the Lord ascended into heaven. On Mount Zion the Virgin Mary passed from this world; she

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[86-86] In monte . . . uerus Leo pependit] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1050 (= ed. Boeren, cc. 63–4, p. 37).

[87] Cf. Matt. 27: 33; Mark 15: 22; John 19: 17.

[88] Cf. *Otia*, ii. 23, n. 41.

[89] Cf. Matt. 27: 57–60; Mark 15: 42–6; Luke 23: 50–3; John 19: 38–42.

[90] Cf. *Otia*, iii. 47, n. 2.

[91] Cf. Rev. 5: 5.

[92-92] Locus . . . et alii reges (p. 894)] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1050–1 (= ed. Boeren, cc. 65–7, p. 38).

[93] Cf. Luke 24: 13–35. Eleutheropolis was in fact the Greco-Roman name for Betogabris, south of Emmaus; Emmaus was known as Nicopolis.

in Iosaphat sepulta fuit. In[h] monte Syon Dauid et Salomon sepulti sunt, et alii reges.[92]

[94]Ante portam Ierusalem que respicit[i] occasum lapidatus est beatus Stephanus, et in Sion sepultus inter Nicodemum et Abidon[j] et Gamalielem,[k] postea Constantinopolim transuectus, ad ultimum Rome, in tumulo beati[l] Laurencii, sepultus; ubi uenienti Stephano Laurencius ad unam partem cessit. Vnde in eius tumulo scriptum est:

Quem Sion occidit, nobis Bisancia misit[95]

Ante portam Ierusalem, iuxta lacum qui meridiem respicit, est cauea in qua leo quidam fere duodecim milia martirum, sub Cosdroe[96] perempta, iussu Dei una nocte intulit; unde Carnerium Leonis dicitur.[94]

[97]Sexto miliario a Ierusalem, uia que ducit Ramatha, mons Modin, ex quo Matathias, pater Machabeorum.[98] Octauo miliario a Modin, uia que ducit Ioppe, Lidda, que et Diospolis, ubi corpus beati Georgii sepultum esse dicitur.[99] Miliario a Ramatha et tercio[m] miliario a Bethleem, Amos propheta requiescit in oppido Thetio. Quarto miliario a Ierusalem contra austrum est oppidum in quo morabatur Zacarias, quando Beata Virgo salutauit Elisabeth.[100,97]

[101]Secundo miliario a Ierico ad sinistram est desertum quod uulgo Quarentena dicitur, ubi Iesus[n] ieiunauit quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus;[102] illic eum tentauit diabolus. Secundo miliario a Quarentena est mons excelsus a[o] quo diabolus ostendit ei omnia regna subdita sibi.[103] Sub Quarentena est fontis illius riuulus quem Eliseus ex amarissimo fecit potabilem.[104,101]

[h] In *om. XQ and Fretellus* [i] ad *add. after* respicit *C* [j] Abibon *Q*, Abilon *Fretellus* [k] et *add. after* Gamalielem *X* [l] sancti *X* [m] tercio *MSS;* quarto *Fretellus* [n] Christus *X* [o] ex *C*

[94-94] Ante . . . Carnerium Leonis dicitur] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1051 (= ed. Boeren, cc. 67–8, pp. 38–9).

[95] Fretellus is here indebted, directly or indirectly, to an account of the discovery of the relics of St Stephen, written in Greek by Lucian of Caphar-gamala in 415, and afterwards translated into Latin in two different recensions, of which one was made by Avitus of Braga. Lucian describes how the whereabouts of Stephen's body was revealed to him by Gamaliel in a vision; with Stephen were found the bodies of Gamaliel and his son Abibas, and of Nicodemus. See S. van der Linden, 'Revelatio Sancti Stephani', *Revue des Études Byzantines*, iv (1946), 178–217; Avitus' Latin translation of Lucian in *PL* xli. 805–15; Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, ii. 694; James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 564–8; E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 212–20. From the sixth century, Stephen's relics were preserved in the church of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura in Rome; see Marcellinus, *Chronicon*, for the year AD 439 (*PL* li.

was buried in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. David and Solomon and the other kings were buried on Mount Zion.[92]

[94]In front of the gate of Jerusalem which faces west, the blessed Stephen was stoned. He was buried on Zion between Nicodemus and Abibas and Gamaliel, but was subsequently translated to Constantinople, and in the end was buried in Rome, in the tomb of St Lawrence; when Stephen came, Lawrence moved to one side. And so his tomb bears the inscription:

Zion killed him: Byzantium sent him to us.[95]

In front of the gate of Jerusalem, beside the pool which faces south, is the cave into which in a single night, at God's command, a certain lion carried about twelve thousand martyrs, killed in the time of Chosroes;[96] and so it is called the Lion's Larder.[94]

[97]Six miles from Jerusalem, on the way to Ramah, is Mount Modin, where Mattathias came from, the father of the Maccabees.[98] Eight miles from Modin, on the way to Joppa, is Lydda, which is also called Diospolis; there St George's body is said to be buried.[99] A mile from Ramah and three miles from Bethlehem, the body of the prophet Amos rests in the town of Tekoah. Four miles south of Jerusalem is the town where Zacharias was living when the Virgin Mary saluted Elisabeth.[100,97]

[101]Two miles to the left of Jericho is the desert which is commonly called Quarantine, where Jesus fasted for forty days and forty nights; there the devil tempted him.[102] Two miles from Quarantine is the high mountain from which the devil showed him all the kingdoms in subjection to him.[103] Below Quarantine is the stream flowing from the spring which was very bitter until Elisha made it drinkable.[104,101]

926); *DACL*, v. 650–1. The detail about Lawrence moving aside to make room for Stephen is not found in Fretellus' account.

[96] Chosroes II Parviz, king of Persia 591–628, who captured Jerusalem in 614 with great slaughter of Christians.

[97-97] Sexto . . . Virgo salutauit Elisabeth] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1051 (= ed Boeren, cc. 68–9, p. 39).

[98] Cf. 1 Macc. 2: 1.

[99] After the capture of Lydda in 1099, the English crusaders discovered the relics of St George there.

[100] Cf. Luke 1: 39–40.

[101-101] Secundo . . . amarissimo fecit potabilem] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv.1051–2 (= ed Boeren, c. 73, p. 41).

[102] Cf. Matt. 4: 1–11; Mark 1: 12–13; Luke 4: 1–13. For the word *quarentena* meaning a period of forty days (and hence applied to the desert where Jesus was tempted), see Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, s.v. 1 *quadragena*.

[103] Cf. Matt. 4: 8; Luke 4: 5.

[104] Cf. 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 2: 19–22.

[105]Tercio lapide a Ierico, secundo miliario a Iordane, locus qui dicitur ⟨Bethagla⟩,[p] [106] eo quod ibi filii Iacob tulerunt et reposuerunt ossa Iacob ex Egipto in Ebron. Engad in tribu Iuda: ibi abscondit se Dauid[107] in solitudine que est in aulone Iericho.[105]

[108]Octauo miliario a Nazareth Cay mons, ad radicem cuius iuxta fontem Lamech pater Noe, uenatu ueniens, sagitta sua[q] occidit Caym.[109] Tercio miliario a Caym monte mons Carmeli, de quo in Canticis: 'Collum eius sicut Carmelus.'[110] Illic Elias diutissime conuersatus est.[108] Sexto decimo miliario a Nazareth contra orientem, supra mare Galilee, Gergessa, uiculus ille in quo Saluator eos qui a demonibus uexabantur sanitati restituit, ex quibus eiecti in mare uicinum precipicium fecerunt.[111]

[112]Sexto decimo miliario a Carmelo contra meridiem est Cesarea, Palestine metropolis, ex qua Cornelius centurio, quem baptizauit Petrus.[113] In hac est turris Stratonis, quam Herodes construxit; contra aduentum Cesaris Augusti fecit ibi pariter niueum[r] de marmore portum.[s] [114] Ipse quoque Herodes turrim edificauit que totam ciuitatem Ierosolimitanam supereminet, que turris Dauid[115] uulgo nuncupatur, ut ait Iosephus,[116] eamque nominauit[t] Antoniam.[u] [112]

Est[v] in ciuitate Ierusalem templum Domini quod edificauit Salomon, petens ut in eo populus orans exaudiretur.[117] De hoc templo dixit[w] Dominus: 'Domus mea domus orationis uocabitur.'[118] [119]Illud pro incontinentia populi et principis spoliauit Nabucodonosor tempore regis Sedecie.[120] Post hec[x] Pompeius templum succendit et

[p] Bethagla *Fretellus; space left in CQI; X carries straight on* [q] sua *om. X* [r] niueo *I;* albo *Fretellus* [s] portam *C* [t] uocauit *Q* [u] Antomanet *X,* Anthomaneth *C* [v] et *add. after* est *C* [w] dicit *XI* [x] hoc *CI*

[105–105] Tercio . . . in aulone Iericho] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1052 (= ed Boeren, c. 23, p. 17).

[106] The name Bethagla, omitted in the MSS of Gervase, is explained by Fretellus as meaning *locus gyri*, because there Joseph and his company *circuissent* ('circled round') as they mourned for Jacob; this would seem to be the place named Abel-mizraim (Vulgate: 'Planctus Aegypti') in Gen. 50: 11. Jacob was then buried in Hebron (Gen. 50: 13; cf. *Otia*, ii. 4, n. 37). The lack of clarity in Gervase's version, as well as the omission of the name, suggests that his copy of Fretellus may have been faulty here.

[107] Cf. 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 23: 29, 24: 1.

[108–108] Octauo . . . diutissime conuersatus est] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1052 (= ed. Boeren, cc. 73–4, p. 42).

[109] Cf. Gen. 4: 23, 5: 28–9. According to a Hebrew tradition Lamech killed Cain, mistaking him for a wild beast; cf. Comestor, *Gen.*, c. 28 (*PL* cxcviii. 1079).

[110] Cf. S. of S. 7: 5; v. 4 begins: 'Collum tuum sicut turris eburnea', while in v. 5 it is the head which is compared to Mount Carmel: 'Caput tuum ut Carmelus.'

[111] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1052; Matt. 8: 28–34.

[105]At the third milestone from Jericho, two miles from the Jordan, is the place called Bethagla,[106] because Jacob's sons took his bones there when they were bringing them back from Egypt to bury them in Hebron. In the territory of Judah is En-gedi: there David hid himself[107] in the wilderness which is in the valley of Jericho.[105]

[108]Eight miles from Nazareth is Mount Cain; beside a spring at its foot Lamech, the father of Noah, killed Cain with his arrow when he was out hunting.[109] Three miles from Mount Cain is Mount Carmel; this is mentioned in the Song of Songs: 'Her neck is like Carmel.'[110] Elijah dwelt there for a long time.[108] Sixteen miles east of Nazareth, on the Sea of Galilee, is the little town of Gergesa, where the Saviour restored to sound mind the men who were tormented by devils; on being cast out of the men, the devils ran down a steep place into the sea nearby.[111]

[112]Sixteen miles south of Carmel is Caesarea, the chief city of Palestine; the centurion Cornelius, whom Peter baptized, lived there.[113] In this city is Strato's Tower, built by Herod; he built a harbour there too, in preparation for the arrival of Caesar Augustus: this harbour was dazzling white, being constructed of marble.[114] According to Josephus,[116] this same Herod also built a fortress which towers over the whole city of Jerusalem, and named it Antonia, though the people call it the Tower of David.[115,112]

In the city of Jerusalem is the temple of the Lord which Solomon built, asking that his people's prayers should be heard in it.[117] The Lord said of this temple: 'My house shall be called a house of prayer.'[118] [119]In the time of King Zedekiah, Nebuchadnezzar despoiled the temple as a punishment for the waywardness of the people and their ruler.[120] Some time after that Pompey set it on fire

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[112–112] Sexto . . . eamque nominauit Antoniam] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1052 (= ed. Boeren, cc. 74–5, pp. 42–3).

[113] Cf. Acts 10.

[114] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 293 and 331–41; *Bell.* i. 156 and 408–14; Comestor, *Libri Mach.*, c. 25, Additio 1 (*PL* cxcviii. 1537). The whole city was called Strato's Tower until Herod rebuilt it and named it Caesarea; Gervase's assertion that the tower itself was built by Herod is an inaccuracy arising from his rephrasing of Fretellus.

[115] Cf. S. of S. 4: 4; Comestor, *Libri Mach.*, c. 25 (*PL* cxcviii. 1536); Josephus, *Bell.* v. 166 and note.

[116] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 403 and 409; *Bell.* v. 238–46.

[117] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1047 (= ed Boeren, c. 51, p. 31); 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 8: 23–53.

[118] Matt. 21: 13; cf. Mark 11: 17; Luke 19: 46; Isa. 56: 7.

[119–119] Illud . . . duobus annis stetisset (p. 898)] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1047 (= ed. Boeren, c. 52, p. 32).

[120] Cf. 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 25: 13–17.

prophanauit. Sed et post passionem Christi illud Titus et Vespasianus deleuerunt cum mille duobus annis stetisset.[119] Prehabita enim deliberatione diutina, utrum templum tamquam incitamentum hostium Titus incenderet, an in testimonium uictorie reseruaret, tandem ipsum ut effetum ac[y] uacuum, nullique usui bono propter germinantem ecclesiam commodum, diruit ac incendit. [121]Quod quidam sub Constantino imperatore[z] ab Helena matre reedificatum asserunt, pro reuerencia sancte crucis inuente, alii ab Eraclio, qui Persas reuecta cruce strauit, plerique a Iustiniano Augusto, alii a quodam admiratore Menfis Egipti, pro reuerencia Allakiber,[a] [122] hoc est summi Dei.[121] Sed hoc certum est, quia[b] ab omnibus populis celebre habetur.

iii.[1]

Exhinc ad picturam per oculatam[a] fidem nos transferamus.[2] Subnectamus tamen quiddam ab Ebreo sumptum, ad computationem premissam argumentum uerissimum. Adam ergo uixit annis .dccccxxx. Etatis uero sue anno .cxxx. genuit Seth. Seth anno etatis sue .cv. genuit Enos, qui anno suo nonagesimo genuit Cainam, qui anno suo septuagesimo genuit Malalael, qui anno suo sexagesimo quinto genuit Iareth, qui anno suo .clxii. genuit Enoch, qui anno suo sexagesimo quinto genuit Matusalam, qui anno suo .clxxxvii. genuit Lamech, qui anno suo .clxxxii. genuit Noe. Porro a Noe ad diluuium sunt anni .dc., a diluuio ad Abraham .ccxcii., a quo ad Isaac centum anni, a quo ad exitum Egypti .cccc. anni, a quo usque ad primum templum .cccclxxx. anni. Sane templum stetit .ccccx. annis.

[y] ac *om.* *C*   [z] et *add. after* imperatore *X*   [a] *sic I;* Allaguiber *C*, Lakiber *X*, Allaheraber *Q*, Alachiber *Fretellus*   [b] quod *CI*

[a] occultam *X*

[121–121] Quod . . . est summi Dei] Cf. Fretellus, *PL* clv. 1047 (= ed. Boeren, c. 53, p. 32). The Dome of the Rock, built by Abd-al-Malik and completed in 691, was converted into a church by the crusaders.

[122] Perhaps Allah Akbah (God is Greatest).

[1] This computation appears in *X*, *Q*, and *Z* at the end of *Otia*, ii. 26; the version presented here is based on a collation of *X* and *Q*. There is a certain amount of confusion in it; it is not, however, quite as problematic as it appeared to Caldwell ('Addenda', pp. 123–5), since he misread one of the figures in *X* (Mahalaleel's age when Jared was born was .lxv., not .lxx.). The sum of the time-spans up to the destruction of the temple in AD 70 is correctly given as 3828 in *X* (*Q*'s 3838 is incorrect). Both MSS give 4977 as the

and profaned it. And again, after Christ's passion, Titus and Vespasian destroyed it, when it had stood for 1,002 years.[119] Titus deliberated for a long time as to whether he should burn the temple lest it should serve as an encouragement to his enemies, or preserve it to bear witness to his victory; in the end he destroyed it and burnt it down, on the grounds that it was obsolete and valueless, and no longer fitted for any useful purpose on account of the Church that was then emerging. [121]Some say that it was rebuilt in the time of the emperor Constantine by his mother Helena, out of reverence for the holy cross which she had found; others say that Heraclius rebuilt it, when he vanquished the Persians and recovered the cross; many say that the emperor Justinian was responsible, others again that it was a certain emir of Memphis in Egypt who rebuilt it out of reverence for Allakiber,[122] that is, the Most High God.[121] But this much is sure, that it is an object of renown among all peoples.

3.[1]

From this point on we are to apply ourselves to producing a picture of the world based on eye-witness accounts.[2] First, though, let us add something which we have taken from a Hebrew source, which will serve as very reliable evidence in support of the foregoing computation. Adam, then, lived for 930 years. When he was 130 years old he became the father of Seth. When Seth was 105 he became the father of Enos; when Enos was 90 he became the father of Cainan; when Cainan was 70 he became the father of Mahalaleel; when Mahalaleel was 65 he became the father of Jared; when Jared was 162 he became the father of Enoch; when Enoch was 65 he became the father of Methuselah; when Methuselah was 187 he became the father of Lamech; when Lamech was 182 he became the father of Noah. Further, there are 600 years between the birth of Noah and the flood, 292 between the flood and Abraham, 100 between Abraham and Isaac, 400 between Isaac and the exodus from Egypt, and 480 between the exodus and the first temple. The temple stood for 410 years. The

number of years from the beginning of the world to the present. The date of composition of this computation ought therefore to have been 4977–(3828–70) = 1219. The actual date given in the MSS is 1227 in *X* and 1217 in *Q* and *Z*. So there can be no certainty as to the precise date of composition of this passage, but it does serve to strengthen the evidence that these MSS represent late versions of the work (see above, p. xl).

[2] i.e. the collection of marvels in Book III.

Captiuitas septuaginta. Secundum templum stetit .ccccxx., et tunc a Tito est subuersum. Et est summa tunc ab origine mundi tria milia .dcccxxviii.[b] anni. Summa ergo tocius usque ad annum Domini .mccxxvii.[c] est quatuor milia .dcccclxx. anni et septem.

Cum ergo uixerit Adam .dcccxxx.[d] annis, uidit eum Matusalem .ccxliii. annis. Matusalem uixit .dcccclxix. annis, et ita uidit eum Sem nonaginta octo annis. Sem quoque uidit Iob[e] quinquaginta annis, et Iob[f] uidit Ambram[g][3] patrem Moysi, et Ambram uidit Finees, et Finees uidit Samuelem prophetam. Dicit ergo Ebreus unam generationem esse ab origine mundi usque ad Sem, quia ipse uidit Matusalem, qui uidit Adam. Secundam generationem computat a Sem ad Ambram, quia Ambram uidit Iob,[h] qui uidit Sem. Terciam ab Ambram usque ad Samuelem, quia Finees uidit Ambram et Samuelem.[i] A prophetis uero non computat[j] usque ad finem seculi nisi unam generationem, quia euenerant[k] omnia que dixit Moyses, et prophete omnes loquuntur super Moysem et omnes auctores Ebraice ueritatis.

Hec sunt[l] capitula libri huius tercii.

iv. *De turri Peletenta Alesti*[1]

Accedit et aliud non modicum admirandum. Est enim Alesti Nemausensis dyocesis turris Peletenca,[2] celebri fabricata structura, multis testudinum edificiis decorata. In qua una testudo siue crota est, ad modum parua, angustum quodam modo habens introitum, que Puluerosa nuncupatur. Quam si adeo die precedenti scopaueris quod nil pulueris ibi restet, quamuis nullum animal postmodum in eam ingrediatur, in crastino uero eam inuenies puluerosam, omnium fere bestiarum et hominum tam paruorum quam magnorum uestigiorum[a] uariis impressionibus occupatam.

Explicit liber *De mirabilibus mundi*, qui alias *Imperatoris solacium* nominatur. Deo gratias.

[b] octingenti triginta octo *Q* [c] .mccxvii. *Q* [d] .dccccIxxx. *X* [e] Iacob *Q* [f] Iob *ed.;* Iacob *XQ* [g] Abraam *X*, *here and in succeeding occurrences* [h] Iacob *Q* [i] quia . . . Samuelem] *om. X* [j] computant *Q* [k] euenerant *om. X* [l] hec sunt] sequuntur *Q*

[a] uestigiarum *C*

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[3] According to a late tradition, Moses' father's name was Amram or (LXX) Ambram; see Exod. 6: 18 and 20; Num. 26: 58–9; 1 Chr. 6: 2–3.

captivity lasted for 70. The second temple stood for 420 years, and was then destroyed by Titus. The total number of years from the origin of the world up to that time is 3,828 years. The complete total, therefore, up to the year of the Lord 1227 is 4977 years.

So then, since Adam lived for 930 years, Methuselah saw him for 243 years. Methuselah lived for 969 years, so Shem saw him for 98 years. Shem also saw Job for fifty years, and Job saw Amram[3] the father of Moses, and Amram saw Phinehas, and Phinehas saw the prophet Samuel. The Hebrews therefore say that from the origin of the world to Shem is a single generation, because Shem saw Methuselah, who saw Adam. They reckon the second generation from Shem to Amram, because Amram saw Job, who saw Shem; and the third from Amram to Samuel, because Phinehas saw both Amram and Samuel. They only count one generation from the prophets to the end of the world, because everything which Moses spoke of had come to pass, and all the prophets and the other authors of the Hebrew Truth speak with reference to Moses.

The following are the chapters of this the third book.

4. *The Pelet Tower at Alès*[1]

Here is another thing that should cause no little amazement. At Alès, in the diocese of Nîmes, is the Pelet Tower,[2] which is constructed to a famous design, adorned with numerous vaulted structures. In it there is one vault or crypt which is very small, with quite a narrow entrance, called the Dusty Crypt. If you have swept this the day before so thoroughly that not a speck of dust is left there, even if no animal gets in afterwards, the next day you will find that it is dusty, and marked with the various impressions made by the footprints of a whole host of animals and people, large and small alike.

Here ends this book, *The Marvels of the World,* otherwise called *An Emperor's Consolation.* Thanks be to God.

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[1] This chapter concludes the work in *C*, *T*, and *CM* of Group IVb. As Caldwell remarks: 'It is, in style and content, and even in its opening phrase . . ., similar to Section III. One suspects that it, too, was a part of the *collectanea* at one stage attached to the work for possible integration' ('Interrelationship', p. 273). The text here is transcribed from *C*.

[2] Pelet was the family name of the seigneurs of Alès; their tower was destroyed in 1247 (see de Vic-Vaissete, *Histoire*, iii. 637, vi. 794, and vii. 548–9).

APPENDIX III

*Commentary on the Lord's Prayer**

Karissimo ac deuoto collegio Massiliensi[1] humilis ac deuotus filius, frater, et seruus, magister Geruasius Tilleberiensis, salutem, et quod sequitur ut gaudium uestrum sit plenum.[2] Approbate consuetudinis est inter festiua kalendarum sollempnia contribules suos nunc inuitare ad epulas, nunc uice uicaria suis deliciosis exeniis honorare. Hinc est quod, quia magni faciunt Prouinciales sibi morem seruari, moribus auitis condescendendo uos fratres et concelles, quos ad plenam mensam inuitare non sufficio, subcinericio pane cum lechiti nostri stilla olitoria[3] honorare dignum duxi, faciendo quod possum. Sunt enim hec nostra fercula parentetica[4] non ad delicias sed ad salutationis[5] memoriam; gratum ergo facite serui salutationem pro foribus, cum dignioribus patrum et amicorum osculis in medio cenaculi.

De oratione dominica paulisper loqui propositum feci, eo quod uelud aqua communioris elementi ministra singulis horis et orationibus intercurrat ipsa orationum oratio, domina ac magistra. Quippe docet orare, audet sperare, defixos in uerecundie solo oculos inter ipsa peccata iubet ad celorum puritatem eleuare, et uelud sudore uultus[6] ex cotidiano labore detruso, ablutis compunctionis lacrimis, manus spinis tribulisque[7] confossos ad pedes Iesu fimbriamque uestimenti[8] ex qua exit uirtus[9] confidenter applicare. Hec uenialia decoquit, medicamina corpori herbis adiuncta largitur, et quod in maximis penitentia longa comminuit, hec in minoribus operosa medica, uelud ueteris cirographi antapeca,[10] debitum uetuste seruitutis absumit.

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* This is the only minor work by Gervase to have survived. It is preserved in MS P.I.13 in Hereford Cathedral Library; see above, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii and xcii–xcv.

[1] Probably Notre-Dame de l'Huveaune, which became a Premonstratensian house in 1204; see above, p. xxxvii, n. 76.

[2] Cf. John 15: 11.

[3] Cf. 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 17: 10–16.

[4] The meaning of *parentetica* (lit. 'put in beside') here seems to pick up the sense of *uicaria* above: this is not a complete meal, but a humble substitution for one.

[5] Or 'to remind you of your salvation'; there is perhaps a play here on the meanings of *salus* and *salutatio*. For an instance of *salutatio* meaning 'salvation', see *Latinitatis Italicae Medii Aevi lexicon imperfectum*, ed. F. Arnaldi (Brussels, 1939), s.v.

[6] Cf. Gen. 3: 19.

[7] Cf. Gen. 3: 18.

[8] Cf. Matt. 9:20 and 14:36; Luke 8: 44.

[9] Cf. Mark 5: 30; Luke 8: 46.

APPENDIX III

*Commentary on the Lord's Prayer**

To the most dear and devout college of canons at Marseilles:[1] your humble and devoted son, brother, and servant, Master Gervase of Tilbury, sends you his greetings, and has written what follows out of the desire that your joy may be full.[2] It is an established custom on the major festivals of the calendar either to invite one's confrères to a feast or, by way of substitution, to honour them with the finest gifts one can offer. So it is that, since the Provençals set great store by the observance of this custom in their regard, acquiescing in these time-honoured ways, I have thought it fitting to pay you honour, my brothers and fellow-canons, by doing what I can: I am unable to invite you to a full meal, but I offer you bread baked on the hearth with a drop of oil from my flask.[3] These mere side-dishes[4] of mine are offered to you not for their deliciousness, but as a souvenir of my greeting;[5] therefore graciously accept your servant's greeting from without, along with the worthier kisses of the fathers and friends present within the upper room.

I have decided to speak briefly about the Lord's Prayer: for just as water ministers to the more common element of earth, so this prayer flows through all the various hours and other prayers, being itself the prayer of prayers, the rule and model of all prayer. Indeed it teaches us to pray, it emboldens us to hope, it commands us, while we are still in the midst of our sins, to raise our eyes, which we have fixed on the ground out of shame, to the purity of heaven; and wiping away, as it were, the sweat on our face[6] produced by our daily toil, and washing away the tears of our compunction, it tells us to stretch out our hands, torn as they are by thorns and thistles,[7] to Jesus' feet, and boldly to touch the hem of his garment,[8] from which virtue goes out.[9] This prayer eliminates venial sins, and dispenses medicines together with healing herbs for the body; and just as, in the case of the most serious sins, a long period of penance diminishes guilt, so in the case of lesser offences this prayer has a powerful healing effect: like a receipt cancelling out the old account,[10] it removes the debt attaching to our

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[10] Cf. Col. 2: 14.

Hec uelud panis cotidianus suique cibarium inter splendidas opulentasque mense dominice epulas condimentum. Eloquium Domini, dulciusque super mel et fauum,[11] quod non per internuncium ad nos in columpna nubis descendit,[12] sed nullo medio ab ipso ore Altissimi prodiuit.[13] O dignum uerbum quod, ab ipso sinu Patris[14] in sapientia locutum, ad filios uenit per Filium! Non hic puer, non baculus,[15] uerum uerus ipse propheta descendit, locutus est nobis, instruit nos orantes, consolatur flentes, et quod daturus erat ipse gratis, gratiosus docet expetere. Eructauit uerbum[16] de Verbo; Verbum incarnatum uerbum ad suos facit abreuiatum.[17]

Pater noster qui es in celis. Oratio hec, fratres, breuis est in sillabis, succurtata per litteras, succincta per lineas, fecunda in sensu, grauida in intellectu, grate parturiens in effectu. Efficit ipsa quod petit: dimittit debita que dimitti nobis exposcit. Vox hec uox Iacob est uerique subplantatoris[18] qui calciatus[19] ad nos ueniens, manibus humane pilositatis mutuatis, qualiter ad coctionis materne delicias Patrem inuitaremus nos edocuit.[20] Loquitur nobis Christus magister discipulis, dominus seruis, pater filiis; ut magister instruit, ut dominus precipit, ut pater eterne hereditatis successionem aperit. Instruenti credendum, mandanti obediendum, hereditanti[a] gratificandum. Instruit nos orare, modum simul aperiens et formam, dum quam, quid, et qualiter orare debeamus ostendit.

Pater noster. Orandus est pater a filiis, orandus est maior a subditis, orandus est creator a creaturis. Ecce quis a quibus orandus est; orandus ut mundet, orandus ut iustificet, orandus ut confirmet, orandus ut saciet, orandus ut parcat, orandus ut seruet, orandus ut liberet. Hec sunt que orare debemus, fuitque ordo notandus in oratione, ne inordinata oratio preposterationem pateretur inpetrationis. Cum enim originalis labe peccati caro maculata maculosam a carne contraxit originem, cuius uicinitate uelud hospitis uiciosi uicio

[a] hereditandi *MS*

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[11] Cf. Ps. 18 (19): 11 (10).
[12] Cf. Exod. 33: 9 f.
[13] Cf. Ecclus. 24: 3.
[14] Cf. John 1: 18.
[15] Cf. 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 4: 18–37: Elisha sent his servant Gehazi with his staff to restore the Shunammite's son to life, but the miracle was only effected by the presence of the prophet himself.
[16] Cf. Ps. 44 (45): 2 (1).
[17] Cf. Rom. 9: 28; Isa. 10: 22–3 and 28: 22.
[18] Cf. Gen. 27: 36. The name Jacob means 'the supplanter'.
[19] Cf. Gen. 27: 15; Eph. 6: 15.
[20] Cf. Gen. 27: 5–29. Just as Jacob took Esau's place in offering Isaac the meal prepared by Rebekah, so Christ took on our condition, to invite the Father to the eucharistic banquet of the Church.

former slavery. This prayer is, as it were, our daily bread and staple food, seasoning the rich and sumptuous fare of the Lord's table. It comes from the mouth of the Lord, and is sweeter than honey and the honey-comb;[11] it did not come down to us in a pillar of cloud,[12] reaching us through an intermediary, but it proceeded directly from the very mouth of the Most High.[13] O worthy word, which was spoken in wisdom from the very bosom of the Father,[14] and came to us, his children, through his Son! It was not just his servant, or his staff,[15] but the true prophet himself who descended and spoke to us; he instructs us when we pray, consoles us when we weep, and graciously teaches us to ask for that which he was already freely going to give. He has uttered a word[16] from the Word; the incarnate Word shortens the word for his people.[17]

Our Father who art in heaven. This prayer, brothers, is brief in its syllables, short as to letters, and succinct as to lines, but it is fertile in content and pregnant with meaning, and labours gladly to bring its effect to birth. The prayer itself accomplishes what it asks for: it releases us from the debts from which it asks for our release. This voice is the voice of Jacob, the voice of the true supplanter[18] who, coming to us with his feet shod,[19] borrowing the rough hands of our human condition, has taught us how to invite the Father to the enjoyment of our mother's cooking.[20] Christ speaks to us as a teacher to his disciples, as a master to his servants, as a father to his children; as our teacher he instructs us, as our master he admonishes us, as our father he opens to us the succession to our eternal inheritance. We must trust him when he teaches us, obey him when he commands us, give him thanks when he bestows an inheritance upon us. He teaches us to pray, disclosing both the manner in which we should pray and the form our prayer should take, in that he shows us how, what, and in what way we ought to pray.

Our Father. We must pray to our father as his children, to our superior as his subjects, to our creator as his creatures. Think who is to be addressed, and by whom. We must ask him to cleanse us, to justify us, to strengthen us, to fill us, to spare us, to save us, to free us. These are the things which we should ask for; and the proper order must have been observed in our prayer: otherwise, if we were to pray for things in the wrong order, we might suffer the reverse of what we want. For our flesh, defiled by the stain of original sin, inherited pollution from the flesh at birth; and from contact with the flesh the soul, though created pure, is quickly infected with the guilt of its

confestim inficitur anima a creatione munda, ab hospicio lutoso lutulenta, primum fuit inter oranda purgare uasculum,[21] et ita inferre ministerium; abluere manum que tetigit mortuum,[22] et sic offerre se ad conuiuium; carbunculo premere labellum,[23] et sic interpellare Dominum dicendo: *Pater noster.* Quia pater, amas ut filios, castigas ut recipias, erudis ut heredites. Castigat enim pater filium quem recipit,[24] et filius sapiens gloria est patris.[25] Ergo *Pater* et *Pater noster.*

Nichil in hoc uerborum contextu superfluum, nichil ociosum, nichil nisi quod sit nota dignum. Orandus est Pater ut *Pater,* timendus ut *Pater,* diligendus ut *Pater;* suauitas enim paterne affectionis orationis impetrationem auspicatur. Timor filialis obseruat iusticie semitas,[26] caritasque foras mittit timorem,[27] in omnibus humilitatem saluans, et paterne reuerentie obedientiam continuans, dum dicit Filius: 'Verumtamen non sicut ego uolo, sed sicut tu uis.'[28] Pater itaque noster pater non generatione corruptionis, non suggestione temptationis, de qua dicitur Iudeis: 'Vos ex patre diabolo estis;'[29] sed pater communione uocationis, unitate regenerationis, singularitate adoptionis. Pater et *Pater noster,* communis singulis et singularis uniuersis. Vnus enim Pater creationis, unus et idem terminus fidei et agnitionis, unus et idem auctor eterne retributionis, quem unum omnes habemus Patrem in celis. Et uere orandus est Pater ille noster celestis [30]qui habitat in celis, ad quem leuandi sunt oculi[30] sepulte mentis, non per arrogantiam iactitantis sed per confidentiam humiliate deuotionis.

Conferamus patrem bonorum cum patre malorum. O quam diuersa collatio, quam aduersa conspectio, quam abhominanda contributio Dei ad diabolum, creatoris ad creaturam, eterni ad serpentem! 'Que enim conuentio Christi ad Belial,'[31] lucis ad tenebras,[32] formantis ad formatum,[b] iustificantis ad dampnantem? Non tamen ipse dampnat, sed dampnabiles sua suggestione perturbat. Pater bonorum Deus,

[b] formantem *MS*

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[21] Cf. e.g. Isa. 66: 20.
[22] Cf. Num. 19: 11.
[23] Cf. Isa. 6: 7.
[24] Cf. Deut. 8: 5; Heb. 12: 6.
[25] Cf. Prov. 10: 1.
[26] Cf. Ps. 22 (23): 3.
[27] Cf. 1 John 4: 18.
[28] Matt. 26: 39; cf. Mark 14: 36; Luke 22: 42.
[29] John 8: 44
[30-30] Cf. Ps. 122 (123): 1.
[31] 2 Cor. 6: 15.
[32] Cf. 2 Cor. 6: 14.

guilty host, so to speak, taking on the base character of its base lodging-place. The first object of our prayer, then, must have been to cleanse the vessel,[21] and so to offer it for service; to wash the hand which has touched a corpse,[22] and so to present oneself at the banquet; to touch the lip with a coal,[23] and so to call upon the Lord, saying: *Our Father.* Because you are our father, you love us as your children, you chastise us in order that you may receive us, you train us in order that you may bestow an inheritance upon us. For a father chastises the son whom he receives,[24] and a wise son is the glory of his father.[25] Therefore we pray: *Father,* and indeed: *Our Father.*

There is nothing superfluous in this grouping of words, nothing redundant, nothing which does not deserve consideration. The Father is to be prayed to as *Father,* to be feared as *Father,* to be loved as *Father;* for the sweetness of his fatherly affection assures an answer to our prayer. A filial fear keeps to the paths of righteousness;[26] at the same time, love casts out fear,[27] while preserving humility in all things, and never failing in the obedience which springs from the respect due to a father. We see this when the Son says: 'Nevertheless not as I will, but as you will.'[28] Our Father, then, is not a father by any process of generation which is subject to corruption, nor through the arousing of temptation; Jesus was speaking of this kind of fatherhood when he said to the Jews: 'You are of your father the devil.'[29] No, he is a father by virtue of the fact that he calls us into communion, gives us new birth into unity, and adopts each one of us as his own. The Father is indeed *Our Father,* common to all and belonging solely to each. For there is one Father of creation, one single goal of faith and knowledge, one single author of eternal retribution; and that one Father in heaven belongs to us all. And truly that heavenly Father of ours, [30]who dwells in the heavens, unto whom we must lift up the eyes[30] of our earth-bound mind, is to be prayed to, not with the arrogance of the boastful, but in the confidence born of humble devotion.

Let us compare the father of the good with the father of the wicked. Oh, what a comparison of opposites, what a consideration of contraries, what an abominable juxtaposition of God with the Devil, of the Creator with the creature, of the Eternal with the serpent! 'For what concord has Christ with Belial,'[31] light with darkness,[32] the one who forms with one who has been formed, the one who justifies with the one who leads to damnation? The Devil does not himself have the power to condemn, but by his prompting he confounds those who are

pater malorum diabolus. Verumtamen utrorumque Deus pluit super bonos et malos,[33] pluuiam uoluntariam segregando hereditati sue[34] et [35]pluendo super peccatores laqueos; ignis enim dampnationis, sulphur corrupte feditatis, et spiritus procellose contribulationis, pars calicis eorum.[35] Vtrisque ergo pater bonos remunerat, malos dampnat; illos coronat, istos suppeditat; illos nomine uiuentium cognominat, istos a sua prorsus memoria elongat. Quid plura? Pater noster,[c] qui Iacob dilexit et Esau odio habuit,[36] 'hunc humiliat et hunc exaltat: quia calix'[37] 'inebrians—quam preclarus est!'[38] 'in manu Domini uini meri, plenus mixto';[37] calix qui iustum reficit ne siciat in eternum,[39] et impium sitire facit, ex quo 'bibent omnes peccatores terre'.[37]

> Quoque magis pote, plus siciuntur aque.[40]

Oremus ergo Patrem nostrum cum Samaritana, afferamus uasa quibus hauriamus aquam salientem in uitam eternam.[41]

Pater noster, cuius in celo sedes,[42] *qui es in celis,* hoc est in electis qui enarrant gloriam Dei.[43] Sunt enim celi transitorii, sunt celi eterni. 'In principio tu, Domine, terram fundasti, et opera manuum tuarum sunt celi. Ipsi peribunt, tu autem permanes' etc.[44] 'Celum' enim 'et terra transibunt, uerba autem mea non transibunt.'[45] Celi uero eterni sunt uelud solis case[46] mentes bonorum deputate, que omnem uentorum et tempestatum turbationem non senciunt, in quibus motum fluctuum tu mitigas.[47] In ipsis regnas, in ipsis habitas, in ipsis sedes qui iudicas iusticiam.[48] Hi sunt templum Dei, hi tronus, hi celum, hi 'scabellum pedum eius, quoniam sanctum est.'[49] De his ait Apostolus: 'Templum Dei sanctum, quod estis uos';[50] et propheta: 'Dominus in templo sancto suo; Dominus in celo sedes eius.'[51]

Pater noster qui es. Non dixit 'fuisti', non 'eris', sed 'es', qui solus ante tempora factor temporum. Si ergo fuisti ante tempora, fuisti in

[c] Ysaac *add. after* noster *MS*

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[33] Cf. Matt. 5: 45.

[34] Cf. Ps. 67 (68): 10 (9).

[35–35] Cf. Ps. 10 (11): 7 (6).

[36] Cf. Mal. 1: 2–3; Rom. 9: 13. The MS reads: 'Pater noster Ysaac, qui Iacob dilexit' etc.; but it was God, not Isaac, who preferred Jacob.

[37] Ps. 74 (75): 8–9 (7–8).

[38] Ps. 22 (23): 5.

[39] Cf. John 4: 13 (14).

[40] Cf. Ovid, *Fasti,* i. 216. The line in Ovid reads: 'Quo plus sunt potae, plus sitiuntur aquae.'

[41] Cf. John 4: 14

[42] Cf. Ps. 10 (11): 5 (4).

[43] Cf. Ps. 18 (19): 1.

[44] Cf. Ps. 101 (102): 26–7 (25–6). The Vulgate has 'Initio', not 'In principio'.

[45] Cf. Matt. 24: 35. In place of the second 'transibunt', the Vulgate has 'praeteribunt'.

on their way to damnation. God is the father of the good, but the Devil is the father of the wicked. Nevertheless God, being the God of both, sends rain on the good and the wicked,[33] setting aside an abundant rain for his inheritance,[34] but [35]raining snares upon sinners; for the fire of damnation, the brimstone of foul corruption, and the tempest of stormy tribulation: this shall be the portion of their cup.[35] Therefore he who is father to them both rewards the good and condemns the wicked; these he crowns, those he tramples underfoot; on these he confers the name of the living, those he utterly casts out from his memory. Why say more? Our Father, who loved Jacob and regarded Esau with hatred,[36] 'puts down one, and sets up another: for in the hand of the Lord there is a cup'[37] 'which inebriates—how good it is!'[38] 'a cup of red wine, full mixed';[37] a cup which refreshes the righteous so that he need never thirst again,[39] and makes the wicked thirsty; and from this cup 'all the sinners of the earth shall drink'.[37]

> And the more water they drink, the thirstier they become.[40]

Let us therefore pray to our Father with the woman of Samaria, and let us bring vessels with which to draw the water which springs up into everlasting life.[41]

Our Father, whose throne is in heaven,[42] *who art in heaven,* that is, among the elect who declare the glory of God.[43] There are heavens which will pass away, and there are eternal heavens. 'In the beginning you, Lord, laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of your hands. They shall perish, but you shall endure' etc.[44] For 'heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.'[45] But then there are the eternal heavens, namely the spirits of the good assigned to be the abodes, as it were, of the sun;[46] they do not suffer any disturbance from winds or storms, and you still the motion of the waves in them.[47] In them you reign, in them you dwell, in them you who judge righteousness are seated.[48] These spirits are the temple of God, they are his throne, they are his heaven, they are 'his footstool, for it is holy.'[49] Of them the Apostle says: 'The temple of God is holy, and you are that temple';[50] and the prophet: 'The Lord is in his holy temple: the Lord's seat is in heaven.'[51]

Our Father who art. He did not say 'wast', or 'wilt be', but 'art': you who alone existed before time began, and are the author of time. But

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[46] Cf. Comestor, *Gen.,* c. 4 (*PL* cxcviii. 1058); Ps. 18 (19): 6 (4); *Otia,* i. 1, n. 22.

[47] Cf. Ps. 88 (89): 10 (9).

[48] Cf. Ps. 9: 5 (4).

[49] Ps. 98 (99): 5.

[50] Cf. 1 Cor. 3: 17.

[51] Ps. 10 (11): 5 (4).

tempore preterito antequam tempora fierent? Non utique, uerum quia fuit quando non fuit tempus,[52] et tunc non fuit nisi solus Deus, ante tempora Deus est ab eterno; 'quoniam mille anni ante oculos tuos' etc.[53] 'Priusquam fierent montes, et formaretur terra et orbis, a seculo tu es Deus.'[54] 'Sedes' ergo 'tua, Deus, in seculum seculi.'[55] Sicque *Pater noster qui es in celis:* in celis et ubique; ubique et non in loco; semper et non in tempore.

Sanctificetur nomen tuum. Principium orationis ad nostram mundationem pertinet. Quisquis enim ad introitum orationum ascendit,[56] non nisi lotis manibus accedat. Vnde propheta: 'Lauabo inter innocentes manus meas' etc.[57] Si autem corporales abluuntur macule sordium, quanto fortius interiores resecande sunt cicatrices uiciorum.

Pater noster qui es in celis: sanctificetur nomen tuum. Nos nomen tuum, quia nomine tuo denominamur: nos a Christo christiani. 'Ego dixi: Dii estis, et filii Excelsi omnes.'[58] Si dii nominamur, que Dei sunt agamus. O quantus et quam integer amor Domini ad seruos, Patris ad filios, Dei ad uasa fictilia![59] 'Exinaniuit'[d] se pro nobis, 'formam serui accipiens' etc.[60] Iniquis reputatus,[61] mortuus est ne moreremur, sepultus ne in tumulo uiciorum sepeliamur, emptus triginta nummorum precio ut nos precio sanguinis eius redimamur. Ecce alter Ionathas, qui Dauid amico et seruo postposuit[e] regnum, satelliti subiecit imperium, ministro dominium, dicens: 'Iam non ero rex, sed secundus post te.'[62] Gloria et honore nos coronans,[63] cum accepisset 'nomen quod est super omne nomen,'[64] nomine suo nos hereditauit,[65] ueniens seruire nobis ut conregnemus cum ipso.[66] Ve autem illis qui uelud ingrati nomen eius prophanabunt! Sanctificetur ergo in nobis nomen sanctum eius, ut qui participamus nomen, fidem cum sanctitate nominis teneamus. Christiani dicimur: Christi fidem meritis imitemur. 'Sancti estote, quia ego sanctus sum',[67] dicit Deus. *Sanctificetur nomen tuum,* ut et nos sanctificati ac mundati iustificemur

[d] exinauit *MS* [e] postposuut *MS*

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[52] Cf. *Otia*, i. 1, n. 6.
[53] Ps. 89 (90): 4.
[54] Cf. Ps. 89 (90): 2.
[55] Ps. 44 (45): 7 (6).
[56] *Introitus* perhaps suggests the beginning of mass, and *ascendit* the altar steps.
[57] Ps. 25 (26): 6.
[58] Ps. 81 (82): 6.
[59] Cf. 2 Cor. 4: 7.
[60] Cf. Phil. 2: 7.
[61] Cf. Isa. 53: 12; Mark 15: 28; Luke 22: 37.
[62] Cf. 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 23: 17.
[63] Cf. Ps. 8: 6 (5); Heb. 2: 7.
[64] Phil. 2: 9.
[65] Cf. Ecclus. 15: 6.
[66] Cf. 2 Tim. 2: 12.
[67] Lev. 11: 44, 19: 2.

if you existed before time, did you therefore exist in a previous time before time began? Not at all; rather, since there was a timeless eternity before the beginning of time,[52] and then nothing existed save God alone, God exists from eternity before time; 'for a thousand years in your sight' etc.[53] 'Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever the earth and the world were made: you are God from everlasting.'[54] Therefore 'your seat, O God, endures for ever.'[55] And so we pray: *Our Father who art in heaven:* in heaven and everywhere; everywhere, not confined to a particular place; always, not confined to a particular time.

Hallowed be thy name. The beginning of the prayer is concerned with our purification. For whoever makes the ascent to the beginning of prayer[56] should not approach unless he has washed his hands. And so the prophet says: 'I will wash my hands among the innocent' etc.[57] Now if bodily spots of dirt are washed away, how much more important it is that the interior scars of our sins should be excised.

Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. We are your name, since we are called by your name: we are called Christians, after Christ. 'I have said: You are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High.'[58] If we are called gods, let us do as God does. Oh, how great and how perfect is the love of the Lord for his servants, of the Father for his children, of God for his earthern vessels![59] 'He emptied' himself for us, 'taking the form of a servant' etc.[60] Numbered with the transgressors,[61] he died to save us from death, he was buried to save us from being buried in the tomb of our sins, he was bought at the price of thirty silver pieces in order that we might be redeemed at the price of his blood. See, he was a second Jonathan: Jonathan laid aside the kingdom for his friend and servant, David; he put the supreme power in the hands of his attendant, the lordship in the hands of his minister, saying: 'Now I shall not be king, but next after you.'[62] Crowning us with glory and honour,[63] when he had received the 'name which is above every name,'[64] he gave his own name to us as our possession,[65] coming to serve us in order that we might reign with him.[66] But woe to those who will profane his name, showing no gratitude! May his holy name, then, be hallowed in us, that we who share his name may cling to our faith with the holiness due to that name. We are called Christians: let us imitate the faith of Christ by our merits. 'Be holy, for I am holy',[67] says God. *Hallowed be thy name,* that we too, sanctified and purified, may be justified in your in sermonibus tuis:[68] iustificati non per opera misericordie que fecimus nos, sed secundum misericordiam suam in qua saluos nos fecit.[69]

Adueniat regnum tuum. Lote sunt manus per penitentiam, et iustificati sumus per gratiam. Quid superest, nisi ut conregnemus cum Christo? Ergo qui non trahimur, oremus ut trahamur;[70] qui subditi sumus peccato, deleto ueteris piaculi cirographo,[71] conregnemus cum Christo.[72] *Adueniat regnum tuum.* Tu rex, nos regnum; tu caput, nos membra;[73] tu ianua,[74] nos 'cenaculum grande, stratum'.[75] *Adueniat regnum tuum.* Impleatur numerus filiorum hominum iuxta numerum filiorum Dei.[76] Nos enim 'genus electum, gens sancta, populus adquisitionis, et regale sacerdotium'.[77] Tu constitutus es rex super Syon, montem sanctum,[78] 'montem quem adquisiuit dextera eius'.[79] Iustificati domum nostram ingredimur,[80] et qui stat, oret ne cadat.[81] Quippe

Qui cecidit stabili non erat ille gradu.[82]

Opus est auxilio confirmationis, nisi liberum arbitrium interuenit non confirmate uoluntatis. Nos enim natura fragiles, animo uacillantes, et quod supra nos affectantes, ex innate superbie uicio ambulamus in magnis et in mirabilibus super nos,[83] meditamur inania,[84] quasi bona terre comederimus.[85]

Fiat uoluntas tua, Pater bone, *sicut in celo, et in terra,* quasi dicamus: 'Fiat misericordia tua super nos',[86] ad confirmationem bonorum operum in nobis, qui de terra sumus et de terra loquimur,[87] et terrena sapimus,[88] uelud e natiua terrene generationis olla. Sicut uoluntas tua facta est in celo angelorum, cum confirmasti statum super statum filiorum, confirma in nobis quod operatus es in nobis.[89] 'Operi manuum tuarum porriges dexteram':[90] dexteram fortitudinis, dexteram protectionis, dexteram amplexus[91] epitalamice dulcorationis.

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[68] Cf. Rom. 3: 4; Ps. 50 (51): 6 (4).

[69] Cf. Titus 3: 5: 'non ex operibus iustitiae, quae fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam salvos nos fecit' etc.

[70] Cf. John 6: 44, 12: 32.

[71] Cf. Col. 2: 14.

[72] Cf. 2 Tim. 2: 12.

[73] Cf. 1 Cor. 12: 27; Eph. 1: 22, 4: 15; Col. 1: 18.

[74] Cf. John 10: 7, 9.

[75] Mark 14: 15; cf. Luke 22: 12.

[76] Possibly a reference to the Augustinian notion that the number of the saved would match the number of the fallen angels: see e.g. Augustine, *Enchiridion*, i. 29 (*PL* xl. 246).

[77] Cf. 1 Pet. 2: 9.

[78] Cf. Ps. 2: 6.

[79] Ps. 77 (78): 54.

[80] Cf. Ps. 117 (118): 19–20.

[81] Cf. 1 Cor. 10: 12.

[82] Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*, i. metre 1. 22.

[83] Cf. Ps. 130 (131): 1.

[84] Cf. Ps. 2: 1.

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words:[68] justified not through the works of mercy which we have done, but according to his own mercy, by which he has saved us.[69]

Thy kingdom come. Our hands have been washed by penance, and we have been justified by grace. What remains, except that we should reign with Christ? Therefore let those of us who are not being drawn to Christ, pray that we may be so drawn;[70] let those of us who are subject to sin allow the record of our past guilt to be destroyed,[71] and reign with Christ.[72] *Thy kingdom come.* You are the king, we are the kingdom; you are the head, we are the members;[73] you are the door,[74] we are the 'large upper room, furnished'.[75] *Thy kingdom come.* May the number of the children of humankind be completed according to the number of the children of God.[76] For we are 'a chosen generation, a holy nation, a purchased people, and a royal priesthood'.[77] You are appointed king upon Zion, the holy mountain,[78] 'the mountain which his right hand purchased'.[79] Justified, we enter our house;[80] and let him who stands pray that he will not fall.[81] For indeed

Anyone who has fallen cannot have been standing firm.[82]

The support of confirmation is needed, to prevent any lapses resulting from the free exercise of an unconfirmed will. For our nature is frail and our mind wavers, and we strive after what is beyond us: following the evil tendency of our innate pride, we walk in great matters and in wonderful things too high for us;[83] we imagine vain things,[84] as if we ate the good things of the land.[85]

Thy will be done, good Father, *on earth, as it is in heaven.* That is as if we were to say: 'Let your mercy be upon us',[86] to confirm us in our good works, for we are of the earth and speak of the earth,[87] and we mind earthly things,[88] being creatures who inhabit a pot made of earth. Just as your will was done in the heaven of the angels, when you established their state above that of your human children, confirm in us what you have wrought in us.[89] 'To the work of your hands you shall reach out your right hand',[90] the right hand of your strength, the right hand of your protection, the right hand of your embrace,[91] full of nuptial sweetness.

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[85] Cf. Isa. 1: 19.

[86] Cf. Ps. 32 (33): 22.

[87] Cf. John 3: 31; cf. 1 Cor. 15: 47 f.

[88] Cf. Phil. 3: 19. 'Terrena sapimus' means literally 'we have a taste (or smell) of earthly things'; this probably suggested the rather clumsily-expressed image of the pot in the following phrase (lit. 'as from a native pot of earthly generation'), which recalls the *uasa fictilia* of 2 Cor. 4: 7; cf. also 1 Cor. 15: 47.

[89] Cf. Ps. 67 (68): 29 (28).

[90] Job 14: 15.

[91] Cf. S. of S. 2: 6, 8: 3.

Panem nostrum cotidianum[92] *da nobis hodie.* 'Paruuli pecierunt panem, et non erat qui frangeret eis.'[93] Nos ergo frangamus paruulis nostris panem, quia citius fragmenta transumuntur quam integer panis. Distinguamus panes. Tria ergo notanda sunt nobis: mensa, panis, et conuiue. Differenter mensa disponitur, panes apponuntur, conuiue saciantur.

Est enim mensa concupiscentiarum, mensa deliciarum, mensa uirtutum, mensa perfectarum sacietatum.[94] Prima gulositatis, secunda carnalitatis, tercia humilitatis, quarta consummationis. Prima esurit, secunda delecta, tercia sustinet, quarta exhilarat. Prima corruptionis, secunda adulationis, tercia fortitudinis, quarta plenitudinis. Prima temptauit Adam, secunda blanditur diuiti, tercia paratur pauperi,[95] quarta debetur unitati. Sedit Adam ad mensam corrupti pomi, ideoque de seminario uiciorum corrupta est terra successorum. Seminauit in corruptione, de corruptione messuit eius posteritas.[96] Diues euangelicus 'epulabatur cotidie splendide',[97] et cui blandiebatur temporalis affluentia, deficiente uino in sistarciis suis,[98] contradicebat diuina miseratio; 'neque' enim 'descendet cum eo gloria eius.'[99] Pauper et inops, inter ulcera corporalium passionum, micas cadentes ad pedes dominorum excipiunt cum catellis;[100] et quos concutit humana temptatio, confortat diuine uirtutis fortitudo. Qui si concuciuntur, non confringuntur; si tribulantur, non preuaricantur; si affluunt, non effluunt. Ad omnium conuiuium, cene magne pertinet plena refectio, ut qui dicere potuit, inter temptationes humilis, inter pressuras fortis, inter angustias unanimis, cum Dauid: 'Parasti in conspectu meo mensam' etc.,[101] iam completo cursu ludi agonistici decantet: 'Ego autem saciabor cum apparuerit gloria tua.'[102]

Audistis mensas depositas: apponamus panes, distinguamus discumbentes. Ad primam mensam apponitur pomum, ad secundam fercula splendida confectionum, ad terciam uinum, oleum, et panis, ad quartam panis niueus et integer, qui fragmenta non admittit. Ad

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[92] The Vulgate has 'supersubstantialem' in place of 'cotidianum' (Matt. 6: 11; see n. 117 below).

[93] Lam. 4: 4.

[94] There may be a reminiscence here of the four tables for the holocausts of Ezek. 40: 42.

[95] Cf. Luke 16: 19–31.

[96] Cf. Gal. 6: 8.

[97] Luke 16: 19.

[98] Cf. 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 9: 7.

[99] Ps. 48 (49): 18 (17).

[100] Cf. Luke 16: 20–1; Matt. 15: 27.

[101] Ps. 22 (23): 5.

[102] Ps. 16 (17): 15.

Give us this day our daily[92] *bread.* 'The little ones have asked for bread, and there was none to break it for them.'[93] Let us therefore break the bread for our little ones; for broken pieces are absorbed more quickly than an unbroken loaf. Let us distinguish the different kinds of bread. There are three things, in fact, for us to consider: the table, the bread, and the guests. Distinctions may be observed in the table that is provided, the bread that is served, and the guests who are satisfied.

There is a table of desire, a table of delight, a table of virtue, and a table of complete sufficiency.[94] The first is the table of gluttony, the second that of carnality, the third that of humility, the fourth that of consummation. The first produces hunger, the second gives pleasure, the third sustains, the fourth gladdens the heart. The first is the table of corruption, the second that of flattery, the third that of strength, the fourth that of fulness. The first tempted Adam, the second entices the rich man, the third is prepared for the poor man,[95] the fourth is dedicated to unity. Adam sat at the table of the apple of corruption, and so from the seed-bed of sin the land of his progeny was corrupted. He sowed in corruption, and his descendants reaped a harvest of corruption.[96] The rich man of the gospel 'fared sumptuously every day',[97] and an abundance of this world's goods softened his lot; but when the wine was spent in his vessels,[98] the divine compassion rejected him, 'nor shall his glory descend with him.'[99] The poor and the needy, covered with the sores of their bodily sufferings, pick up with the dogs the crumbs which fall at their masters' feet;[100] and those who are shaken by human trials are comforted by the strength of divine power. If they are shaken, they are not broken; if they are afflicted, they do not transgress; if they enjoy abundance, they are not extravagant. At the universal banquet, the great supper is sure to provide full refreshment, so that the one who, having proved himself humble in the midst of temptations, steadfast in the midst of oppression, unwavering in the midst of distress, could say with David: 'You have prepared a table before me' etc.,[101] may now sing, having completed the course of his earthly contest: 'I shall be satisfied when your glory shall appear.'[102]

Now that you have heard about the different tables that are provided, let us serve the food, and observe the people who take their places at each table. At the first table an apple is served, at the second rich dishes of sweetmeats, at the third wine, oil, and bread, at the fourth a whole loaf of pure white bread, which cannot be

primam discubuit Eua, ad secundam diues, ad terciam pauper, ad quartam iustificatus. Eua apposuit cibum qui ueterascit, qui corrumpit, qui esurire facit. O misera gustatio, que dum esuriit pomum, demeruit paradisum! Multa erant ipsis in paradiso fercula, et unicum mortiferum; solum illud condimentum non habuit nisi salis infatuati.[103] Quid[f] ultra? Dampnamus Adam, dampnabilius peccamus quam Adam; peccata quippe nostra eo differunt quod in nobis actio, in ipso tota dampnatur successio. Profecto post tot memorationes dampnatorum, post Moysen et prophetas transcursos,[104] magis peccamus, qui tociens castigati in deserto adhuc obmurmuramus,[105] adhuc esce erant in ore nostro[106] et prouocamus super nos immissiones per angelum malum.[107]

Habundamus cum diuite: cauendum nobis erit ab infernali concrematione. Diuiti multa sunt fercula, pauperi uix panis cibarii fragmenta. Diuiti[g] multa suffragantur uicia, pauperi sufficiunt pauca bonorum operum merita. Viciorum longus est numerus, uirtutum ordo quarternarius,[108] qui et ipse ducitur ad ternarium,[109] dum tres uirtutes ad caritatis referuntur sinum.

In mensa quippe pauperis est uinum quod letificat cor hominis, oleum quod exhilarat faciem, panis ut confirmet.[110] In uino prudentia et leticia, in oleo mansuetudo et iusticia, in pane fortitudo et dilectio. Vinum mordet et letificat, prudentia corripit et proprios motus expugnat, estque leta castigatio quam dominata suggessit recognitio. Oleum complanat et lenit, iusticia dispensat et ius suum cum mansuetudine cuique tribuit.[111] Panis, cibariorum omnium fortitudo et condimentum, alienos labores exspectat et suos in uirtute et cibi fortitudine[112] sustentat.

In mensa conuiuii celestis solus panis apponitur et integer, cuius tunica inconsutilis,[113] panis qui omnia fercula condit, panis qui de celo descendit,[114] panis qui omnium unus et solus, quem qui

[f] Qud *MS* [g] Diuiti *ed.*; Dum *MS*

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[103] Cf. Matt. 5: 13; Mark 9: 49 (50); Luke 14: 34; Col. 4: 6; Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos*, cvii (*PL* xxxvii. 1428.

[104] Cf. Luke 16: 29–31.

[105] Cf. Exod. 15: 24 etc.

[106] Cf. Ps. 77 (78): 30.

[107] Cf. Ps. 77 (78): 49.

[108] i.e. the four cardinal virtues: prudence, temperance, justice, and fortitude.

[109] i.e. the three theological virtues, faith, hope, and love (1 Cor. 13).

[110] Cf. Ps. 103 (104): 15.

[111] Cf. *Inst.* i. 1, Introduction and law 3.

[112] Cf. 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 19: 8.

[113] Cf. John 19: 23.

[114] Cf. John 6: 33 etc.

crumbled into pieces. Eve has taken her place at the first table, the rich man at the second, the poor man at the third, and one who has been justified at the fourth. Eve tasted food which grows old, which sows corruption, and which causes hunger. Oh what unhappiness that mouthful brought! In hungering for the apple, she forfeited paradise. There were many things for them to eat in paradise, and only one which was death-dealing; that one alone was seasoned with nothing but salt that had lost its savour.[103] What more need we say? We condemn Adam, but our sins make us more worthy of condemnation than he was; our sins, though, differ in this respect, that in us only the deed itself is condemned, while in him the condemnation extends to all his progeny. Assuredly, since we have heard so many accounts of those who have merited condemnation, and have read all the books of Moses and the prophets,[104] our sins are the more serious: for having been chastised so often in the desert, we are still murmuring;[105] the meat was yet in our mouths[106] and we brought trouble on ourselves, sent by an evil angel.[107]

Like the rich man, we enjoy plenty: we must avoid the risk of burning in hell. The rich man is served with many courses, the poor man has scarcely enough crumbs of bread to live on. The rich man has many sins on his side, the poor man's few merits, gained through good works, suffice for him. There is a long list for the reckoning of sins, but for the virtues there is a fourfold order,[108] which can itself be reduced to a threefold one,[109] whilst these three are subsumed in the embrace of love.

Now on the poor man's table there is wine that gladdens the heart of man, oil that makes his face cheerful, and bread to give him strength.[110] In the wine there is prudence and gladness, in the oil gentleness and righteousness, in the bread strength and love. The wine seizes the poor man and makes him glad; prudence takes hold of him and subdues his natural impulses; and it is a happy chastisement which comes from a humble acknowledgement of insufficiency. The oil smoothes and softens, while righteousness dispenses justice and, with gentleness, renders to everyone his due.[111] The bread, mainstay and seasoning of all nourishment, depends on the labours of others, and sustains the poor in virtue and in the strength of that food.[112]

On the table of the heavenly banquet bread alone is served, a whole loaf, whose coat is without seam,[113] the bread which seasons all other dishes, the bread which comes down from heaven,[114] the bread which is one and the same for all; anyone who tastes of this bread will

gustauerit, non esuriet amplius,[115] de quo ipse Iudeis: 'Panis quem ego dabo,[h] caro mea est pro mundi uita.'[116] Solus apponitur quia adiutorio non indiget, neque condimento: potus et cibus est panis iste, noster panis est cotidianus, quem Greci dicunt[i] *ypousion*, hoc est supersubstancialem.[117] Hic enim solus est substantialis, qui ceteros facit subsistentes. Hic est de quo Dauid: 'Panem angelorum manducauit homo' etc.[118]

Nec erit pretereundum quod in mensa pauperis nunc legimus panem et oleum, ut in Elya et uidua,[119] nunc panem tantum, ut in mensa propositionis,[120] nunc panem et uinum et agnum cum lactucis agrestibus,[121] nunc panes quinque et pisciculos paucos.[122] Nunc enim misterio deseruitur, nunc legis mandato obeditur, nunc duo testamenta continuantur, nunc diuine uirtutis insignia declarantur.

Conuenitque mensa prima et secunda laboriosis, tercia claustralibus, ultima iustis quorum oculi semper ad Dominum,[123] ut det illis escam in tempore opportuno.[124]

Panem nostrum cotidianum, qui res est sacramenti, et res rei. Vnum enim est quod petimus: *Panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie.* Habemus panem in altari cotidie et uelud interpellantem pro nobis memoriam dominice passionis; et hoc cotidie. Sed aliud, et non aliud, quia idem petimus sub re rei, ut quod habemus sacramentaliter cotidie, panem scilicet cotidianum, accipiamus realiter hodie; hodie, inquam, et uere hoc die hodie, et non cotidie hodie, et sine tempore hodie et sine fine. Nam quod cotidie, hoc cum dierum interpolatione, quod hodie, hoc continue; hodie ergo, et semper hodie. Dies enim ille, dies magnus, dies Domini est,[125] ubi est et non erit.

Considerate, fratres, pauca de sacramento altaris. Panis ex multis granis adunitur, et tandem ex duabus substanciis in unum compistatur, dum ex farina solida et aqua liquida fit unus panis. Infertur in

[h] dabo *ed.;* de *MS*
[i] dicunt *ed.;* dicit *written above line MS*

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[115] Cf. John 6: 35.
[116] John 6: 52 (51).
[117] The Vulgate 'supersubstantialem' (Matt. 6: 11) translates *ἐπιούσιον*, a rare Greek word whose meaning is not clear; it was taken to be synonymous with *ὑπερούσιος*, 'above being' or 'transcending substance'.
[118] Ps. 77 (78): 25.
[119] 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 17: 8–16.
[120] Cf. Exod. 25: 30
[121] Cf. Exod. 12: 8.
[122] Cf. Matt. 14: 17, Mark 6: 38, Luke 9: 13, John 6: 9; Matt. 15: 34, Mark 8: 6–7.
[123] Cf. Ps. 24 (25): 15.
[124] Cf. Ps. 144 (145): 15.
[125] Cf. e.g. Joel, 2: 11 and 31; Acts 2: 20.

hunger no more;[115] concerning this bread, Jesus himself said to the Jews: 'The bread that I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world.'[116] It is served on its own because it has no need of any support or seasoning: this bread is food and drink, it is our daily bread, which the Greeks call *ὑπερούσιον*, that is, supersubstantial.[117] For this is the only truly substantial bread, from which all other bread derives its being. This is the bread of which David said: 'Man ate the bread of angels' etc.[118]

We must not fail to mention that we read in some passages that oil and bread were on the poor man's table, as in the case of Elijah and the widow;[119] in other passages, bread alone, as on the table of the shewbread;[120] in others, bread, wine, and a lamb with wild lettuce;[121] and in still others, five loaves and a few little fishes.[122] In the first case a mystery is being celebrated, in the second the command of the law is being obeyed, in the next the two testaments are shown to be one, and in the last the wonders of divine power are proclaimed.

The first and second tables are meant for those who are toiling on their way, the third is for monks and nuns, the last for the just whose eyes are ever towards the Lord,[123] that he may give them their food in due season.[124]

Our daily bread: this means the *res,* or element, of the sacrament, and the deeper reality beneath that *res.* For there is one thing that we seek: *Give us this day our daily bread.* We have the bread on the altar every day and the memorial of the Lord's passion interceding for us, as it were; and this we seek every day. But we also seek something else; and yet it is not something else, because we are seeking the same thing beneath the outward reality of the *res,* in order that what we possess every day in the sign, namely, our daily bread, we may receive in reality today; and when I say today, I mean the today that is truly present, not the today of every day: I mean the today that is without time and without end. For something which takes place every day is interrupted by the passing of each day; but something which takes place today is continually present; it is today, therefore, that I mean, the today that is always today. For that day, the great day, is the day of the Lord,[125] when everything is present and nothing still to come.

Here are a few points for your consideration, brothers, concerning the sacrament of the altar. The bread is gathered into one from many grains, and eventually out of two substances it is baked together into one, since each loaf is made out of the solid substance of flour and the liquid substance of water. That which in its substance is bread is

altare panis sustantiuus et, accedente uerbo ad panis substantiam, desinit esse quod fuerat—panis—et incipit esse corpus Christi. Non liquescit in corpus, sed amittit quod est et fit quod non erat. Incipiunt forma ut species, color ut albedo, sapor ut cibus sapidus, esse sine subiecto, que uetus substantia non retinet, quia non est, et noua dedignatur sibi ut se indigna copulare; transit in substantiam substantia, et stant sine substantia subsistencia.

Hec panis cotidiani forma panis hodierni figura est. Vnus enim populus ex singularibus personis, unus ex contritis inter molas seculi granis panis in mensam cene magne infertur, ex farina et aqua compactus, dum due substantie[j] uere anime et corporis (immutati per resurrectionem ad nuptias Agni)[126] unum hominem de carne in cinerem, de puluere in hominem resubstantiatum (non de nichilo iterum factum, sed per mortem interpretatiue annichilatum), compactum monstrant ex anima que non corrumpitur, et carne que uelud aqua liquescet in igne iudicii. Sicque sacramentum illud huius est sacramentum; signum enim confectionis, signum unitatis, signumque est iudicialis transubstantiationis. Ibi farina, hic anima; ibi aqua, hic caro; ibi ignis et hic ignis; ibi unus ex multis granis panis, hic ex multis regionibus populus; ibi transubstantiatio, hic carnis inmutatio dupplicateque stole glorificatio.[127]

Panem nostrum cotidianum da, ut sicut cotidie panis et uini sacramento dominici corporis et ueri sanguinis ueritatem Pater operatur in altari, sic unitatem panis conuiuii celestis habeamus in fine temporis et sine fine; quod apercius innuit Eusebius cum dixit: 'Perficiant in nobis, quesumus Domine Deus, sacramenta quod continent, ut quod nunc specie gerimus, rerum ueritate capiamus.'[128] *Panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie.* Excepistis iam omnium temporum plenitudinem omniumque petitionum complementum, nec superest petenti quod petat, habenti quod cupiat, superuenienti quod esuriat.

[j] substantiarum *MS*

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[126] Cf. Rev. 19: 7, 9.

[127] The two-fold robe (cf. Isa. 61: 7 and 10) was understood to mean the double clothing of soul and body which the blessed will possess in heaven; cf. Dante, *Paradiso*, xxv. 91–2.

[128] See *Sacramentarium Gregorianum*, p. 95, no. 166, 8; cf. *Otia*, iii. 24, n. 5.

placed on the altar; then, when the word approaches the substance of this bread, it ceases to be what it had been—bread—and begins to be the body of Christ. It does not just dissolve into the body: it loses its own nature and becomes what it was not. It still has the appearance of bread as its form, whiteness as its colour, and the flavour of bread as its taste, but these accidents no longer have a subject; the old substance does not retain them, because it is no longer there, while the new substance disdains to unite them to itself, as being unworthy of it; one substance changes into another substance, and its accidents go on subsisting without their substance.

This outward form of daily bread is a figure of the bread of today. For a single people made up of many individuals, a single loaf made up of grains ground between the millstones of the world, is brought to the table of the great supper, one bread composed of flour and water; even so the two true substances of spirit and body (the latter transformed through resurrection in readiness for the marriage of the Lamb)[126] come to manifest a single human being, who has passed from flesh to ashes and from dust to renewed substance (not that the person is created anew out of nothing, though figuratively-speaking he has been annihilated through death) , and is now composed of spirit which is incorruptible, and of flesh which will dissolve like water in the fire of judgment. And so that sacramental bread is a sacrament of this transformation; for it is a sign of our mixed composition, a sign too of our unity, and a sign of the change which our substance will undergo at the Last Judgment. In the one case there is flour, in the other, the soul; in the one, water, in the other, the flesh; in the one, fire, and fire in the other too; in the one, a single loaf made up of many grains, in the other, a single people drawn from many regions; in the one, transubstantiation, in the other, the transformation of the flesh and the glorification of the two-fold robe.[127]

Give us our daily bread, in order that just as every day in the sacrament of bread and wine the Father brings into being on the altar the reality of the Lord's body and the true blood, so we may enjoy the unity conferred by the bread of the heavenly banquet at the end of time, for time without end. Eusebius expressed this clearly when he said: 'Lord God, we pray that your sacraments may fulfil in us what they embody, that what we now perform outwardly, we may receive in truth.'[128] *Give us this day our daily bread.* You have now received the fulfilment of all ages and the answering of all petitions, and there is nothing more that the one who seeks could ask for, that the one who possesses could desire, that the one who has more than enough could hunger for.

Et dimitte nobis debita nostra. Ordo preposterus, sed necessario commutatus. Petitio hec prima esse debuit: primum enim occurrit petitio accipiende purgationis, promerende sanctificationis, et faciende debitorum dimissionis. Aut ergo hoc loco superfluit ista de dimittendo petitio, aut sine causa, ut uidetur, facta iteratio. Profecto nichil superfluit, nichil excrescit, nichil non necessarium fuit. Distat inter petere et impetrare, inter orare et obtinere, inter rogare et accipere. Petimus sanctificationem, petimus iustificationem; et si hec meruimus, nondum tamen confirmati in regno, quod hominis est agimus, sine peccato, etiam perfecti, non uiuimus; sicatrices naturales, et si putredinem non generant, cutis integritatem decolorant. Dum cotidie communicamus, nichilominus cotidie compeccamus. Ergo in hoc cotidie, dum speramus et exspectamus ut ueniat hodie panis cotidianus, *Dimitte nobis debita nostra.* Debita: et que debita? Debita: et cuius debitoris debita? Debita: et cui creditori debita? Longum esset enarrare debita, que facilius erant facere quam exsoluere, ideoque hec usque in alterum diem procrastinamus. Interim: *Pater noster qui es in celis, libera nos a malo, et ne nos inducas in tentationem,* sed augeas nobis ad plenius explananda que cepimus interne deuotionis intentionem. Amen.

Finito libro sit laus et gloria Christo.

And forgive us our debts. The proper order has been inverted here, but the alteration was made of necessity. This petition should have come first: for it is natural to begin by asking to undergo purification, to merit sanctification, and to attain the cancelling of our debts. Either therefore this petition concerning forgiveness is superfluous at this point, or it is repeated for no apparent reason. But we may be certain that nothing here is superfluous, nothing is in excess, nothing is unnecessary. There is a difference between requesting and being granted, between praying and obtaining, between asking and receiving. We request sanctification, we request justification; but even if we have merited these gifts, as long as we are not yet firmly established in the kingdom, our actions are those of a human being, and we do not live sinless lives, however perfect we may be; the scars of our nature, even if they do not generate corruption, mar the purity of our skin. Even when we receive communion every day, we are still caught up in sin every day. Therefore in this every day, while we hope and expect that this day our daily bread will be given to us, *Forgive us our debts.* Debts: and what debts are these? Debts: and who is the debtor who owes them? Debts: and who is the creditor to whom are they owed? It would take a long time to set forth our debts, which it was easier to incur than it is to discharge, and so we are going to postpone this task to another day. In the meantime: *Our Father who art in heaven, deliver us from evil, and lead us not into temptation,* but increase the strength of our interior devotion, that we may be able to complete the exposition which we have begun. Amen.

That is the end of the book. Praise and glory to Christ!

INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS CITED

Aberystwyth
  National Library of Wales 5009C lxxi–lxxii
Arles
  MS 128 296 n.

Berlin
  Staatsbibliothek, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS Lat. oct. 133 lxiii, lxxviii–lxxix
Bern
  Burgerbibliothek MS 568 397 n.
Brussels
  Bibliothèque Royale 1136 lxx

Cambrai
  MS 710 600 n.
Cambridge
  Corpus Christi College 414 lxxiv
  Magdalene College F. 4. 23 lxvii
  St John's College 219 lxvi, 811 n.
  University Library Addit. 3446 lxxvii
Cornell
  University Library B 6000 lxxvi

Dijon
  MSS 50 (32) and 638–642 (383) II 595 n.
Dublin
  Trinity College, MS 515 (E. 5. 12) 409 n.

Leyden
  Vossianus Lat. 15 lxxv
London
  BL, Cotton Tiberius B. V 695 n.
  BL, Cotton Vespasian E. IV lxv
  BL, Royal 13. E. IX lxvii

Madrid
  BN 6213 lxix–lxx

Oxford
  Bodley 614 695 n.
  Bodleian, Canon Misc. 53 lxxviii

Paris
  BN, Lat. 652 lxxvii–lxxviii
  BN, Lat. 1018 297 n.
  BN, Lat. 5315 845 n.
  BN, Lat. 6041A 595 n.
  BN, Lat. 6488 lxxiii
  BN, Lat. 6489 lxxv
  BN, Lat. 6490 lxv–lxvi
  BN, Lat. 6491 lxix
  BN, Lat. 6492 lxix
  BN, Lat. 6492A lxx–lxxi
  BN, Lat. 6703 lxxvii
  BN, Lat. 6704 lxxvi–lxxvii
  BN, Lat. 6781 lxxvi
  BN, Lat. 13959 lxxii
  BN, Lat. 17627 294 n.
  BN, nouv. acq. lat. 1065 695 n.

Rome
  Barberini Lat. 2611 lxxiv
  Vat. Lat. 933 lxiv, lxxix–lxxxv
  Vat. Lat. 993 lxxi
  Vat. Reg. Lat. 707 lxxiii

Toledo
  Tol. 15. 8 132 n.
Toulouse
  Bibliothèque Municipale 448 lxviii
Wolfenbüttel
  Helmstadt 481 lxviii

INDEX OF BIBLICAL ALLUSIONS

Genesis: (Gen.)
  1: 1 18–19, 830–1
  1: 2 34–5, 830–1
  1: 3–24 56–7
  1: 3–5 528–9
  1: 3 56–7
  1: 4 34–5
  1: 6–8 530–1
  1: 6 22–3, 830–1
  1: 9–13 540–1
  1: 9 78–9
  1: 11 38–9, 72–3
  1: 14–19 542–3
  1: 14 42–3
  1: 16 42–3, 50–1
  1: 20–3 544–5
  1: 20 52–3
  1: 21 58–9
  1: 22 160–1
  1: 24 54–5, 546–7
  1: 26–7 156–7
  1: 26 56–7
  1: 28 140–1, 160–1
  1: 31 26–7
  2: 1 40–1
  2: 5–6 76–7
  2: 7 56–7
  2: 8 66–7, 324–5
  2: 9 82–3
  2: 10–14 348–9
  2: 10 70–1
  2: 11 70–1
  2: 13 72–3
  2: 14 72–3
  2: 18–25 546–7
  3: 7 84–5
  3: 18 902–3
  3: 19 62–3, 92–3, 902–3
  3: 24 86–7, 92–3
  4: 1 102–3
  4: 4–5 102–3
  4: 6–7 102–3
  4: 9–10 102–3
  4: 10 102–3
  4: 12 814–15
  4: 13 102–3, 104–5
  4: 14–15 104–5
  4: 16 104–5
  4: 17 104–5
  4: 19–22 106–7
  4: 23 896–7
  4: 24 144–5
  4: 25 140–1
  4: 26 110–11
  5: 6–32 144–5
  5: 24 144–5
  5: 28–9 896–7
  5: 29 144–5
  5: 32 152–3
  6: 1–4 528–9, 730–1
  6: 1–2 144–5
  6: 1 528–9
  6: 3 152–3
  6: 4 144–5
  6: 6 152–3
  6: 7 152–3
  6: 13 154–5
  6: 15 154–5
  6: 16 154–5, 156–7
  6: 18 160–1
  6: 19–20 158–9
  7: 2 158–9
  7: 6 152–3
  7: 11 76–7, 158–9, 338–9
  7: 18 530–1
  7: 20 158–9
  8: 14–16 160–1
  8: 17 160–1
  8: 20–9: 4 124–5
  8: 21–2 76–7
  9: 1–2 64–5
  9: 1 160–1
  9: 8–17 160–1
  9: 20–7 536–7
  9: 20 122–3
  10: 2 246–7, 284–5, 530–1
  10: 3–4 530–1
  10: 4 248–9
  10: 6–7 534–5
  10: 6 532–3
  10: 7–10 532–3
  10: 8–9 108–9

Genesis: (Gen.) (*cont.*)
10: 10 532–3
10: 13–14 534–5
10: 14 534–5
10: 15–19 536–7
10: 15 534–5
10: 19 536–7
10: 21–31 536–7
10: 21 70–1
10: 22 116–17, 538–9
10: 23 536–7
10: 24–5 538–9
10: 24 116–17, 204–5
11: 1–9 530–1
11: 18–26 538–9
11: 28 108–9
11: 29 538–9
12: 4 112–13
12: 7 112–13
12: 10 134–5
12: 20 134–5
14 110–11
14: 1 112–13
14: 2 76–7
14: 8 76–7
14: 13 206–7
14: 18 112–13, 888–9
15: 2 200–1
15: 7 108–9
15: 18–21 510–11
15: 19–21 518–19
16: 11 134–5
17: 5 134–5, 540–1
17: 10–14 134–5
18 206–7
18: 4 498–9
18: 20 104–5
18: 27 62–3
19 76–7
19: 1–22 730–1
19: 17–22 208–9
19: 24–5 794–5
19: 24 570–1
19: 25 76–7
19: 26 502–3
19: 30–8 796–7
19: 36–8 518–19
20 130–1
21: 8 136–7
21: 22–32 496–7
21: 33 (32) 202–3
22: 1–19 614–15
22: 2 500–1, 798–9
22: 20–2 538–9
23 200–1
23: 19 498–9
24: 10 492–3
24: 58 136–7
25: 4 316–17
25: 9–10 220–1
25: 22 798–9
25: 25 200–1
25: 29–34 136–7
25: 30 200–1
26: 15–23 496–7
26: 32–3 496–7
27: 5–29 904–5
27: 15 904–5
27: 28 74–5
27: 36 904–5
28: 19 204–5, 494–5, 888–9
30: 14 140–1
30: 32 30–1
31: 47 492–3
32: 10 510–11
32: 22 510–11, 882–3
33: 17 510–11
33: 19 888–9
34 888–9
35: 4 890–1
35: 16–20 890–1
35: 16 510–11
35: 19–20 510–11
35: 21 510–11
35: 27 220–1
36: 1 520–1
36: 43 520–1
37: 17 886–7
37: 32 792–3
40 506–7
45 134–5
46: 28–47: 6 212–13
47: 15–25 124–5
49: 9 140–1
49: 10 376–7
49: 17 140–1
49: 29–31 200–1
50: 11 896–7
50: 13 510–11, 896–7
50: 25 800–1
Exodus: (Exod.)
2: 18 510–11
3: 1 510–11
3: 8 518–19
3: 17 518–19
4: 10 8–9
4: 15–16 8–9
6: 18 900–1
6: 20 900–1
7: 12 88–9
12: 4 666–7
12: 8 918–19
12: 37 512–13
12: 40 542–3
12: 46 666–7
13: 17 512–13
13: 18 512–13
13: 19 800–1
13: 20 512–13
13: 21 880–1
14: 2 512–13
15: 20 120–1
15: 22 514–15
15: 24 916–17
15: 25 514–15
15: 27 514–15, 880–1
16: 1 514–15
16: 15 828–9
16: 32–4 516–17
17: 1 514–15
17: 6 506–7, 516–17
17: 8–16 508–9
19: 1 516–17
20: 24 296–7
23: 23 518–19
24: 7 516–17
25: 10 156–7, 516–17
25: 16 516–17
25: 18 804–5
25: 21 516–17
25: 30 918–19
28 8–9
28: 15–30 806–7
28: 36 800–1
29: 27–8 140–1
30: 7 568–9
30: 8 568–9
31: 18 792–3
32: 4 804–5
34: 1 516–17
34: 4 516–17
34: 17 804–5
34: 28 808–9
34: 29 516–17, 806–7
34: 30 806–7
34: 35 806–7
37: 1 516–17
38: 31 516–17
39: 8–21 806–7
40: 20 516–17
Leviticus: (Lev.)
7: 32–4 140–1
11: 44 910–11
16: 29–31 806–7
19: 2 910–11
25: 8–17 110–11
Numbers: (Num.)
1: 50 516–17
1: 53 516–17
2 140–1
8: 13–21 280–1
9: 12 666–7
10: 11 516–17
10: 29 510–11
11: 34 516–17
12: 1–15 800–1
13: 22 (23) 146–7, 206–7
13: 33 (34) 146–7
17 628–9
17: 10 516–17
19: 1–10 616–17
19: 11 906–7
20: 11 506–7, 880–1
21: 4–9 808–9
21: 9 614–15
21: 12–15 518–19
26: 58–9 900–1
33 516–17, 880–1
33: 9 880–1
33: 13 516–17
33: 16 516–17
33: 38 208–9
35: 1–14 518–19
Deuteronomy: (Deut.)
2: 10–11 146–7
2: 13 518–19
2: 20–3 520–1
3: 11 152–3
4: 41–3 518–19
7: 1 518–19
8: 5 906–7
8: 15 808–9
10: 5 516–17
11: 24 518–19
29: 5 350–1
31: 24–6 516–17
32: 49 812–13
34: 5–6 812–13
Joshua: (Josh.)
1: 3–4 518–19
2: 1 494–5
3 and 4 520–1

Joshua: (Josh.) (*cont.*)
4: 3 494–5
4: 8 494–5
4: 20 494–5
6: 17 494–5
6: 22–5 494–5
12: 8 504–5
13–19 350–1
18: 1 498–9, 890–1
20: 7 518–19
20: 8 518–19
24: 32 494–5, 800–1, 888–9
Judges: (Judg.)
1: 23 888–9
3: 8–11 350–1
3: 12–30 352–3
4–5 888–9
6–8 120–1, 352–3
6: 1 352–3
6: 12–22 730–1
7: 25 516–17
8: 4–5 510–11
9 352–3
9: 50 250–1
10: 1–2 352–3
10: 3–5 122–3. 352–3
11: 1–12: 7 354–5
12: 8–10 354–5
12: 11–12 354–5
12: 13–15 288–9, 354–5
13–16 354–5
19–20 354–5
1 Kings (1 Samuel): (1 Kgs. (1 Sam.))
1: 1 890–1
3: 3 890–1
4: 3 498–9
4: 18 356–7
8–10 8–9
8: 9 10–11
8: 11–14 10–11
8: 17 10–11
9: 7 914–15
10: 5 134–5
10: 10 134–5
16: 14–23 12–13
22: 9–19 540–1
23: 29 896–7
24: 1 896–7
25: 1 498–9
31: 1–6 540–1
31: 8 888–9
31: 10 888–9
2 Kings (2 Samuel): (2 Kgs. (2 Sam.))
2: 11 206–7
5: 14 542–3
11: 21 250–1
22: 9 2–3
22: 13 2–3
24: 16 478–9, 500–1
24: 18–25 790–1
3 Kings (1 Kings): (3 Kgs (1 Kgs.))
1: 32–40 892–3
4: 32–3 122–3
5: 18 790–1
6: 1 350–1, 544–5
6: 38 544–5
7: 2–8 658–9
8: 23–53 896–7
9: 11 886–7
10: 1–13 658–9
11: 7 890–1
12: 25–33 888–9
12: 29 652–3
14: 25–6 356–7
15: 1–8 356–7
15: 9–24 358–9
17: 6 622–3
17: 8–16 918–19
17: 9 504–5, 882–3
17: 13 902–3
19: 8 916–17
21 888–9
22 358–9
4 Kings (2 Kings): (4 Kgs. (2 Kgs))
2: 11 22–3, 92–3, 144–5, 358–9, 508–9
2: 19–22 894–5
4: 18–37 904–5
5: 12 200–1, 882–3
8: 16–19 358–9
8: 25–9: 29 358–9
9: 30–7 888–9
11–12 358–9
13: 20 358–9
13: 22 358–9
14: 1–20 358–9
15: 1–7 358–9
15: 32–8 358–9
16 360–1
17: 3–6 360–1
18–20 360–1
18: 4 808–9
20: 12 168–9
21: 1–18 360–1
21: 19–26 362–3
22: 1–23: 28 362–3
22: 8 516–17
23: 13 890–1
23: 29–30 362–3, 888–9
23: 31 362–3
23: 33—24: 6 362–3
24–5 168–9
24: 8–16 362–3
24: 10–16 362–3
24: 17 362–3
25: 13–17 896–7
25: 22–6 512–13
25: 27 362–3
1 Chronicles: (1 Chr.)
2: 19 510–11
6: 2–3 900–1
6: 57 518–19
21: 15–27 500–1, 712–13
2 Chronicles: (2 Chr.)
3: 1 500–1, 790–1
35: 20–4 888–9
1 Esdras (Ezra): (1 Esd. (Ezra))
2: 2 204–5
2 Esdras (Nehemiah): (2 Esd. (Neh.))
2: 6 49–9
3: 15 502–3
Tobias
1: 16 222–3
Judith
1: 5 364–5
7 886–7
10–13 498–9
13 886–7
Esther
1: 1 214–15
1: 2 192–3
2: 5 192–3
(Rest of) Esther 13: 9 582–3
Job
1: 1 540–1, 882–3
2: 11 202–3, 882–3
10: 9 62–3
14: 15 912–13
19: 27 468–9
32: 2 540–1
34: 15 62–3
39: 9 190–1
Psalms: (Ps.)
2: 1 912–13
2: 6 10–11, 912–13
2: 9 4–5
6 86–7
7: 10 (9) 668–9, 738–9
8: 6 (5) 910–11
8: 8–9 (6–8) 64–5
9: 5 (4) 908–9
9: 7–8 (6–7) 32–3
9B (10): 9 688–9
10 (11): 5 (4) 20–1, 908–9
10 (11): 7 (6) 908–9
16 (17): 15 914–15
17 (18): 8 (7) 36–7
17 (18): 9 (8) 2–3
18 (19): 1 908–9
18 (19): 5 (4) 100–1
18 (19): 6 (4) 22–3, 908–9
18 (19): 7 (6) 26–7
18 (19): 11 (10) 904–5
21 (22): 16 (15) 30–1, 62–3
22 (23): 3 906–7
22 (23): 5 908–9, 914–15
23: 1 830–1
24 (25): 15 918–19
25 (26): 6 910–11
31 (32) 86–7
32 (33): 9 18–19, 56–7
32 (33): 16 62–3
32 (33): 17 62–3
32 (33): 22 912–13
35 (36): 7 (6) 730–1, 860–1
37 (38) 86–7
39 (40): 12 104–5
39 (40): 13 104–5
44 (45): 2 (1) 142–3, 904–5
44 (45): 3 (2) 486–7
44 (45): 7–8 (6–7) 6–7
44 (45): 7 (6) 910–11
48 (49): 18 (17) 62–3, 468–9, 914–15
50 (51) 86–7 112–13, 160–1
50 (51): 6 (4) 912–13
50 (51): 19 (17) 160–1
55 (56): 1 202–3
61 (62): 10 (9) 32–3, 640–1
67 (68): 10 (9) 908–9
67 (68): 29 (28) 912–13
69 (70): 4 (3) 614–15
71 (72): 10 532–3
72 (73): 9 452–3
72 (73): 27 684–5
73 (74): 12 68–9
74 (75): 8–9 (7–8) 908–9
74 (75): 8 (7) 314–15
76 (77): 11 (10) 314–15
77 (78): 25 918–19
77 (78): 30 916–17
77 (78): 49 916–17
78 (79): 6 452–3

Psalms: (Ps.) (*cont.*)
79 (80): 1 802–3
81 (82): 6 32–3, 910–11
84 (85): 11 (10) 94–5
85 (86): 13 768–9
85 (86): 15 478–9
86 (87): 3 890–1
88 (89): 10 (9) 908–9
88 (89): 11 (10) 478–9
88 (89): 13 (12) 888–9
97 (98): 2 (3) 784–5
98 (99): 5 908–9
101 (102) 86–7
101 (102): 26 (25) 22–5, 26–7, 30–1, 908–9
101 (102): 27 (26) 24–5, 30–1, 908–9
103 (104): 2–3 22–3, 828–9
103 (104): 3 28–9
103 (104): 4 724–5, 730–1
103 (104): 11 684–5
103 (104): 15 916–17
103 (104): 29 62–3
103 (104): 30 34–5
104 (105): 16 622–3
106 (107): 16 590–1
109 (110): 1 32–3
109 (110): 2 4–5
109 (110): 4 4–5, 12–13
113 (114): 3 502–3
113 (114): 4 504–5
113 (114): 5 502–3
113B (115): 16 2–3
116 (117) 114–15
117 (118): 16 (15) 216–17
117 (118): 19–20 912–13
119 (120): 5 886–7
122 (123): 1 906–7
129 (130) 86–7
130 (131): 1 912–13
134 (135): 6 28–9
135 (136): 1 32–3
135 (136): 5 32–3
135 (136): 6 78–9
135 (136): 9 32–3
136 (137): 1 544–5
136 (137): 6 30–1
138 (139): 15 58–9
142 (143) 86–7
143 (144): 10 8–9
144 (145): 15 918–19
148: 4–5 22–3
148: 4 74–5

Proverbs: (Prov.)
10: 1 906–7
Ecclesiastes: (Eccles.)
1: 2 640–1
1: 4 158–9, 160–1
12: 8 640–1
Song of Songs: (S. of S.)
2: 6 912–13
3: 6 568–9
4: 4 896–7
7: 5 896–7
8: 3 912–13
Wisdom: (Wisd.)
10: 6 76–7
15: 3 210–11
Ecclesiasticus: (Ecclus.)
13: 1 338–9
15: 6 910–11
18: 1 24–5
24: 3 904–5
Isaiah: (Isa.)
1: 19 912–13
2: 2 500–1
6: 7 906–7
9: 1 884–5, 886–7
9: 6 4–5, 546–7, 794–5
9: 7 12–13
10: 22–3 904–5
10: 26 516–17
14: 13–14 70–1
14: 14 20–1
22: 1 500–1
22: 5 500–1
23: 1 248–9
27: 12 538–9
28: 22 904–5
39: 1 168–9
39: 2 658–9
40: 13 30–1
45: 2 590–1
50: 6 6–7
53: 12 910–11
56: 7 896–7
57: 16 56–7
59: 21 12–13
61: 7 920–1
61: 10 920–1
65: 17 24–5, 26–7
66: 22 24–5, 26–7
Jeremiah: (Jer.)
1: 1 498–9
1: 11 4–5
1: 14 68–9

9: 23 6–7
10: 25 452–3
17: 10 668–9
23: 24 24–5, 32–3
27 362–3
29: 27 498–9
38: 6 502–3
38: 7 500–1
44: 1 512–13
46: 14 512–13
52: 31 362–3
Lamentations: (Lam.)
4: 4 914–15
Ezekiel (Ezek.)
5: 5 774–5
5: 15 70–1
10: 1 804–5
11: 19 778–9
27: 8 534–5
27: 9 790–1
36: 26 788–9
38–9 184–5
40: 42 914–15
Daniel: (Dan.)
Dan. 2: 31 ff. 170–1
Dan. 3: 72 (S of III Ch. 48) 34–5
Dan. 3: 80 (S of III Ch. 58) 24–5
Dan. 4: 32–3 812–13
Dan. 6: 16 502–3
Dan. 7: 13 22–3
Dan. 9: 24–7 48–9
Dan. 14: 35–8 92–3
Hosea (Hos.)
4: 12 664–5
Joel
2: 11 918–19
2: 31 918–19
Jonah
3: 3 116–17, 194–5
Micah: (Mic.)
5: 2 510–11, 890–1
Habakkuk: (Hab.)
3: 3 68–9
Malachi: (Mal.)
1: 2–3 908–9
4: 6 144–5
1 Maccabees: (1 Macc.)
1: 11 368–9
2: 11 894–5
Matthew: (Matt.)
1: 2 540–1
1: 6–11 544–5
1: 17 542–3

3: 9 494–5
3: 16 40–1
4: 1–11 894–5
4: 2 808–9
4: 8 894–5
4: 15 884–5, 886–7
5: 1 886–7
5: 13 916–17
5: 39 6–7
5: 45 908–9
6: 11 914–15, 918–19
6: 33 666–7
7: 3–4 92–3
7: 16 744–5
8: 1–4 886–7
8: 5–13 886–7
8: 28–34 896–7
9: 18–26 650–1
9: 20–2 496–7, 604–5
10: 4 194–5
10: 34 632–3
11: 2–3 778–9
11: 21 884–5
13: 4 24–5
14: 13–21 496–7
14: 15–21 886–7
14: 17 918–19
14: 25 496–7
14: 31 886–7
14: 36 902–3
15: 27 914–15
15: 34 918–19
16: 18 6–7
16: 19 6–7, 784–5
17: 1–8 220–1, 888–9
17: 23–6 10–11
18: 18 784–5
21: 1 502–3
21: 9 614–15
21: 13 896–7
22: 21 10–11, 632–3
22: 44 32–3
24: 28 774–5
24: 30 22–3
24: 35 24–5, 160–1, 908–9
25: 21 614–15
25: 23 614–15
26: 26–7 112–13
26: 30 112–13
26: 39 906–7
26: 40 892–3
26: 41 666–7
26: 64 22–3

Matthew: (Matt.) (*cont.*)
  27: 7–8 892–3
  27: 26 502–3
  27: 33 892–3
  27: 57–60 892–3
  28: 16–20 498–9
Mark
  1: 10 40–1
  1: 12–13 894–5
  3: 18 194–5, 598–9
  4: 4 24–5
  5: 2–3 736–7
  5: 20 604–5
  5: 22–43 650–1
  5: 25–34 496–7
  5: 30 902–3
  6: 32–44 496–7
  6: 35–44 886–7
  6: 38 918–19
  6: 48 496–7
  6: 53 492–3
  8: 6–7 918–19
  9: 2–8 888–9
  9: 49 (50) 916–17
  11: 1 502–3
  11: 17 896–7
  12: 17 10–11, 632–3
  12: 36 32–3
  13: 31 24–5, 158–9
  14: 15 912–13
  14: 22–3 112–13
  14: 26 112–13
  14: 36 906–7
  14: 37 892–3
  14: 65 502–3
  15: 15 502–3
  15: 22 892–3
  15: 28 910–11
  15: 40 296–7
  15: 42–6 892–3
  16: 15 26–7
  16: 16 596–7
Luke
  1: 17 144–5
  1: 34 142–3
  1: 39–40 894–5
  1: 41 776–7
  1: 44 776–7
  2: 1–5 10–11
  2: 1–2 68–9
  2: 1 66–7, 372–3
  2: 24 40–1
  2: 25 694–5
  3: 8 494–5
  3: 22 40–1
  3: 23–31 542–3
  4: 1–13 894–5
  4: 2 808–9
  4: 5 894–5
  4: 26 504–5, 882–3
  4: 29–30 648–9, 888–9
  6: 15 194–5
  6: 29 6–7
  6: 41–2 92–3
  6: 44 744–5
  7: 1–10 886–7
  7: 11–15 888–9
  7: 19–20 778–9
  7: 36–50 720–1
  7: 42 852–3
  8: 5 24–5
  8: 41–56 650–1
  8: 43–8 496–7, 604–5
  8: 44 902–3
  8: 46 902–3
  9: 10–17 496–7
  9: 12–17 886–7
  9: 13 918–19
  9: 28–36 888–9
  10: 1 294–5, 598–9, 734–5
  10: 13 884–5
  10: 38–42 824–5
  12: 51 632–3
  14: 34 916–17
  16: 9 6–7
  16: 19–31 96–7, 772–3, 914–15
  16: 22–23 324–5
  16: 22 768–9
  16: 29–31 916–17
  17: 37 774–5
  19: 2 2–3
  19: 4 332–3
  19: 46 896–7
  20: 25–35 10–11, 632–3
  20: 42 32–3
  22: 12 912–13
  22: 14–20 112–13
  22: 19 666–7
  22: 25 12–13
  22: 26 12–13
  22: 28 92–3
  22: 32 6–7
  22: 37 910–11
  22: 42 906–7
  22: 63 502–3
  23: 43 646–7

  23: 50–3 892–3
  24: 1–10 296–7
  24: 13–35 498–9, 892–3
John
  1: 9–10 26–7
  1: 10–11 28–9
  1: 10 26–7, 28–9
  1: 18 904–5
  1: 29 666–7
  1: 32 40–1
  1: 42 6–7, 134–5
  1: 44 496–7
  2: 1–11 886–7
  3: 31 912–13
  4: 5 494–5, 888–9
  4: 6–42 494–5, 890–1
  4: 13 (14) 908–9
  4: 14 908–9
  5: 2–9 502–3
  5: 2–4 658–9
  5: 2 496–7
  5: 6–8 502–3
  5: 17 26–7
  6: 1–13 496–7
  6: 5–13 886–7
  6: 9 918–19
  6: 19 496–7
  6: 33 916–17
  6: 35 918–19
  6: 36 596–7
  6: 44 912–13
  6: 52 (51) 918–19
  8: 25 18–19
  8: 44 906–7
  9: 7 502–3
  9: 11 502–3
  10: 7 912–13
  10: 9 912–13
  10: 34 32–3
  10: 35 32–3
  11 734–5
  11: 1–44 498–9
  11: 17 758–9
  12: 2 760–1
  12: 32 912–13
  13: 1–17 892–3
  13: 1 666–7
  13: 23 812–13, 892–3
  15: 5 32–3
  15: 11 454–5, 902–3
  19: 1 502–3
  19: 11 10–11
  19: 17 892–3
  19: 23 916–17
  19: 25 296–7
  19: 34 546–7
  19: 38–42 892–3
  19: 39 598–9
  20: 29 596–7
  21: 1–14 886–7
  21: 2 886–7
  21: 11 222–3
Acts
  1: 10–11 20–1
  1: 12 500–1
  1: 13 194–5
  1: 19 892–3
  2: 20 918–19
  2: 34 32–3
  4: 32 12–13
  5: 37 68–9
  7: 16 888–9
  7: 21–2 134–5
  8: 26–39 498–9
  8: 39–40 92–3
  9: 4 882–3
  9: 36–42 498–9
  10 498–9, 896–7
  13: 13–14 234–5
  14: 6 234–5
  14: 25 234–5
  16: 1 234–5
  16: 2 234–5
  17: 34 296–7
  20: 4 296–7
  20: 15 234–5
  21: 29 296–7
  22: 7 882–3
  24: 27 376–7
  26: 14 882–3
Romans: (Rom.)
  1: 17 146–7
  3: 4 912–13
  6: 21 4–5
  8: 3 544–5
  9: 13 908–9
  9: 21 154–5
  9: 28 904–5
  10: 18 100–1
  11: 34 30–1
  13: 1 10–11
  13: 2 10–11
1 Corinthians: (1 Cor.)
  3: 17 908–9
  5: 5 92–3
  7: 5 160–1

1 Corinthians: (1 Cor.) (*cont.*)
  10: 4 10–11
  10: 12 912–13
  11: 23–5 112–13
  11: 24 666–7
  11: 26 666–7
  12: 27 912–13
  13 916–17
  13: 7 460–1
  15: 47 912–13
2 Corinthians: (2 Cor.)
  3: 7 806–7
  4: 7 910–11, 912–13
  5: 1 774–5
  6: 14 906–7
  6: 15 906–7
  11: 14 664–5
  12: 2–4 758–9
Galatians: (Gal.)
  3: 17 542–3
  4: 26 774–5
  6: 8 914–15
Ephesians: (Eph.)
  1: 22 912–13
  4: 15 912–13
  6: 15 904–5
  6: 16 98–9
  6: 18 666–7
Philippians: (Phil.)
  1: 23 774–5
  2: 6 824–5
  2: 7 910–11
  2: 9 910–11
  3: 19 912–13
Colossians: (Col.)
  1: 18 912–13
  2: 14 902–3, 912–13
  4: 6 916–17
1 Timothy: (1 Tim.)
  2: 1–2 10–11
  2: 5 824–5
2 Timothy: (2 Tim.)
  2: 12 910–11, 912–13
  2: 20 154–5
  4: 2 786–7
  4: 20 296–7
Titus: (Tit.)
  3: 1 10–11
  3: 5 912–13
Hebrews: (Heb.)
  Heb. 1: 10–11 24–5, 30–1
  Heb. 2: 7 910–11
  Heb. 5: 6 4–5, 12–13
  Heb. 7: 1–2 112–13
  Heb. 9: 4 516–17
  Heb. 11: 5 144–5
  Heb. 12: 6 906–7
James: (Jas.)
  1: 17 12–13
1 Peter: (1 Pet.)
  2: 9 912–13
  2: 13–14 10–11
  5: 8 688–9
2 Peter: (2 Pet.)
  2: 4 730–1
  3: 6–7 106–7, 160–1
  3: 13 24–5, 26–7
1 John
  4: 18 906–7
  5 : 6–8 546–7
2 John
  7 884–5
Jude
  6 731 n.
Revelation: (Rev.)
  1: 7 22–3
  1: 8 18–19
  2: 23 668–9, 738–9
  5: 5 892–3
  12: 7–12 778–9
  19: 7 920–1
  19: 9 920–1
  21: 1 24–5, 26–7
  21: 2 774–5
  21: 5 26–7
  21: 6 18–19
  21: 10 774–5
  22: 13 18–19

ALLUSIONS TO CLASSICAL, MEDIEVAL, AND PATRISTIC SOURCES

Adam of Bremen: *Gesta Hammenburgensis ecclesiae*, iv. 38 638 n.
Adamnan: *De locis sanctis*, c. 11 70–1
Adelard of Bath: *Quaestiones naturales*, li 638 n.
Ado of Vienne: *Chronicon* (*PL* cxxiii), Aetas secunda (col. 27–8) 538–9
Aetas sexta (col. 77) 300–1
Alcuin: *Interrogationes et responsiones in Genesin*, 141 166–7
Alexander Neckam:
  De laud. sap., iii. 75–8 639 n.
    v. 747–50 644 n.
  De naturis rerum, i. 48 820 n.
    i. 64 750 n.
    ii. 1 639 n.
    ii. 3–9 821 n.
    ii. 25 679 n., 682 n.
    ii. 50 561 n.
    ii. 51. 562–3
    ii. 80. 568–9
    ii. 94 562–3
    ii. 124. 682–3
    ii. 164 662 n.
    ii. 174 576 n., 578 n., 582–3
Ambrose:
  De obitu Theodosii, cc. 41–8 647 n.
  Hymns 744–5
Ammianus Marcellinus:
  xix. 6. 4 58–9
  xxxi. 10. 19 58–9
Anselm: *Homiliae*, ix (*PL* clviii. 649) 21
Anthologia Latina:
  i (1). 256 2–3
  i (2). 716 20–1
Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 1310 138 n.
Appian: *Bella civilia*, ii. 21 811 n.
Apuleius:
  De deo Socratis, 4 726–7
    6 726–7
    8–9 96–7
    12–13 96–7
    12–14 726–7
    15 722 n.
Aristotle:
  De anima, 405b 60 n.
  Topica, 115b 186 n.
Arnobius Junior: *Commentarii in Psalmos*, 104 (*PL* liii. 481) 538–9
Arrian:
  Anabasis, i. 26 811 n.
    vii. 27 848 n.
Ascelin of Chartres: *Epistola ad Berengarium* (*PL* cl. 67) 602 n.
Athanasius: *Vita Antonii*, c. 10 747 n.
Augustine:
  Civ., ii. 23 723 n.
    vii. 35 723 n.
    viii. 16 726–7
    viii. 18 726–7
    viii. 20 728–9
    viii. 23–6 121 n.
    x. 8 88–9
    x. 16 602 n.
    x. 21 723 n.
    xi. 5 18–19
    xi. 33 730–1
    xv. 20 528–9
    xv. 21 154–5
    xv. 23 100–1, 724–5, 728–9, 730–1
    xv. 26 154–5
    xv. 27 156–7, 158–9
    xvi. 3 535 n., 536 n., 537 n.
    xvi. 9 216 n.
    xviii. 2 168 n., 174 n.
    xviii. 15 132–3
    xviii. 17 813 n.
    xviii. 18 88–9, 723 n., 742–3
    xviii. 21–2 174 n.
    xviii. 22–3 816–17, 818–19
    xxi. 4 191 n., 558–9 560–1, 562–3
    xxi. 5 194 n., 564–5, 566–7, 568–9, 570–1
    xxi. 6 566–7, 572–3
    xxi. 7 248–9
  De consensu evangelistarum, i. 2 543 n.
  Conf., xi. 13 18–19

Augustine (*cont.*):
De diversis quaestionibus, c. 58 356–7
De Genesi ad litteram, iii. 8 62–3
iii. 14 54–5
iii. 16 154–5
v. 9–10 76–7
xii. 12–31 742–3
'Liber imperfectus', xiv 76–7, 78–9
Enarrationes in Psalmos, c. 92 356–7
c. 107 916–17
Enchiridion, i. 29 912 n.
In Iohan. evang. tract., v. 15 771 n.
vi. 25 156–7
ix. 14 64–5
x. 12 64–5
Quaestiones in Heptateuchum, i. 7 154–5

Bede:
Carmina dubia (*PL* xciv. 637) 360 n.
De natura rerum, c. 32 77 n.
De nominibus locorum (*PL* xcii. 1039) 328 n.
De temporibus liber, c. 9 47 n.
c. 22 546–7
De temporum ratione, c. 9 48 n.
c. 36 46 n., 47 n.
c. 66 538 n.
Epistola responsoria ad Accam 543 n.
Historia ecclesiastica, i. 1 309 n.
i. 17 419 n.
ii. 2 312 n., 430 n.
iii. 1 433 n.
In Lucae evangelium expositio, v. 19 332 n.
In Samuelem prophetam, ii. prologue 356 n.
Benedict of Peterborough: *Gesta Henrici II* (RS xlix (2), 195–6) 330 n.
Bernard of Clairvaux: *Epistolae*, 174 (458) (*PL* clxxxii. 333–6) 774 n.
Bernard Sylvester:
De mundi universitate, i. 3. 141–2 44–5
iii. 230–1 642–3
Boethius:
De consolatione philosophiae, i. metre 1. 22 912–13
iii. metre 9. 20–3 18 n.
v. prose vi. 18 n.
Breviarium Gothicum (*PL* lxxxvi. 446) 744–5
Burchard of Worms: *Decreta*, xix. 5 723 n.

Caesar:
De bello Gallico, i. 1. 292 n.
ii. 4 292 n.
ii. 15 292 n.
Caesarius of Heisterbach:
Dialogus miraculorum, iii. 6–12 730 n.
iii. 12 664 n.
v. 46 730 n.
x. 60 750 n.
Cassiodorus:
Expositio in Psalterium, lxix. 3 614 n.
Historia ecclesiastica, i. 1 xli n.
Cato:
Distichs, ii. 2. 1 20–1
iii. 6. 1 558–9
Celsus, v. 18. 7 332 n.
Chron. Moiss.:
pp. 282–3 288 n., 384–5
p. 284 384–5, 386 n., 436–7
pp. 284–5 386–7, 436–7
p. 285 387 n., 436–7
p. 286 388–9, 390 n., 438–9
p. 287 438–9, 440–1
pp. 288–9 442–3
pp. 289–90 442–5
p. 290 392–3, 444–5
p. 291 394 n., 402 n., 444–5, 446–7
p. 292 446–7
p. 294 446–7, 448–9
p. 295 448–9
p. 296 448–9
p. 297 395 n.
p. 307 454–5
pp. 310–13 454–5
Cicero:
De natura deorum, i. 20 29 n.
De republica, vi. 18. 19 76–7, 158–9
Tusculanae disputationes, i. 9 60 n.
i. 17 60 n.
Claudian: *In Rufinum*, ii. 279–80 250–1
Claudius of Turin:
Brevis chronica, c. 1 529 n.
c. 2 530 n., 538 n.
c. 3 541 n.
c. 4 543 n., 544 n.
c. 5 545 n., 547 n.
Conrad of Querfurt:
MGH SS xxi, 194 576 n., 804 n.
194–5 586 n.
196 578 nn., 584 n.
Corpus iuris civilis:
Authentica, cxxii. 15 (= *Authentica collatio*, viii. 13. 15 = *Novellae*, cxvii. 15) 104–5
Code, i. 27 318–19, 322–3
vi. 22. 9 12–13
ix. 9. 33 104–5
Digest, ii. 11. 1 304–5
xiv. 2 328–9
xxix. 1. 1 108–9
xliii. 20. 13 218–19
xlviii. 19. 5 102–3
Corpus iuris canonici:
Decretum, C. 1 q. 1. c. 84 104–5
C. 2 q. 7 c. 15 630–1
C. 3 q. 9. c. 17 526–7
C. 7 q. 1 c. 12 318–19
C. 11 q. 3 c. 4 630–1
C. 11 q. 3 c. 30 630–1
C. 11 q. 3 cc. 92 and 93 630–1
C. 11 q. 3 c. 106 94–5
C. 12 q. 1 c. 2. para 1 6–7
C. 16 q. 7 cc. 30–35 116–17
C. 23 q. 1 c. 4 630–1
C. 24 q. 1 c. 4 6–7
C. 25 q. 2 c. 3 298–9
C. 32 q. 4 c. 3 104–5
D. 40 c. 1 94–5
D. 50 c. 27 630–1
D. 93 c. 1 94–5, 630–1
D. 96 c. 10 2n.
D. 96 c. 14 10–11
Cyril of Jerusalem: *Catechesis*, xiii. 28 70 n.

Diodorus Siculus:
iii. 60 322 n.
iv. 27 322 n.
Dioscorides:
Περὶ ὕλης, i. 19 704–5
De materia medica, i. 24–6 704–5
Diomedes: *Grammatici Latini*, i. 302 140 n.
Dionysius Exiguus: *Argumenta paschalia*, c. 2 360–1

Einhard: *Vita Caroli*, c. 32 860–3
Epistola Alexandri:
pp. 8–9 848–9
pp. 10–13 850–1
pp. 14–23 850–3
pp. 26–30 852–5
pp. 32–3 854–5
pp. 36–50 846–9
pp. 42–3, 48–50 84–5
pp. 53–4 856–7
pp. 55–9 856–61
Erigena, John Scotus: *De divisione naturae*, v. 3 47 n.
Étienne de Bourbon:
Anecdotes, pp. 32–3 336 n.
pp. 317–18 97 n.
pp. 323–4 743 n.
Eucherius of Lyons:
Passio, c. 4 300–1
c. 5 240–1, 300–1
c. 14 300–1
Eugenius of Toledo: *Carmina*, 55. 1–2 42–3
Eusebius-Rufinus:
Historia ecclesiastica, i. 2 134–5
i. 13 594 n., 608 n.
vii. 17 650–1, 652–3
vii. 18 604 n.
xi. 28 494–5
Eutropius: *Breviarium*, i. 1 262–3
Evagrius: *Historia ecclesiastica*, iv. 27 595 n.
Evangelium Nicodemi, cc. 17–27 794–5

Faustus of Reggio: *Epistolae*, vi 546–7
Freculph of Lisieux: *Chronicon*, ii. 4 286–7
Fredegar:
Chronicae, ii. 56 384–5
iii. 2–9 288 n.
iii. 29 436–7
iii. 42 386–7
iii. 53 436–7
iii. 55 436–7
iii. 63 286–9, 388–9
iii. 71 436–7
iii. 92 438–9
iv. 7 438–9
iv. 9 388–9
iv. 14 438–9
iv. 16 438–9
iv. 33 390–1
iv. 38–42 438–9
iv. 45 438–9
iv. 56–7 438–9
iv. 64 394 n.
iv. 67 438–9
iv. 75 438–9
iv. 76 438–9
iv. 79–80 438–9
iv. 84 438–9
iv. 85–6 438–9
iv. 88 440–1
iv. 89 438–9

Fredegar (*cont.*):
 Continuatio 1 440–1
  2 440–1
  3 442–3
  6–7 442–5
  9 444–5
  10 444–5
  22 394 n.
  23–4 446–7
  30 446–7
  41–53 446–7
  53–4 446–7
Fretellus:
 Liber locorum sanctorum (PL clv)
  1039–40 206–7, 810–11
  1039 200–1, 518–19
  1040 206–7
  1041–2 884–5
  1041 220–1, 812–13, 880–1, 882–3
  1042 882–3, 884–5
  1043–4 886–7
  1043 884–5
  1044 886–7
  1045–6 888–9
  1046 890–1
  1047–8 600–1
  1047 70–1, 896–7, 898–9
  1048–9 890–1
  1049–50 892–3
  1050–1 892–3, 894–5
  1051 894–5
  1052 896–7

Geoffrey of Monmouth:
 HRB:
  c. 5 304–5
  cc. 6–21 146–9, 396–9
  c. 6 306–7, 354–5
  c. 21 306–7, 524–5
  c. 22 306–7, 398–9, 400–3
  cc. 23–6 402–5
  c. 23 306–7, 524–5
  cc. 27–9 404–5
  c. 27 354–5
  c. 29 354–5
  cc. 30–2 404–7
  c. 32 360–1
  cc. 33–4 406–7
  cc. 35–44 176–7, 286–7
  cc. 35–43 406–9
  c. 43 402–3
  c. 44 310–11
  cc. 45–8 408–9
  c. 47 408 n.
  cc. 49–51 408–9
  cc. 52–3 408–11
  cc. 53–64 410–11
  cc. 65–8 410–13
  cc. 70–1 412–13
  cc. 72–3 412–13
  cc. 74–5 412–15
  c. 76 414–15
  c. 77 414–15
  c. 78–80 414–15
  c. 78 647 n.
  cc. 81–8 414–17
  cc. 89–97 416–17
  cc. 98–100 416–19
  cc. 100–12 418–19
  cc. 103–4 150–1
  c. 107 96–7
  cc. 112–17 488–9
  c. 113 488–9
  c. 114 488–9
  cc. 118–34 418–21
  c. 132 152–3
  cc. 133–5 420–1
  c. 134 152–3
  cc. 137–8 420–1
  c. 139 423 n.
  cc. 142–9 422–3
  c. 150 422–3
  cc. 151–5 424–5
  c. 152 423 n.
  c. 153 326–7
  c. 155 425 n.
  cc. 156–7 310–11, 426–7
  c. 156 424–7
  c. 157 426–9
  cc. 158–78 428–9
  cc. 178–84 428–31
  cc. 184–7 306–7
  cc. 186–7 306–7
  cc. 186–90 430–1
  cc. 188–9 312–13
  cc. 190–200 430–1
  cc. 196–7 432–3
  c. 198 433 n.
  c. 200 432–5
  c. 201 434–5
  cc. 202–6 434–5
Geographi graeci minores, i. 364 699 n.
Gerald of Wales:
 De principis instructione, iii. 27 664 n.
 Expugnatio Hibernica, ii. 23 813 n.
 Itinerarium Kambriae, i. 8 645 n.
 Topographia Hibernica, i. 15 820 n.
  i. 28–31 309 n.
  ii. 7–8 821 n.
  ii. 7 635 n.
  ii. 18 152 n.
  ii. 19 813 n.
Gesta Romanorum, c. 10 800 n.
  c. 82 750 n.
  c. 155 670 n.
  c. 160 664 n.
  c. 181 750 n.
Glossa ordinaria, on: Gen. 2: 8 325 n.
  Gen. 4: 25 140–1
  Gen 6: 3–4 154–5
  Gen 6: 16–18 156 n.
  Exod. 15: 20 120–1
  1 Paral. 1: 5–7 530 n.
  1 Paral. 1:1–7 530–1
  1 Paral. 1: 8–10 532–3
  1 Paral. 1: 8 532–3
  1 Paral. 1: 11 534–5
  1 Paral. 1: 14–16 534–5
  1 Paral. 1: 17–19 536–7
  Psalm 67 (68): 14 (13) 156 n.
  Matt. 24: 35 160 n.
  Mark 13: 13 158–9
  Mark 13: 31 24–5
  Luke 19: 4 332 n.
Gregory the Great:
 Dialogues, iii. 31 389 n.
  iv. 3 60–1
  iv. 26 24–5, 774–5
  iv. 29 774 n.
  iv. 30 588–9, 762–5
  iv. 31 588 n.
  iv. 33–7 336 n.
  iv. 34 772–3
  iv. 36 772–3
  iv. 43 770–1
  iv. 44 768–9
  iv. 45 764 n.
  iv. 46 764 n.
 Epistolae, xi. 56A 298–9
 Moralia in Iob, iv. 1. 2 630–1
  vi. 16 26–7
  xxvii. 46 332 n.
 XL Homiliae in Evangelia, xxv. 1 and 10 and xxxiii. 1 720 n.
Gregory VII:
 Epistolae selectae, ii. 546–62 7 n.
Gregory of Tours:
 Historia Francorum
  i. 30 296 n., 297 n., 735 n.
  ii. 9 44–5
  ii. 31 292–3, 436 n.
  ii 32 436 n.
  ii. 37 386 n., 436 n.
  iv. 20 437 n.
  iv. 22 437 n.
  iv. 51 437 n.
  vi. 46 438 n.
  vii. 7 438 n.
 Libri miraculorum, i. 1 41 n.
  xcviii 199 n.

Hegesippus: *Historiae*, v. 16. 1 356 n.
Henry of Huntingdon: *Historia Anglorum*, i. 7 644 n.
Herodotus:
 iii. 38 186 n.
 iii. 102–5 698 n.
 iv. 180 138 n.
Hilary: *Sermo de vita S. Honorati*, iii. 5 691 n.
Hincmar of Rheims: *De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae* 730 n.
Homer:
 Iliad, i. 55 712 n.
  xix. 400–21 740 n.
 Odyssey, vii. 558 602 n.
  x. 1. 638 n.
  x. 19 627 n.
Honorius of Autun:
 Elucidarium, i. 15 86–7
 De imagine mundi
  i. 1 26–7
  i. 2 20–1, 24–5, 26–7
  i. 3 38–9
  i. 6 68–9
  i. 8–9 (8–10) 180–1
  i. 8 490–1
  i. 9 (10) 72–3
  i. 10–11 (11–12) 186–7
  i. 10 (11) 182–3, 184–5
  i. 11–12 (12–13) 188–9
  i. 12 (13) 190–1, 562–3
  i. 13 (14) 192–3, 570–1
  i. 14 (15) 194–5
  i. 15 (16) 200–1, 202–3
  i. 16 (17) 204–5
  i. 17 (18) 208–9, 210–11
  i. 18 (19) 192–3, 228–31
  i. 19 (20) 232–3, 234–5
  i. 20 (21) 234–5
  i. 21–2 (22–3) 236–7
  i. 21 (22) 238–9

Honorius of Autun, *De imagine mundi* (*cont.*):
i. 22 (23) 238–9
i. 23 (24) 238–9, 240–1, 242–3
i. 24 (25) 246–7
i. 24 (26) 246–7, 284–5
i. 25 (27) 248–9, 566–7
i. 26 (28) 254–5, 260–1, 270–1, 284–5
i. 27 (29) 286–9, 292–3, 298–9
i. 28 (30) 302–3, 304–5
i. 29 (31) 308–9, 326–7
i. 30 (32) 316–17
i. 31 (32) 318–21
i. 32 (33) 214–15, 320–3
i. 33 (34) 130–1, 252–3, 328–9, 330–1
i. 34 (35) 332–3, 342–3, 345 n.
i. 35 (36) 308–9, 322–3, 324–5, 342–3, 344–5
i. 38 336–7
i. 39 346–7
i. 41–2 340–1
i. 41 336–7
i. 52 (47) 348–9
i. 53 (48) 348–9
i. 59 (54) 52–3
i. 60 (55) 52–3
i. 77 (72) 42–3
i. 89 (84) 22–3, 42–3
i. 97–109 (91–103) 44–5
ii. 32–4 (34) 48–9
ii. 36–7 48–9
ii. 36 122–3
ii. 59 46–7
ii. 63 (61) 46–7
ii. 71 46–7
ii. 74 46–7
ii. 76–7 (73–4) 360–1
iii, Tertia aetas 352–3, 356–7
iii, Quinta aetas 364–5, 366–7, 370–1, 372–3, 376–7
Horace:
Ars poetica, l. 4 642–3, 682 n.
Epist., i. 2. 55 750–1
ii. 2. 63 30–1
Hugh of St Victor: *De unitate mundi*, iii 168 n.

Isidore of Seville:
De natura rerum liber, vi. 4 46–7
Etym.:
i. 3. 5–6 132–3
i. 3. 6 120–1, 352–3
i. 4. 1 352–3
i. 4. 13 130–1
iii. 29 26–7
iii. 71 118–19
iv. 5 46–7
v. 39. 10 118–19, 132–3, 352–3
v. 39. 11 352–3
vi. 4 46–7
vi. 10. 1 130–1
vi. 17. 22–4 46–7
vii. 7. 2 134–5
vii. 9. 2–3 24–5
viii. 6. 6–13 250–1
viii. 8 816–17
viii. 11. 23–6 116–17
viii. 11. 34 32–3
viii. 11. 71–5 138–9
viii. 11. 81–3 100–1
viii. 11. 84–5 136–7
viii. 11. 101 722–3
viii. 11. 102 722–3
viii. 11. 103–4 100–1
viii. 11. 103 730–1
ix. 2. 2 536–7, 618–19
ix. 2. 3–4 536–7
ix. 2. 4 536–7
ix. 2. 6 204–5
ix. 2. 7 204–5
ix. 2. 10–12 532–3
ix. 2. 13–18 532–3
ix. 2. 19–21 534–5
ix. 2. 20 202–3
ix. 2. 22–5 534–5
ix. 2. 22 532–3
ix. 2. 26–31 530–1
ix. 2. 32–7 530–1
ix. 2. 48 538–9
ix. 2. 57 204–5
ix. 2. 58 202–3
ix. 2. 63 228–9
ix. 2. 64 228–9
ix. 2. 65 230–1
ix. 2. 86 270–1
ix. 2. 93–4 238–9
ix. 2. 94 240–1
ix. 2. 99 238–9
ix. 2. 100 242–3
ix. 2. 104 284–5
ix. 2. 105 286–7
ix. 2. 106 286–7
ix. 2. 114 286–7
ix. 2. 115 316–17
ix. 2. 124 308–9, 708–9
ix. 2. 127–8 214–15, 320–1
ix. 2. 127 532–3
ix. 2. 129 320–1
ix. 3. 30 108–9
ix. 3. 59 134–5
ix. 4. 28 238–9
xi. i. 27 500–1
xi. i. 55 22–3
xi. 3. 13 146–7
xi. 3. 16 334–5
xi. 3. 17 700–1
xi. 3. 21–2 100–1
xi. 3. 36 814–15
xii. 1. 14 190–1
xii. 4. 13 808–9
xii. 4. 18 696–7
xii. 4. 20 198–9, 696–7
xii. 4. 32 808–9
xii. 7. 33 800–1
xii. 7. 48 560–1
xii. 21. 4 168–9
xiii. 1 26–7
xiii. 2. 1–2 28–9
xiii. 3 38–9
xiii. 7. 2 78–9
xiii. 11. 1 52–3
xiii. 11. 2–3 52–3
xiii. 14. 1 348–9
xiii. 16. 1 248–9
xiii. 16. 2 284–5
xiii. 16. 3 232–3, 252–3
xiii. 16. 4 238–9
xiii. 16. 6 258–9
xiii. 16. 7 284–5
xiii. 17. 2–4 512–13
xiii. 18. 6 316–17
xiii. 19. 3–4 794–5
xiii. 19. 3 206–7, 870–1
xiii. 20. 1 336–7
xiii. 21. 7 72–3
xiii. 21. 8 70–1
xiii. 21. 24 238–9
xiii. 21. 27 262–3
xiii. 21. 28 240–1
xiii. 22–3 330–1
xiv. 1 36–7
xiv. 3. 5 184–5
xiv. 3. 6–7 190–1
xiv. 3. 8 192–3, 194–5
xiv. 3. 9–10 192–3
xiv. 3. 10 118–19
xiv. 3. 12 192–3
xiv. 3. 13–15 196–7
xiv. 3. 13 194–5
xiv. 3. 15 198–9
xiv. 3. 16 198–9
xiv. 3. 18 200–1
xiv. 3. 20–1 202–3, 206–7
xiv. 3. 22–4 204–5
xiv. 3. 26 198–9
xiv. 3. 31–2 190–1
xiv. 3. 32 190–1
xiv. 3. 33 192–3
xiv. 3. 34 230–1
xiv. 3. 35 226–7
xiv. 3. 37 200–1
xiv. 3. 38 232–3
xiv. 3. 39 232–3
xiv. 3. 40 232–3
xiv. 3. 41–6 234–5
xiv. 3. 126 204–5
xiv. 4. 1–4 236–7
xiv. 4. 2 236–7
xiv. 4. 3 238–9, 242–3
xiv. 4. 4 238–9
xiv. 4. 5 242–3, 246–7
xiv. 4. 6 246–7, 284–5
xiv. 4. 7 248–9
xiv. 4. 8 248–9
xiv. 4. 9–10 248–9
xiv. 4. 11–13 250–1
xiv. 4. 12 250–1
xiv. 4. 13 246–7
xiv. 4. 14 246–7, 250–1
xiv. 4. 15 250–1, 252–3, 566–7
xiv. 4. 16 242–3, 252–3
xiv. 4. 17 240–1, 252–3, 256–7
xiv. 4. 18 254–5
xiv. 4. 19 256–7
xiv. 4. 20 270–1
xiv. 4. 21–2 270–1, 284–5
xiv. 4. 22 270–1
xiv. 4. 25 284–5
xiv. 4. 26 140–1, 286–7
xiv. 4. 27 298–9
xiv. 4. 28 302–3
xiv. 4. 29 304–5
xiv. 5. 2 316–17
xiv. 5. 5 316–17
xiv. 5. 6 318–19
xiv. 5. 7 318–19
xiv. 5. 8 318–19
xiv. 5. 9 318–19
xiv. 5. 10 320–1
xiv. 5. 11 320–1
xiv. 5. 12 320–1

Isidore of Seville, *Etym.* (*cont.*):
xiv. 5. 13 320–1
xiv. 5. 14 214–15, 520–1
xiv. 5. 16 320–1
xiv. 6. 3 308–9
xiv. 6. 4 326–7
xiv. 6. 5 324–5
xiv. 6. 7 322–3
xiv. 6. 8 324–5
xiv. 6. 9 324–5, 708–9
xiv. 6. 10 322–3
xiv. 6. 12 184–5
xiv. 6. 14 328–9
xiv. 6. 15 328–9
xiv. 6. 17 252–3
xiv. 6. 19–20 328–9
xiv. 6. 21 330–1
xiv. 6. 22 328–9
xiv. 6. 23–5 330–1
xiv. 6. 26–30 330–1
xiv. 6. 31 130–1, 252–3
xiv. 6. 32 332–3, 333–4
xiv. 6. 33 334–5
xiv. 6. 35 342–3
xiv. 6. 36–7 342–3
xiv. 6. 38 294–5, 344–5
xiv. 6. 39–40 260–1, 342–3
xiv. 6. 40 308–9
xiv. 6. 41–2 260–1, 344–5
xiv. 6. 43 308–9, 344–5
xiv. 6. 44 132–3, 344–5
xiv. 7. 4–6 332–3
xiv. 8. 6 226–7
xiv. 8. 8 236–7
xiv. 8. 13 272–3, 638–9
xiv. 8. 17 322–3
xv. 1. 4 116–17, 196–7
xv. 1. 5 116–17, 202–3
xv. 1. 13 532–3
xv. 1. 15 200–1
xv. 1. 17 202–3
xv. 1. 24 200–1
xv. 1. 30 318–19
xv. 1. 42 246–7
xv. 1. 44 248–9
xv. 1. 45 250–1
xv. 1. 46 208–9
xv. 1. 54 27–11
xv. 1. 61 250–1
xv. 3. 6 122–3
xvi. 2. 4 564–5
xvi. 3. 10 562–3
xvi. 3. 19 202–3
xvi. 4. 1 562–3
xvi. 4. 4 566–7
xvi. 4. 5 194–5
xvi. 4. 6 571–2
xvi. 13. 2 190–1
xvii. 8. 8 696–7
xvii. 8. 14 704–5
xviii. 9. 1 808–9
xviii. 15. 1 136–7
xviii. 60 140–1
xix. 20. 1 138–9
xix. 32. 5 128–9
xix. 6. 7 560–1
xx. 1. 1 130–1
xx. 6. 4 808–9
(Isidore): *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*:
In Genesin, c. 7 154–5
Itinerarium Egeriae, xix. 5–19 608–9

Jacobus de Voragine:
Legenda aurea, c. 27 712 n.
c. 53 301 n.
c. 68 658–9
c. 105 721 n.
c. 142 118 n.
Jerome:
Chronica (*PL* xxvii) 110 356–7
111 168 n., 252–3
115 252–3
126 136–9
128 136–9
134 136–9
166 118–19
181 350–1
190 130–1
196–8 118–19
202–6 132–3
211–13 352–3
224–6 328–9
227–9 352–3
234 228–9
236–8 120–1
239 352–3
241 352–3
242 120–1
247 352–3
248 120–1
249 352–3
253 122–3, 352–3
254 352–3
258 352–3
262–3 352–3
265 288–9, 352–3

266 352–3
271–2 352–3
274–6 400–03
275 252–3
277 356–7
280 352–3
281 252–3
285 252–3
290 354–5
293 356–7
294 354–5
301 528–31
302 354–5
305 356–7
308 354–5
309 356–7
311 356–7
314 354–5
317 358–9
321 358–9
323 358–9
329 358–9
331 358–9
335 358–9
337 358–9
338–40 354–5
339 358–9
341 358–9
344–6 354–5
355 358–9
357 338–9
361 360–1
364 122–3, 354–5
364–9 360–1
365–6 122–3
366 122–3
376 122–3
379–80 360–1
380 122–3
384 124–5
390 124–5, 360–1
392 262–3
393 362–3
397 362–3
401–4 362–3
404 262–3
407–9 362–3
411 362–3
413 362–3
420 362–3
422 124–5, 262–3
425–7 364–5
432 126–7, 364–5
435 364–5
437 364–5
442 128–9, 364–5
444–6 364–5
449 366–7
452 120–1
457 366–7
459 366–7
462 120–1
464 366–7
467 366–7
468 120–1
469 366–7
471 366–7
474–6 366–7
475–80 368–9
484 368–9
521–2 370–1
525 370–1
528–30 370–1
535 372–3
536 370–1
538 372–3
540 372–3
544–7 376–7
560 376–7
566 376–7
570 376–7
584 376–7
586 376–7
590 376–7
593–6 376–7
620 378–9
622 378–9
640 378–9
644 378–9
646 378–9
650 378–9
653–4 328–9
688 380–1
(Continuation by Prosper of Aquitaine)
703–6 382–3
707–10 382–3
709–10 384–5
Commentaria in Ezechielem, viii. 27. 19 652–3
De situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum (*PL* xxiii. 907, 936) 207 n.
Epistola ad Fabiolam (*PL* xxiii. 718) 517 n.
Hebraicae quaestiones in Genesim, on 5: 25 144–5
on 10: 10 532 n.
10: 13 534 n.

Jerome, (Continuation by Prosper of Aquitaine) (*cont.*):
22: 20 539 n.
35: 21 510–11
In Isaiam, v. 13 100–1
v. 14 202 n.
In Ezechielem, ii 70 n.
Vita Hilarionis, ii. 1 498 n.
ix. 1 214 n.
x. 5 208–9
xi. 2 610–11
xi. 5 612 n.
xiii. 2 284–7
xxiii. 1–2 and 7 211 n.
xxviii. 2–3 618–19
xxx. 2 and 4 328 n.
xxxi. 2 210 n.
Vita S. Pauli primi eremitae, cc. 7–8 98–9
John of Salisbury: *Policraticus*, i. 4 576 n.
ii. 23 804 n.
John of Würzburg:
Descriptio terrae sanctae (*PL* clv)
1060 890–1
1067 810 n.
1068 812–13
Josephus:
Ant.:
i. 61–2 104–5
i. 67 142–3
i. 70 106–7
i. 71 106–7
i. 72–3 144–5
i. 81 48–9
i. 96–8 162–3
i. 105–6 46–7
i. 106 48–9
i. 117 532–3
i. 122–5 530–1
i. 122 166–7
i. 125 246–7, 284–5
i. 126 530–1
i. 130 166–7, 532–3
i. 131–4 532–3
i. 134–5 532–3
i. 135 532–3
i. 136–7 534–5
i. 138–9 534–5, 536–7
i. 140–2 536–7
i. 143–6 536–7
i. 143 166–7
i. 148–51 538–9
i. 151 108–9
i. 153 538–9
i. 155–6 110–11
i. 159–60 494–5
i. 159 132–3
i. 167–8 134–5
i. 180 114–15
i. 181 112–13
i. 186 206–7
i. 239 316–17
i. 240–1 316–17
i. 244 492–3
iii. 3–8 514–15
iii. 134 516–17
iii. 135 158–9
iii. 137 804–5
iv. 83 808–9
vi. 294 356–7
viii. 45–9 118–19
viii. 62 544–9
x. 231 364–5
xii. 235 368–9
xiv. 54 652–3
xv. 293 896–7
xv. 331–41 896–7
xv. 403 896–7
xv. 409 896–7
xviii. 28 652–3
Bell.:
i. 138 652–3
i. 156 896–7
i. 408–14 896–7
i. 659 612–13
ii. 162 44–5, 582–3
iii. 52–7 206–7
iii. 506–15 652–3
iii. 516–20 654–5
iv. 2–5 654–5
iv. 476–7 796–7
iv. 484 570–1
iv. 485 796–7
v. 166 896–7
v. 218 568–9
v. 238–46 896–7
vi. 438 114–15
vi. 439–40 116–17
Julian of Toledo: *Historia Wambae*, v. 500–35 392 n.
Julius Valerius:
Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis, ii. 26–7 194–5
iii. 54 860–3
iii. 56 848–9

Justin:
Epitoma, xii. 5–9 832 n.
xxiv. 4–xxxii. 3 836–41
xxxvi. 1–3 866–71
xli. 1–5 870–7
Juvenal:
Sat., ii. 61 706–7
x. 22 244–5

Lactantius:
Institutiones divinae, i. 6. 7–12 816 n.
iii. 24 216 n.
iv. 18–19 818–19
Letter of Pharasmanes to Hadrian, ii–v 708–9
v–vii 708–9
xi–xii 696–7
xi 198–9
xvii 700–1
xviii–xxi 214–15
xx–xxi 700–3
xxiv–xxvii 702–7
xxviii 706–9
xxix–xxxiii 708–11
Livy, i. 3 174 n.
v. 47. 4 286 n.
viii. 7 634 n.
Lucan:
Pharsalia, i. 70–1 400–1
i. 396 240–1
i. 402 244–5
i. 406–8 54–5
ii. 145–7 106–7
ii. 587 70–1
ii. 657 666–7
iii. 516 294–5, 564–5
vii. 470–2 60–1
ix. 578–80 32–3
ix. 719 696–7
ix. 1040–1 104–5
ix. 1055–6 104–5
ix. 1063 104–5
x. 445–6 86–7
x. 477–8 28–9
x. 490–1 86–7
x. 507–8 28–9
x. 542–3 88–9
Lucretius: *De rerum natura*, vi. 740–1 592–3

Macrobius:
Commentarii, i. 6. 55 50–1
ii. 4. 14 76–7, 158–9
ii. 11. 8–12 48–9
Saturnalia, i. 9. 1–18 46 n.
i. 14. 5 46–7
Marcellinus: *Chronicon* (*PL* li. 926) 894 n.
Martial: *Epigrammata*, xiii. 85 655 n.
Martianus Capella:
De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, vi. 666 638 n.
vii. 738 51 n.
viii. 858–60 42–3
Matthew Paris: *Chronica maiora*, ii. 484–8 646 n.
Mirabilia urbis Romae:
c. 1 262–3
c. 2 262–5
c. 3 264–5
c. 4 264–5
c. 5 264–5
c. 6 266–7
c. 7 266–7
c. 9 264–5
c. 10 266–7
c. 11 372–5, 816–19
c. 14 266–7
c. 18 374–5
c. 19 268–9

Nennius:
Historia Brittonum, xxxii 756 n.
lxx 644 n.
lxxiv 636 n.
Nonius Marcellus: *De compendiosa doctrina*, i. 14. 5 592 n.

Optatus of Milevis: *De schismate donatistarum*, vi. 6 616 n.
Orderic Vitalis:
HE, viii. 17 337 n.
ix. 4 179 n.
ix. 11 595 n.
Origen:
Exegetica in Psalmos, lxxii 70 n.
In Gen. Hom., ii 157 n.
In Lucam Homilia, xiv. 10 40–1
Orosius:
Adversum paganos
i. *Prologus*, 3–5 60–1
i. 1. 5 356–7
i. 2. 1 176–7
i. 2. 2–3 178–9
i. 2. 4–5 178–9, 236–7
i. 2. 5 238–9
i. 2. 6 178–9

Orosius, *Adversum paganos* (*cont.*):
i. 2. 7 178–9, 236–7
i. 2. 8–11 180–1
i. 2. 13–15 182–3
i. 2. 15 182–3
i. 2. 16 184–5
i. 2. 17–19 192–3
i. 2. 20 194–5
i. 2. 21–2 198–9
i. 2. 21 196–9
i. 2. 23–4 198–9, 492–3
i. 2. 25 200–1, 492–3
i. 2. 26 232–3
i. 2. 27–8 210–11
i. 2. 28–33 212–13
i. 2. 34 214–15
i. 2. 35 224–5
i. 2. 41–7 226–7
i. 2. 47 190–1
i. 2. 48–50 230–1
i. 2. 52–3 236–7
i. 2. 53 242–3
i. 2. 55 246–7
i. 2. 56 246–7
i. 2. 57 246–7
i. 2. 58 246–7
i. 2. 59 248–9
i. 2. 60 242–3, 252–3
i. 2. 61–2 254–5
i. 2. 63 286–7
i. 2. 64–5 292–3
i. 2. 66 344–5
i. 2. 67–8 298–9
i. 2. 69–74 302–3
i. 2. 76 304–5
i. 2. 78 324–5
i. 2. 80–1 308–9
i. 2. 83–6 314–15
i. 2. 87 316–17
i. 2. 88–9 316–17
i. 2. 90 318–19
i. 2. 92 318–19
i. 2. 93 320–1
i. 2. 94 320–1, 524–5
i. 2. 96 326–7
i. 2. 97 328–9
i. 2. 98 328–9, 330–1, 332–3
i. 2. 99–100 332–3
i. 2. 100 334–5
i. 2. 101–2 342–3
i. 2. 103 344–5
i. 2. 104 344–5
i. 4. 1–8 128–9
i. 4. 1–2 8–9
i. 4. 1 172–3
i. 4. 4–5 172–3
i. 4. 4 196–7
i. 12. 2 172–3
i. 19. 1 128–9
i. 19. 2 172–3
i. 19. 4–6 192–3
i. 19. 6–10 364–5
i. 20. 1–4 128–9
ii. 1. 4–6 168–9
ii. 1. 6 174–5
ii. 4. 1–2 358–9
ii. 4. 1 122–3, 406–7
ii. 6. 8–10 196–7
ii. 14. 1 334–5
ii. 19. 5–11 176–7, 286–7, 408–9
ii. 19. 10–11 176–7
ii. 19. 13–14 176–7
iii. 20. 2–3 64–5
v. 15. 5—16.7 840–1
v. 23. 11 140–1
vi. 22. 2 372–3
vii. 3. 4 372–3
vii. 4. 4 126–7
vii. 4. 5 376–7
vii. 4. 7–11 376–7
vii. 4. 7 606–7
vii. 13. 3–5 378–9
vii. 14. 2–3 378–9
vii. 22. 6–7 378–9
vii. 23. 4 378–9
vii. 25. 5 380–1
vii. 25. 15–16 380–1
vii. 32. 6 382–3
vii. 32. 11–12 238–9, 380–1
vii. 33. 10 382–3
vii. 34. 2 382–3
vii. 34. 5–7 382–3
vii. 37. 4 382–3
vii. 37. 8–9 384–5
vii. 37. 15 382–3
vii. 38 384–5
vii. 39 384–5
vii. 40. 2 384–5
vii. 40. 4 416–17
vii. 43. 7–8 384–5
vii. 43. 9 384–5
vii. 43. 10 384–5
Ovid:
Ars Amatoria, iii. 653 392–3
Ex Ponto, i. 1. 1 236–7
i. 2. 117 826–7
i. 5. 6 514–15
i. 8. 11 240–1
iv. 3. 49 312–13
iv. 8. 83–4 241 n.
iv. 10. 38 239 n.
Fasti, i. 216 908–9
iv. 54 354–5
iv. 305 602 n.
iv. 360–6 286 n.
Heroides, x. 1 28–9
Met., i. 5–9 34–5
i. 5 36–7
i. 19–23 36–7
i. 26–7 22–3
i. 28–31 38–9
i. 36 36–7
i. 38–41 38–9
i. 45–51 68–9
i. 52–6 52–3
i. 54–5 78–9
i. 60–6 52–3
i. 61 204–5
i. 73 100–1
i. 76–81 58–9
i. 84–6 58–9
i. 101–2 38–9
i. 107 38–9
ii. 1 266–7
ii. 542–632 748 n.
v. 552 682 n.
viii. 611–724 756 n.
xiii. 785 826–7
xv. 244–51 40–1
xv. 392–4 198–9, 708–9

Passio Sancti Thomae Apostoli, pp. 133–4
492–3
p. 133 182–3, 490–1
p. 140 182–3, 490–1
p. 159 608 n.
Paul the Deacon:
Historia Langobardorum, i. 1–3 834–5
i. 4 862–5
i. 5 864–5
i. 6 864–5
i. 7–8 286–9
i. 22–7 840–3
ii. 1–8 842–5
ii. 5 286–9
ii.14–16 256–7
ii. 16 270–1
ii. 17 231 n.
ii. 18 273 n., 639 n.
ii. 20–22 258–61
ii. 20 259 n., 260–1
ii. 22 260–1
ii. 23 260–1
ii. 26 389 n.
ii. 28 842–3
iii. 4–12 844–5
iv. 50 389 n.
vi. 27 392 n.
vi. 28 392 n.
Pausanias, i. 26. 7 567 n.
ii. 31 628 n.
vii. 5. 5–8 602 n.
Peter the Chanter: *Verbum abbreviatum*,
85 642 n.
Peter Comestor: *Historia scholastica*:
Genesis: (*Gen.*)
c. 1 18–19, 22–3, 24–5, 26–7, 28–9
c. 2 34–5
c. 3 34–5, 36–7
c. 4 20–1, 22–3, 24–5, 26–7, 36–7,
74–5, 908–9
c. 5 36–7, 38–9
c. 6 40–1, 42–3, 44–5, 46–7, 50–1
c. 7 52–3, 56–7, 58–9, 62–3, 96–7
c. 8 54–5
c. 9 56–9
c. 11 70–1, 72–3, 76–7
c. 12 56–7, 58–9
c. 13 66–7, 82–3, 94–5, 130–1, 490–1
c. 14 72–3
c. 16 66–7
c. 21 86–7
c. 22 84–5
c. 24 82–3, 84–5, 86–7, 92–3, 94–5,
102–3, 200–1
c. 25 102–3
c. 26 102–3
c. 27 102–3, 104–5
c. 28 30–1, 104–5, 106–7, 896–7
c. 29 102–3, 110–11, 140–1
c. 30 36–7, 106–7, 142–4, 144–5
c. 31 144–5, 152–3
c. 32 154–5, 156–7
c. 33 48–9, 154–5, 158–9, 160–1
c. 34 72–3, 76–7, 158–9, 160–1
c. 35 76–7, 78–9, 124–5, 160–1
c. 36 46–7, 122–3, 128–9
c. 37 108–9, 166–7, 170–1, 530–1,
532–3, 536–7, 618–19
c. 38 118–19, 196–7
cc. 39–40 116–117
c. 39 110–11, 116–17, 118–19, 194–5

Peter Comestor, Genesis (*cont.*):
c. 41 108–9, 204–5, 530–1, 538–9
c. 42 202–3
c. 44 110–11, 132–3, 206–7, 494–5
c. 45 200–1, 206–7
c. 46 112–13, 114–15, 116–17, 134–5
c. 47 110–11
c. 48 200–1, 510–11, 538–9
c. 49 134–5
c. 50 134–5
c. 51 134–5
c. 53 76–7, 570–1, 794–5, 870–1, 880–1
c. 54 796–7
c. 55 130–1
c. 56 136–7
c. 57 496–7
c. 58 500–1, 538–9
c. 59 200–1
c. 60 136–7, 492–3
c. 62 198–9, 204–5
c. 64 128–9, 172–3, 364–5
c. 65 208–9
c. 66 798–9
c. 68 136–7, 200–1
c. 70 136–7
c. 73 204–5
c. 76 138–9, 330–1
c. 79 492–3
c. 80 510–11, 882–3
c. 82 510–11
c. 84 510–11
c. 85 200–1, 202–3
c. 86 128–9
c. 87 94–5
c. 98 212–13, 798–9
c. 99 124–5
c. 100 510–11
Exodus: (*Exod.*)
c. 4 138–9
c. 5 138–9, 798–9
c. 6 212–13, 798–9, 800–1
cc. 7–8 510–11
c. 13 88–9
c. 24 118–19, 122–3, 130–1, 254–5
c. 25 48–9
c. 27 512–13, 800–1
c. 29 512–13
c. 30 512–13, 514–15
c. 31 138–9, 514–15, 810–11
c. 32 514–15
c. 33 514–15
c. 34 614–15
c. 35 514–15
c. 38 516–17
c. 39 516–17
c. 46 156–7, 516–17
c. 47 804–5
c. 58 48–9
c. 64 806–7
c. 65 800–1
Deuteronomy: (*Deut.*)
c. 2 152–3
c. 3 518–19
c. 4 518–19, 808–9
Leviticus: (*Lev.*)
c. 14 140–1
c. 22 616–17
Numbers: (*Num.*)
c. 2 134–5
c. 25 808–9
c. 28 808–9
c. 51 516–17
c. 52 518–19
Joshua: (*Jos.*)
c. 3 520–1
c. 14 200–1
Judges: (*Iud.*)
c. 3 206–7
c. 5 132–3, 350–1
c. 6 328–9, 352–3
c. 7 228–9, 352–3
c. 8 120–1, 352–3
c. 9 120–1, 352–3
c. 10 352–3
c. 11 122–3, 352–3
c. 12 354–5
c. 13 354–5
c. 14 354–5
c. 15 354–5, 358–9
c. 16 134–5, 354–5
c. 20 354–5
1 Kings (1 Samuel): (*I Reg.*)
c. 7 354–5, 356–7
c. 11 134–5
c. 28 354–5
3 Kings (1 Kings): (*III Reg.*)
c. 3 354–5
c. 7 118–19, 122–3
c. 8 790–1
c. 9 544–5
c. 26 658–9
c. 27 354–5
c. 30 354–5, 356–7
c. 32 354–5, 358–9
c. 40 354–5

4 Kings (2 Kings): (*IV Reg.*)
c. 17 354–5
c. 18 358–9
c. 19 354–5
c. 21 354–5
c. 24 354–5
c. 25 122–3, 360–1
c. 31 122–3
c. 32 360–1
c. 33 124–5, 262–3, 360–1
c. 34 362–3
c. 37 362–3
c. 38 362–3
c. 39 362–3
c. 46 124–5
Judith
c. 1 364–5
c. 2 364–5
c. 3 128–9, 364–5
c. 4 364–5
c. 5 366–7
c. 10 366–7
Esther
c. 1 120–1, 366–7
c. 2 366–7
c. 3 634–5
c. 4 84–5, 366–7
c. 5 366–7
c. 7 792–3, 794–5
Daniel: (*Dan.*)
c. 2 170–1
c. 5 364–5
c. 10 48–9
c. 19 126–7, 364–5
c. 20 364–5
2 Maccabees: (*II Machab.*)
cc. 3–4 370–1
cc. 8–9 370–1
c. 8 652–3
c. 9 370–1
c. 16 372–3, 656–7
c. 25 896–7
Gospels: (*Evan.*)
c. 4 68–9
c. 6 600–1
c. 7 40–1
c. 17 612–13
c. 18 70–1
c. 31 44–5, 582–3
c. 34 40–1
c. 40 654–5, 732–3
c. 47 886–7
c. 61 118–19, 650–1
c. 63 116–17, 118–19
c. 72 648–9
c. 73 494–5
c. 74 886–7
c. 79 220–1, 882–3
c. 81 658–9, 660–1
c. 82 26–7
c. 85 652–3, 884–5
c. 86 886–7
c. 94 332–3
c. 173 766–7
Peter Lombard: *Liber sententiarum*, ii. 17. 5 325 n.
Photius: *Bibliotheca*, lxxx 584 n.
Plato:
Euthydemus, 297C 121 n.
Symposium, 203A 726–7
Timaeus, 24E–25D 322–3
35A 29 n.
41A–B 56–7
43D 56–7
69–72 60 n.
Pliny:
Hist. nat.:
ii. 97. 210 566–7
ii. 98. 211 594–5
iii. 4. 31 286–7
iv. 12. 89 230–1
iv. 16. 104 638–9
v. 1. 18 640–1
v. 8. 43 212–13
v. 8. 46 700–1
v. 10. 58 798–9
vii. 2 186–7
vii. 2. 12 230–1
vii. 56. 192 120–1
viii. 30–1 186–7
viii. 30. 72–3 188–9
viii. 33. 78 636–7
viii. 41. 97 800–1
viii. 64. 154 740–1
viii. 71. 184–6 138–9
ix. 2 678–9
ix. 12 190–1
ix. 24 654–5
x. 31. 62 750–1
x. 40. 75 800–1
x. 95. 204 636–7
xi. 109. 261 286–7
xiii. 14. 56 568–9
xx. 1. 2 562–3
xx. 51. 133 636–7
xxii. 25. 81 342–3

Pliny, *Hist. nat.* (*cont.*):
  xxiv. 1. 3 562–3
  xxiv. 38. 59 798–9
  xxix. 29. 92 342–3
  xxxi. 41. 86 564–5
  xxxii. 12. 25 636–7
  xxxiii. 30. 94 562–3
  xxxiv. 18. 41 328–9
  xxxvi. 30. 137–8 194–5
  xxxvi. 53. 174 562–3
  xxxvii. 15. 61 562–3
  xxxvii. 16. 63 614–15
  xxxvii. 34. 113 706–7
  xxxvii. 54. 142 616–17
  xxxvii. 54. 146 566–7
  xxxvii. 60. 165 616–17
  xxxvii. 61. 181 570–1
  xxxvii. 67 570–1
Plutarch: *Alex.*, 77 848 n.
Polemius Silvius:
  Laterculus, cc. 1–2 522–3
    cc. 3–4 524–5
    cc. 5–7 522–3
    c. 8 492–3
    c. 9 520–1
    c. 10 520–1
    c. 11 524–5
Pomponius Mela:
  De chorographia, i. 2. 4 231 n.
    i. 4. 3 213 n.
    i. 9 180 n.
    ii. 74 287 n.
    iii. 5. 1 231 n.
    iii. 7 186 n.
    iii. 7. 60 858–9
    iii. 62 698 n.
    viii. 48 701 n.
  Provinciale Romanum:
    pp. 273–6 216–25
    pp. 264–9, 271–2, 276–8 272–85
    pp. 269–71 298–305
    pp 271–2 312–15
    p. 272 346–7
Prudentius: *Cathemerinon*, vi 746–7
Pseudo-Abdias, i5v 490 n.
  i8v 490 n.
  k2v–l5r 491 n.
  k2v–k3r 490 n.
  l3 r and v 195 n.
  m3r 490 n.
  m8r 183n., 490 n.
  n5r–n6r 491 n.
Pseudo-Ambrose: *Sermo 41 de Salomone* (*PL* xvii. 698) 604 n., 651 n.
Pseudo-Hugh of St Victor: *De bestiis et aliis rebus* 698 n.
Pseudo-Honorius of Autun: *De philosophia mundi*, iii. 16 (*PL* clxxii. 82) 638–9
Pseudo-Methodius:
  Revelationes, cc. 1–2 146–7
    c. 3 108–9, 166–7
Pseudo-Philo: *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, v. 8 170–1
Pseudo-Turpin:
  Historia, cc. 3–4 878–81
    c. 20 150–1
    c. 28 735 n.

Rabanus Maurus:
  Comment. in Matthaeum, i. 1 544 n.
  Comment. in Paral. i. 1 530–1, 532–3, 534–5, 536–7
  De computo, c. 28 48–9
    c. 32 48–9
    c. 36 47 n.
    c. 39 45 n.
    c. 96 529 n., 530 n., 541 n., 543 n., 545 n., 546 n.
  De universo, x. 9 529 n., 530 n., 540 n., 543 n., 545 n., 546 n.
    x. 14 530 n., 541 n., 543 n., 546 n.
    xii. 5 330–1
    xxii. 4 286–7
  In Genesim, ii. 6 156–7
  Martyrologium, December (*PL* cx. 1186) 246–7
Ralph de Diceto:
  Abb. Chron., p. 11 644 n.
    p. 13 566 n., 636 n.
    p. 14 636 n.
  Ymagines historiarum, p. 281 186 n.
Ralph of Coggeshall: *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 118–20 645 n.
  pp. 121–4 xxvii
  p. 122 xxxvi
Ratramnus: *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, c. 88 601 n.
Roger de Hoveden:
  Chronica, ii. 302–3 688 n.
    iii. 158–9 330 n.
Rupert of Deutz: *De Trinitate*, In Deut. ii. c. 7 77 n.

Sacramentum Gregorianum (p. 95, no. 166) 600–1, 920–1
Sallust:
  Bellum Catilinae, 6 262–3
  Historiae, iii. 65 238 n.
  Iugurtha, xviii. 8 618–19
Seneca: *Quaest. nat.*, v. 17. 53 n.
Servius:
  Commentarii, ii. 3 805 n.
    ii. 62 352–3
    ii. 201 261 n.
    ii. 592 238 n.
    v. 118 815 n.
    vi. 288 815 n.
Sidonius Apollinaris: *Carmina*, 5. 40–43 228–9

Solinus:
  Collect., iv. 3 343 n.
    iv. 6 343 n.
    v. 18 564 n.
    vii. 13 567 n.
    viii. 6 72 n.
    xxii 309 n.
    xxii. 9 638 n.
    xxiii. 14 284–5
    xxvii. 28 697 n.
    xxviii. 29 696 n.
    xxxi. 5 701 n.
    xxxii. 14 799 n.
    xxxii. 32–3 800 n.
    xxxii. 34 569 n.
    xxxv. 8 570 n.
    xxxvii. 16 194 n.
    xxxvii. 21 571 n.
    xxxvii. 27 571 n.
    lii. 57 563 n.
Strabo:
  Geographica, iv. 5. 4 186 n.
    xiv. 3. 9 811 n.
Suetonius:
  Aug., c. 68 286 n.
  Julius, c. 88 656 n.
  Tib., c. 32 126–7
  Titus, c. 8 378–9
Sulpicius Severus:
  Dialogues, i. 3 618–19
    i. 4. 4 618–19
    i. 13. 1 624–5
    i. 13. 4 624–5
    i. 13. 7 624–5
    i. 16 622–3
    i. 17. 2 624–5
    i. 19. 1–6 628–9
Symmachus: *Epistolae*, i. 7 724 n.

Tacitus: *Agricola*, c. 17 310 n.
  Hist. v. 7 570 n.
Tertullian:
  Apologeticum, c. 5 376 n.
  Carmen adv. Marcionem, iii. 196–8 70 n.
  De poenitentia, xii 588 n.
  De pudicitia, xi. 1 720 n.
Theodoric:
  Libellus de locis sanctis, c. 31 812–13
    c. 34 206–7, 810–11 n.
Theodosius the Deacon:
  De situ terrae sanctae, cc. 1–28 494–511
    c. 2 651 n.
    c. 7 649 n.
    c. 21 649 n.
Thomas of Cantimpré: *De apibus*, ii. 57 731 n.

Vincent of Beauvais:
  Speculum historiale, vi. 61 577 n., 578 n., 583 n.
    xii. 119–21 118 n.
    xix. 99 721 n.
  Speculum morale, iii. 27 743 n.
  Speculum naturale ii. 27 92 n.
    ii. 126–7 664 n.
    xvi. 48 750 n.
    xix. 65 717 n.
Virgil:
  Eclogues, iii. 103 714–15
    x. 77 302–3
  Aeneid, iii. 424–32 861 n.
    vi. 236 591 n.
    vi. 743–4 324–5
    vi. 767 174 n.
    viii. 313 262 n.
    viii. 335–41 122 n.
    x. 51 330–1
    x. 179 271 n.
    xii. 143 8 n.
Vitruvius, v. 12.5 586 n.
  x. 6. 1 586 n.

Walter Map:
  De nugis curialium, i. 11 337 n.
    i. 30 28 n.
    ii. 11–12 92 n.
    ii. 14 724 n.
    iv. 9 664 n.
    iv. 12 330 n.

Walter Map, *De nugis Curialium* (*cont.*):
  iv. 13 333 n., 337 n.
William of Auvergne: *De legibus*, c. 24 96–7
William of Malmesbury: *Gesta regum*, ii. 194 268–9
William of Newburgh:
  Historia rerum Anglicarum, i. Proemium lvi n.
  i. 27 645 n.
  i. 28 674 n.
William of Tyre:
  Historia rerum transmarinarum, ii. 7 179 n.
  xiv. 24 179 n.
  xx. 24 179 n.

Zosimus:
  Epistulae, i. 298–9
  vi. 298–9

GENERAL INDEX

Aachen:
  Louis's palace at 454–5
  collapse of portico at 862–3
  Christ's foreskin at 600–1
Aar, river 300–1
Aarhus, see of 282–3
Aaron, priest 4–9, 12–13, 112–13, 868–9
  quarrels with Moses 800–1
  rod of 516–17, 628 n.
  burial place of 208–9
Aaron, St 414–15, 424–5
Abana, river 200–1, 882–3
Abarim:
  mountains of 518–19
  Moses buried at 812–13
Abathanis, former name of Babylon 196–7, 526–7
Abdias, priest of Babylon, *see* Pseudo-Abdias
Abdon, judge of Israel 288–9, 354–5
Abd-al-Malik, Saracen king 448–9
  builds Dome of the Rock 898 n.
Abd-ar-Rahman, king of Spain 392–3, 446–7
Abel, son of Adam 102–3, 104–5, 140–1, 142–3, 206–7, 810 n.
Abel-mizraim 896 n.
Aberdeen, see of 312–13
Abgar, king of Edessa 202–3, 378–9
  letter to Christ 594–7, 608–9
  helped by the disciple Thaddaeus 598–9
Abibas, son of Gamaliel 894–5
Abijam, king of Judah 356–7
Abimelech, king of Gerar 130–1, 496–7
Abimelech, son of Gideon 120–1, 352–3
Abimelech, disciple of Jeremiah 500–1
Abinoam, father of Barak 888–9
ablative case, invented by Romans 140–1
Abraham:
  birth of 350n., 354–5, 364–5
  son of Terah 108–9, 538–9
  rescued from fire 108–9
  knowledge of astronomy 110–11
  came from Chaldaea 72–3, 95 n., 110–11, 132–3
  proclaims one God 96–7
  and Melchizedek 112–13, 888–9
  and year of jubilee 110–13
  God's covenant with 542–3
  and the Promised Land 510–11, 518–19
  name changed from Abram 134–5
  introduces circumcision 134–5
  dwells by the Oak of Mamre 206–7
  father of Isaac 136–7
  and 'Covenant of the Well' 496–7
  and sacrifice of Isaac 500–1
  finds tree of knowledge 659 n.
  marries Hagar 204–5
  at Damascus 132–3, 494–5, 866–7
  burial of 200–1 n., 220 n.
  Bosom of 96–7, 324–5, 364–5, 768–9
  in chronologies 350 n., 354–5, 364–5, 530–1, 540–3
Abrahamium 510–11
Abu Tahir, Saracen king 448–9
Abydos 252–3
Abyle, Mount 179 n., 320–1, 324–5, 524–5
Academy, Plato teaches at 248–9
Acalon, Italian city 260–1
Acaron, see of 218–19, 528–9
Accad, known as Nisibis 532–3
Accho, former name of Acre 221 n.
Aceldama, field of blood 892–3
Acerenza, Italian city 260–1, 280–1
Acerno, see of 280–1
Acerra, see of 283 n.
Acesinus, river 832–3
Achaea 246–7, 250–1, 522–3
  flood in 330–1
  pays tribute to Alexander the Great 366–7
Achaeus, Greek king 250–1
Acheron, former name of Hebron 206–7
Acherontia, Italian city 260–1
Achilles, 146–7, 248–9, 398–9
Achonry, see of 314–15
Acon, port in Bithynia 232–3
Aconitae, inhabitants of Acon 232–3
acorns, marine lix, 334–5
Acqui, see of 276–7
Acre, see of 222–3
  formerly Archis Ptolemaidis 528–9
  siege of xxviii, 578–9

Acrisius, Argive king 352–3
Acroceraunian Mountains 226–7, 246–7
Actaeans (Athenians) 250–1
Acte, former name of Athens 124–5
Actium, battle of 374–5
  promontory of 250–1
actors, as liars 14–15, 558–9, 562–3
Adah, wife of Lamech 106–7
Adalbert, king of Italy 456–7
Adam:
  formation of 56 n., 146–7, 206–7, 810 n.
  dominion over living things 64–5
  reigns in paradise 66–7
  and the Fall 84–5, 86–7, 102–3, 914–15, 916–17
  and the cross 658–9
  sons of 110–11, 140–3; *see also* Cain, Abel, Seth
  descendants of 144–5
  prophecy of 106–7
  death of 146–7
  burial place of 200–1 n.
  in chronologies 528–9, 888–9, 900–1
Adam of Bremen 638 n.
Adania, city in Spain 878–9
Adans, Mount 706–7
Adaspii, subjugated by Alexander the Great 832–3
Adda, river 256–7
Addai, Syriac name for Thaddaeus 594–5
Adela, sister of Henry I 436 n., 483 n.
Adela, mother of Philip II of France 472–3
Adelaide of Anjou 472 n.
Adhémar of Monteil, bishop of Le Puy 480 n.
Adiaon, see of 222–3
Admah, one of the 'cities of the plain' 76 n., 534–5
Adrason, see of 218–19, 224–5
Adrestae, subjugated by Alexander the Great 832–3
Adria, city and see of 258–9, 276–7, 328–9
Adrian I, pope:
  and Charlemagne 394 n.
  consecrates Pippin as king 395 n., 448 n.
Adrian IV, pope 458–9
  and monastery of Saint-Ruf 112–13, 458–9
Adrianople, city of 240–1
Aduatuci, tribe in Gaul 292–3
Aega, Frankish mayor 438–9
Aegean Sea 130–1, 246–7, 252–3, 328–9, 332–3
Aegialeia, another name for Sicyonia 252–3
Aegialeus, Sicyonian king 168–9, 252–3
Aegyptus, brother of Danaus 208–9
Aelfgifu, mother of Edward the Confessor 478 n.
Aelia Capitolina, Roman colony on the site of Jerusalem 202–5, 378–9
Aemathia, name for Macedonia 250–1
Aemathus, Macedonian king 250–1
Aeneas:
  flees Troy 288–9
  father of Ascanius 306–7
  rules in Latium 354–5, 356–7, 396–7
  supposedly founds Rome 262–3
  descends into the Underworld 591 n.
Aeneas the Hebrew, translator 794–5
Aeolia, floating island 638 n.
Aeolian Isles 342–3
Aeolian, Greek dialect 530–1, 816–17
Aeolus, king of the winds 342–3, 627 n.
Aeolus, founder of Acalon 260–1
Aequum Tuticum, founded by Diomedes 261 n.
Aesculapius 132–3
Aesop lv
Affra, see of 220–1
Afili, subdued by Alexander the Great 832–3
Africa, continent of 166–7, 176–7, 178–9
  regions and cities of 180–1, 314–23, 524–5, 878–9
African Sea 316–17, 334–5
Africans, craftiness of 286–7
  speak Latin 538–9
Agabiba, island of 878–9
Agamemnon, king of Mycenae 354–5
Aganippus, king of Gaul 406–7
agate, powers of 616–17
Agatha, St:
  buried in Catania 334–5
  cemetery of 266–7
Agaunum, now St-Maurice-en-Valais 300–1, 632 n., 639 n.
Agde, see of 300–1
Agen, see of 300–1
Agenor:
  father of Cadmus 208–9, 250–1
  father of Cilix 234–5
  father of Europa 236–7
Agila, Gothic king 386–7
Agnes, St, cemetery of 266–7
agriculture 136–7
Agrigento, see of 282–3
  salt of 564–5

Agriophagitae, name for the Cyclopes 188–9
Agrippa, baths of 264–5
Agroctae, people of India 186–7
Ahasuerus (Xerxes I), Persian king 365 n.
Ahasuerus (Artaxerxes II), Persian king 120–1
Ahaz, king of Judah 360–1, 816–17
Ahaziah, king of Judah 358–9
Aiguille, Mont 640 n.
Aila, now Aqaba 208–9
Aimon, Christian martyr 498–9
Aio, Scandinavian leader 834–5
airships 80–1
Aire–sur–l'Adour, see of 300–1
Aistulf, count of Langres 736–7
Aix, county and province of 302–3, 338–9, 524–5, 620–1, 638–9, 640–1, 710–11, 738–9, 752–3, 822–3
Ajaccio, see of 278–9
Akabah, region of Libya 180 n.
Alan, king of Armorica 434–5
Alania, region of Scythia 236–7, 238–9, 522–3
Alans, barbarian tribe 290–1, 382–3, 384–5
  conquered by Justinian 840–1
Alanus, river 238–9
Alaric I, sacks Rome 176–7, 384–5, 402–3
Alaric II, killed by Clovis 292–3, 386–7, 436–7
Alarvae, subdued by Charlemagne 878–9
Alatri, see of 278–9
Alba, see of 276–7
Alba, capital of Roman kingdom 404–5
Alban, St 414–15
Albanactus, son of Brutus 306–7, 402–3
Albanese, see of 272–3
Albani, tribe near the Causcasus 224–5, 227, 414–15
Albania, region in Scythia 230–1, 522–3
Albano, see of 270–1
Albany, region of Britain 306–7, 402–3, 412–13, 414–15, 426–7, 524–5
Albara, see of 222–3
Albenga, see of 276–7
Albenia, city in Parthia 194–5
Albert, antipope 457 n.
Albi, see of (France) 300–1
Albi, see of (Syria) 224–5
Albia, region of Germany 242–3
Albigensians:
  attacked by Gervase xlviii, 28–35
  crusade against 778–9, 784–5
  reject invocation of saints 783 n.
Albinus, procurator of Judaea 376–7
Albion, island of Great Britain 148–9, 398–9
Alboin, Lombard king 288–9, 388–9, 840–3, 844–5
Albula, name for the river Tiber 262–3
Albunea, a Sibyl 816–17
Alcides (Hercules), founded Olympic Games 352–3
Alcoror, city in Spain 878–9
Alcuin, on sons of Noah 166–7
Alderney, island of 864–5
Aldobrandeschi, feudal lords in Tuscany 809 n.
Aldoin, Lombard king 840–3
Aldroenus, king of Armorica 150–1, 416–17
Alemanni, barbarian tribe 284–5, 378–9, 396–7, 438–9, 840–1
Alemannia 240–1, 286–7, 446–7
  princes of elect emperor liii, 450–1
  sees of 274–7
Aleppo, see of 218–19
  also called Hierapolis 526–7
Aleria, see of 278–9
Ales, see of 346–7
Alès, Pelet Tower at 900–1
  seigneurs of 901 n.
Alessandria, besieged by Frederick Barbarossa 460–1
Aleus, inventor of dice 140–1
Alexander the Great:
  exploits of 64–5, 82–5, 170–1, 366–7
  born in Macedonia 244–5
  conquers Egypt 211 n.
  founds Alexandria 210–11, 366–7
  campaign against Darius 168–9, 194–5, 634 n., 810–11
  invades India 172–3, 832–3, 850–1, 856–9
  altars of 174–5, 238–9
  boundary stones of 178–9, 238–9
  camp of in Africa 180–1
  and Gog and Magog 184–5
  rules the Jews 870–1
  and *Letter of Pharasmanes to Hadrian* 694 n.
  and *Letter to Aristotle* 65 n., 83–5 nn., 846–61
  death of 168–71, 848–9, 860–1, 874–5

Alexander III, pope 458–9, 790–1
  founds Alessandria 460–1
  at Council of Venice xlvii, 460–1
  and image of Christ 607 n.
  Sicilian envoy of 804 n.
  death of 462–3
Alexander Janneus, king and high priest in Judaea 370–1
Alexander Severus:
  baths of 264–5
  theatre of 266–7
Alexandra Salina, wife of Jewish high priest 370–1
Alexandria, town north of Antioch 204–5
Alexandria, founded by Alexander the Great 210–11, 366–7
  geographical location of 180–1, 182–3, 196–7, 520–1
  visited by Hilarion 210–11
  and river Nile 182–3, 212–13
  see of 216–17
  mentioned 100–1
Alexandria, Sea of 326–7
Alexandros, see of 224–5
Alfonso II of Aragon xxx, 714–15, 739 n., 740–1, 786 n.
Alfonso VIII of Castile 489 n.
Alfred, translates laws of Belinus 406–9
Alfrid, son of Oswi 432–3
Alghero, see of 346–7
al-Hakam I, Saracen ruler 454–5
Alife, see of 280–1
Aliscamps, Les xxxiii, xlv, 295 n., 734–9
Allectus, governor of Britain 414–15
Allophyli (Philistines) 202–3, 540 n.
Almería, city of 304–5, 878–9
Almon-diblathaim, encampment of Israelites 518–19
alphabet, letters of 120–1, 122–3
  invented by Carmentis 122–3, 352–3
  Greek 351–3
  Phoenician 132–3
Alphaeus, father of apostle James 884–5
Alpheus, river 270–1
Alphonse, count of Toulouse 478–9, 784–5
Alphonse-Jourdain, count of Toulouse 785 n.
Alps, source of the Danube 238–9, 240–1, 242–3
  mark beginning of Italy 254–5, 258–9, 638–9, 642–3
  King's Mountain 844–5
alum, and Dead Sea 870–1
Amalaric, son-in-law of Clovis 386–7
Amalasuntha, daughter of Theodoric the Ostrogoth 387 n.
Amalbert, Frankish nobleman 440–1
Amalek, defeated by Moses 508–9
Amalekites 198–9, 352–3
Amalfi, see of 282–3
Amalthea, Cumaean Sibyl 816–17
Amanus Mountains 166–7, 224–5, 234–5, 530–1, 532–3
Amasia, city of 232–3
Amathus, son of Canaan 534–5
Amaziah, king of Judah 358–9
Amazons:
  customs of 228–9
  abode of 230–1, 232–3, 520–1
  build Ephesus 234–5
Ambiani, Gallic tribe 292–3
Ambrosius, *see* Aurelius Ambrosius
Amdan, Middle Eastern city 710–11
Amelia, see of 278–9
Amesbury 152–3, 610–11
Amiens, see of 298–9
Amingus, Frankish duke 843 n.
Amiternum, Italian city 258–9
Ammon, mythical king 228 n.
Ammonites 198–9, 519 n.
amomum juice 198–9, 706–7, 708–9
Amon, king of Judah 362–3
Amorites 504–5, 518–19
Amos, burial place of 894–5
Amphibalus, teacher of St Alban 414–15
  monastery of 416–17
Ampurias, see of 346–7
Amram or Ambram, father of Moses 900–1
Amraphel 112–13
amulets, used to raise the dead 118–19
Anacletus II, antipope 464 n.
Anagni, see of 278–9
Anak, giant 146–7
Anamim, tribe descended from Mizraim 534–5
Ananias, courier of Abgar 594–5
Ananias, translator of *Evangelium Nicodemi* 795 n.
Anastasius Bibliothecarius, translator 607 n.
Anastasius I the Silentiary, eastern emperor 386–7
  builds church of John the Baptist 506–7
Anastasius II, eastern emperor 392–3
Anastasius IV, pope 459 n.

Anathoth, birthplace of Jeremiah 498–9
Anaulf, Persian emperor 388–9
Anavarza, see and city of 224–5, 228–9
Anaxagoras 120–1
Anbasa, Saracen king 444–5
Ancona, March of 278 n.
Ancona, city and see of 254–5, 278–9
Ancona, place on Mount Olivet 502–3
Ancri, and Alexander the Great 834–5
Ancus Marcius, king of Rome 262–3, 362–3
Ancyra, city of 234–5
Andalusians, subdued by Charlemagne 878–9
Andragius, British king 410–11
Andrew, St:
  birthplace of 496–7, 884–5
  releases St Matthew from prison 506–7
  and Patras 250–1
Andria, see of 280–1
Androgeus, British ruler 410–11
Anemurium, see of 224–5
Aner, associate of Abraham 206–7
angels, good and bad 36–7, 96–7, 776–7
  Augustine on 724–7, 728–9
  Comestor on 766–7
  bodies of 40–1, 726–7
  created in the empyrean 20–1, 58–9
  immortality of 60–1
  celebrate feast of St Michael 780–1
  have sex with women 146–7
  bury body of St Catherine 625–7, 812–13
  fallen angels 664–5, 730–1, 912 n.
  destroying angels 712–17
  as intermediaries 728–9
Anglona, see of 280–1
Angoulême, see of 300–1
Anguselus, king of Scotland 424–5, 426–7, 428–9
Ani, see of 222–3
Anicium 574–5
Anjou 288–9, 424–5
Anna, sister of King Arthur 420–1, 423 n.
Anne, mother of the Virgin 886–7
Annot, castle of 594 n.
annus, etymology of 46–7, 50–1
anointing of priests and kings 4–7
  ceases in Judaea 376–7
  of the pope 452–3
Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury 478–9, 775 n.
Ansemund, Gothic king 446–7
Antalya, also known as Satalia 232 n., 329 n.
Antaras, see of 222–3
  also called Tortosa 526–7
Antarctic, uninhabitable 68–9
Antenor, legendary Trojan 148–9, 290–1, 398–9, 402–3
Anteras, see of 222–3
Anthohion, Indian city 184–5
Antibes, see of 302–3
Antichrist, born from a virgin 96–7, 796–7
  to be brought up in Chorazin 884–5
  will bring darkness 546–7
Antigonus, ruler of Asia 366–7, 874–5
Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia 836–7
Antioch, city of 196–7, 200–1, 204–5, 318–19, 492–3, 708–9
  founded by Seleucus 368–9
  patriarchate of 220–1, 222–3, 228–9
  church of founded by Peter 412–13
  captured in the First Crusade 480–1
  known as Reblata 528–9, 882–3
Antiocha, Indian city 184–5
Antiochus I Soter 874–5
Antiochus II Theos 875 n.
Antiochus IV Epiphanes 171 n., 368–9
Antiochus VII Sidetes 866–7
Antipatris, see of 218–19
antipodeans 216–17, 645 n.
antipopes 456–7, 458–9
Antochion, Indian city 490–1
Antonia, fortress built by Herod 896–7
Antonine Bridge, Rome 264–5, 266–7
Antoninus Pius, Roman emperor 378–9
  baths of 264–5
  column of 266–7
Antony, Mark, obtains title of king for Herod 376 n.
  as triumvir 656–7
  fights Parthians 872–3
  fights Augustus at Actium 250–1, 374–5
Antony, St, of Egypt 62–3, 380–1
  in desert 98–101, 210–11
  prayer of 746–7
ants, gold-hoarding 698–9
Aon, spring sacred to the Muses 250–1
Aosta, see of 300–1
Apamea, see and city of 222–3, 368–9
Apennine Alps 258–9, 639 n.
Aper, river (Wieprz) 244–5
ape-people 710–11
Aphranes, son of Hagar 316–17

Aphroditon, Egyptian town 210–11
Apis, son of Phoroneus 138–9
Apocalypse of Ezra 794 n.
Apodoma, name of a church of St Michael 280–1
Apollinaris, patriarch of Alexandria 216–17
Apollo, as archer 712 n.
  temple in Rome 268–9; at Delphi 838–9
Apollonia, city in Cyrenaica 316–17
Apollonius the Hermit, monastery of 506–7
apparitions, at midday and full moon 337 n.
  visible only from a distance 668–9
  powerless at Les Aliscamps 736–7
Appia Peloponnensis, region of 252–3
Appian Gate, *see* Porta Appia
apples, of the Pentapolis 570–1, 797 n.
Apuleius, on demons 726–9
  on gods and human beings 726–7
Apulia, province of Italy 258–9, 260–1, 270–1, 522–3
  sees of 280–1
Aqaba, formerly Roman port of Aila 208 n.
Aquileia, Italian region 254–5, 522–3
  etymology of 202–3
  and Pennine Mountain 252–3
  patriarchate of 274–5
Aquino, see of 282–3
Aquitaine 286–7, 292–3, 294–5, 298–9, 302–3
  duchy of held by Otto IV 396–7
Arabia:
  topography of 196–9, 208–9, 492–3, 808–9, 882–3
  cities of 504–5
  desert of 216–17, 796–7, 868–9, 880–1
  and Mount Abarim 812–13
  Nabataeans located there 196–9, 205–6
  known as Saba 532–3
  serpents of 696–7
Arabian Gulf 214–15, 216–17
Arabs 370–1, 884–5
  in Spain 392–3
  defeated at Poitiers 394–5
  see also Saracens
Arachi, see of 222–3
Arachosa, Parthian town 192–3
Arachosia, region of Parthia 192–3, 492–3
Aradus, island off Phoenicia 534–5
Aram, son of Shem 536–7
Ararat, Mount 226–9
Aras, see of 222–3
Aratica, Greek city 254–5
Arator 842–3
Araxes, river 192–3, 228–9, 520–1
Arbaces, *see* Arbatus
Arbatus, prefect of Sardanapalus 128–9
  assassinates Sardanapalus 172–3, 358–9
Arbis, river 192–3
Arborea, see of 346–7
Arca, city near Mount Lebanon 534–5
Arcadia, island of 254–5
Arcadia, province of Egypt 520–1
Arcadia or Arcas, region of Greece 250–1, 252–3, 566–7
Arcadius, Roman emperor 374–5, 382–3, 384–5
arches, of Rome 264–5
Archgallo, British king 408–9
Archim, Arabian city, later Petra 808–9
Archis Ptolemaidis, see of 222–3
  alternative names of 528–9
Archmail, British king 410–11
Arcimedia, city of 710–11
Arctic, uninhabitable 68–9
Ardagh, see of 314–15
Ardashir, Sassanid emperor 609 n.
Ardfert, see of 314–15
Arelas Constantina, now Arles 526–7
Arethusa, see of 222–3
Arezzo, see of 278–9
Arfaxat, magician 490–1
Argare, island of 184–5
Argens, river 822–3
Argentina, ancient name of Gap 528–9
Argives, kingdom of 352–3
Argos, founded by Bacchus 124–5
Argyll, see of 312–13
Ariano, see of 280–1
Ariano Irpino, as ancient Aequum Tuticum 261 n.
Arimaspi, Indian people 186–7
Arimathaea, city known as Ramah 890–1
Arindilla, see of 218–19
Ariobarzanes, Mount 226–7
Aripert, Lombard king 392–3
Aristeas, see *Letter of Aristeas*
Aristobulus, king and priest of Israel 370–1
Aristotle:
  writings known to Gervase xliii
  on creation of the world 28–9
  Alexander's letter to 82–5, 707 n., 846–60
  pupil of Plato 120–1
  gloss on *Topica* and *Elenchi* 186–7
  bones of 805 n.
arithmetic, known to Egyptians 132–3

ark, *see* Noah's ark
ark of the covenant 402–3, 498–9, 516–17, 520–1, 890–1
Arles:
  Gervase's associations with xxviii–xxxiii, xxxv, xxxvi, xxxviii, xxxix, xlv, xlvi
  and the Arabs 392–3, 394–5, 446–7
  formerly Arelas Constantina 526–7
  as capital city 296–7, 302–3, 564–5, 734–5
  captured by Saxons 844–5
  territory of Henry VI 460–1
  territory of Otto IV 338–9, 570–1, 636–7, 752–3, 824–5
  mentioned 294–5, 524–5, 620–1, 626–7, 638–9, 640–1, 648–9, 660–1, 664–5, 690–1, 710–11, 732–3, 734–5, 738–9, 746–7, 748–9
Arles-sur-Tech, see of 300–1
Arm of St George 178–9, 232–3, 240–1, 460–1
Armagh, see of 314–15
Armenia:
  source of Euphrates 72–3, 182–3, 198–9, 226–7, 492–3
  adopts Christianity 388–9
  geographical location of 200–1, 232–3
Armenian Gates 226–7
Armorica, name for Brittany 150–1, 306–7, 398–9, 414–15, 416–17
Arnon, mountains of 518–19
Arnulf, German emperor 456 n.
Arpad, Middle Eastern city 882–3
Arpha, village in Palestine 206–7
Arphaxad, father of Salah 116–17, 204–5
  son of Shem 536–7
  identified with Melchizedek 116 n.
Arphaxad, king of the Medes 364–5
Arras, see of 298–9
Arrhidaeus, brother of Alexander the Great 366–7
Arsaces, ruler of Parthia 876–7
Arsamus, otherwise known as Arses 367 n.
Arses, Persian king 366–7
Arsinoe, city in Cyrenaica 316–17
Artane, city in Asia minor 232–3
Artaxerxes II Mnemon, Persian king 120–1, 366–7
Artaxerxes III, Persian king 366–7
Artaxerxes I, Sassanid emperor 608–9
Arthur, British king, son of Uther Pendragon 150–1, 306–7, 420–3, 488–9, 876–7
  holds court at Caerleon 310–11, 424–9
  appoints Twelve Peers 310–11, 424–5
  hunting exploits of 694 n.
  conquers Iceland and Gotland 324–7
  other conquests of 424–5
  expels Saxons from Britain 422–3
  wounded in battle 428–9
  and Morgan the Fay 428–9
  lives under Mount Etna 334–7
Arucaeus, son of Canaan 534–5
Arudaeus, son of Canaan 534–5
Arvad, island, *see* Aradus
Arviragus, British king 410–13
Arzuges, African people 318–19
Asa, king of Judah 356–7
asafoetida-plant, grows in Oscobares range 226–7
Asaph, prophet 404–5
asbestos stone, found in Arcadia 252–3, 566–7
Ascalon, Philistine city 202–3, 498–9, 890–1
  see of 220–1
Ascanius, son of Aeneas 306–7, 354–5, 396–7
  Gervase erroneously identifies as husband of Lavinia 146–7
ascension, of Christ 546–7
Asclepiodotus, British king 414–15
Ascoli Piceno, city and see of 258–9, 278–9
Ascoli Puglia, see of 280–1
Ashkenaz, son of Gomer 530–1
ash-Shaubak, castle of 881 n.
Asia, continent of 166–7, 176–7
  geography of 178–9
  northern Asia 224–31, 520–1
  eastern Asia 180–91
  southern Asia 192–7
  cathedral cities of 216–24
  and paradise 490–1
  provinces of 490–5
Asia Minor 232–7, 492–3, 522–3, 876 n.
Asola, see of 274–5
Aspacora, Parthian city 194–5
Asphaltites, *see* Lake Asphaltites
Aspiran, village in Narbonne 821 n.
Aspley Guise, wood at 568–71
Assaracus, helps Brutus 146–7, 398–9
asses, men turned into 88–9
Asshur, grandson of Noah:
  invents purple dye and ointments 118–19
  Assyria named after 192–3
  founds Tyre 536–7

Assur, see of 218–19
  also known as Jamnia 526–7
Assyria, named after Asshur 192–3
  called Babylonia 492–3
Assyrians:
  kingdom of 168–9, 172–3
  and the phoenix 198–9
  capture Troy 354–5
Astabarians, descendants of Sabtah 532–3
Astarte, worshipped at Arca 534 n.
Asti, see of 276–7
Astorga, see of 304–5
Astrixis, Mount 320–1
astrology:
  contrary to Catholic faith 44–5
  Egyptians taught by Abram 132–3
  Moses skilled in 800–1
  Virgil practised 576–7, 582–3, 584–5, 586–7
astronomy:
  invented by Ionitus son of Noah 108–9, 166–7
  invented by Atlas 322 n.
  invented in Chaldaea 196–7
Astures, people of Spain 302–3
  speak Latin 538–9
Astyages, ruler of the Medes 172–3, 362–3
  overthrown by Cyrus 364–5
Astyages, first-century king 490–1
Atarathe, wife of King Damascus 866–7
Athalaric, Gothic king 386–7
Athaliah, queen of Judah 358–9
Athanagild, Gothic king 386–9
Athanaric, Gothic king 382–3
Athanasius, writings known to Gervase xliii
  Vita Antonii by 210–11, 380–1, 746–7
  and relics of John the Baptist 496–7
Athaulf, brother of Alaric 384–5
Athelstan, Saxon king 434–5
Athena, and lamp at Athens 567 n.
Athens, formerly known as Acte 124–5
  built by Cecrops 248–9
  Stoics studied at 250–1
Atlas, brother of Prometheus 128–9
  supports the sky 624–5
  wrote about the stars 322–3
Atlas, Mount 302–3, 320–1, 324–5, 624–5, 654–5
  marks boundary of Ethiopia 214–15
Atrebates, tribe of Gaul 292–3
Attila the Hun, kills Theodoric 384–5
Attis, Greek king 248–9
Auch, capital of Gascony 524–5
Aufidena, Italian city 258–9
Aufidius Severus, Trajan's rescript to 102–3
Augusta, Mesopotamian city 194–5
Augusta, Latin name of Sebaste 888–9
Augustamnica, province of Egypt 520–1
Augustine, of Canterbury, Gregory the Great's letter to 298–9
  sent to England 312–13, 430–1
Augustine, St:
  writings known to Gervase xliii
  bishop of Hippo 318–19
  on Adam 64–5
  on angels' bodies 728–9
  on demons 722–31
  on dreams 742–3
  on lamp in shrine of Venus 566–9, 572–3
  on loadstone 562–5
  on miracles 564–5
  on peacock's flesh 560–1
Augustopolis, see of 218–19
Augustus, Roman emperor 372–3
  as triumvir 656–7
  fights battle of Actium 250–1
  closes gates of Janus 66–7, 372–3
  proclaims a census 68–9, 358–9, 372–3
  sees vision of the Virgin 374–5
  sole ruler of the world 64–5
  gives his name to the month of August 374–5
  death of 376–7, 656 n.
  see also Octavian
Aulona, Egyptian city 208–9
Aurelia, Tuscan city 256–7
Aurelian, Roman emperor, fortifies walls of Rome 262–3
  victories of 378–9
Aurelius Ambrosius, brother of Uther, British king 150–1
  kills Vortigern 418–19
  and Giants' Ring 152–3, 420–1
Ausonia, former name of Italy 254–5
Austadon, see of 222–3
Austerica, name for Austria 242–3
Austria 242–3
automata, invented by Virgil 584 n.
Autun, see of 298–9
Auxerre, see of 298–9
avalanches, in the Alps 818–19
Avalon, Isle of 428–9
Avares, name for Huns 842–3
Avellino, see of 280–1
Aventine Hill 262–3, 264–5

Avernus, Lake 590–3
Aversa, see of 282–3
Avignon, see of 302–3
  bridge at 782–3
  captured by Charles Martel 446–7
  mentioned 544–5, 592–3, 782–3
Avila, see of 304–5
Avitus, translator of Lucian 894 n.
Avranches, see of 300–1
Avtinas, family of and sacred incense 568 n.
Azariah or Uzziah, king of Judah 358–9
Azelus, king of Damascus 866–7
Azotus Paralius, see of 218–19
Azov, Sea of, known as Lake Maeotis 179 n., 461 n.

Baal 116–17
Baalbek, known as Hierapolis 222–3
Baal-zephon, and children of Israel 512–13
Babel, tower of 116–17, 196 n., 348–9, 532–3
Babylon, kingdom of 168–9, 172–3, 532–3
  named after Belus 116–17
  conquered by Cyrus 364 n.
  birthplace of a Sibyl 816–17
  description of city 196–7
  overthrow of 170–1, 174–5
  and Alexander the Great 366–7, 848–9, 860–1
Babylon, Egyptian city, founded by Cambyses 210–11, 364–5, 512–13, 705 n.
Babylonia, region of 492–3, 508–9, 538–9, 542–3, 694–5, 710–11
Babylonians, destroy Jerusalem 204–5
Bacchus:
  leads Amazons 228–9
  founds Argos 124–5
  as Liber 132–3
  founds Nysa 832–3
  and island of Naxos 332–3
  monument of 852–3, 860–1
Bactria 230–1, 852–3, 876 n.
  conquered by Parthians 872–3
Bactrians 184–5, 520–1, 538–9
  ruled by Theodotus 876–7
Bactrus, river 230–1
Baetica, province of Spain 304–5, 524–5
Baghdad, city and see of 196–7, 222–3
  known as Irinopolis 526–7
Bagnorea, see of 278–9
bagpipes, invention of 120–1
Baia, springs of 586 n.
Balaam, prophet 540–1
Balaneae, see of 222–3
Baldulf, Saxon leader 422–3
Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem 480–1, 880–1
Baldwin V, count of Flanders 476 n.
Balearic Islands 132–3, 294–5, 342–3, 344–5, 524–5
ballistae, invention of 132–3
balsam 652 n., 706–7, 846–7
  life-giving properties of 85 n., 706 n.
balsam-tree 226–7, 652–3, 696 n., 704–5
  grown in Jericho 868–71
Baltic Sea 240 n.
Bamberg, see of 274–5
Bangor, see of 312–13
Baniâs (Paneas), city of 653 n.
Baptist, *see* John the Baptist
Barachel the Buzite 540–1
Barak, son of Abinoam 888–9
Barath 208–9
Barbaria, city of 878–9
Barbarica, region of 242–3, 246–7
Barbarossa, *see* Frederick I Barbarossa
Barbas, name for Thebais 526–7
Barcelona, see of 304–5
  attacked by Charlemagne 402 n.
Bardowick, see of 274–5
barghast (barguest), phantom dog 694 n.
Bari, city and see of 258–61, 280–1
Barjols, marvels at 574–7
Barles, village in Provence lxi, 822–3
barnacle-goose 820–1
Bartholomew, preached in India 182–3, 490–1
Bartruc, British king 408–9
Baruch, prophet 500–1
Basel, see of 300–1
Bashan, region of 518–19
Basil, St 496–7
Basques, subdued by Charlemagne 878–9
Bassianus, as ruler of Britain 412–13, 414–15
Batanaea, boundary of 206 n.
Batavi, tribe of 304–5
Bath, see of 312–13
baths:
  at Bath 404–5
  at Kedar 652–3, 884–5
  of Pozzuoli 586–7
  in city of Rome 264–5
'battle of the beetles' 592–3
Baucis, offers hospitality to gods 756 n.
Bavaria, region of 242–3

Bayeux, see of 300–1
  tapestry of 476 n., 478 n.
Baynard's Castle 400–1
Bayonne, see of 300–1
Bazas, see of 300–1
Beatrix, wife of Otto IV xxxii, xxxix, 452 n.
Beaucaire:
  corpse robbed at 736–7
  woman of and night-riders 742–3
  woman of and drac 718–19
  revenant at 758–85
Beaudiment, village in Provence 566–7
Beauvais, Vincent of, *see* Vincent of Beauvais
Beauvais, the Latin 'Belga' 140–1, 286 n.
  see of 298–9
beaver, nature of 642–3
Bebrycia, name for Bithynia 232–3
Bede, writings known to Gervase xliii
  on indictions 359 n.
  on people of Lindsey 528 n.
  on the serpent 86–7
Bedevere, and King Arthur 424–5
Bedoch, *see* William Bedoch
Beeleigh, Premonstratensian monastery of xxxvii
Beelzebub 116–19
Beer–sheba, see and city of 220–1, 496–7, 890–1
  known as Bergeberin 528–9
bees, generated from carcasses 54–5
beetles, generated from horses 54–5
  see also 'battle of the beetles'
Beirut, see of 220–1, 222–3
  image of Saviour at 882–3
Bel, as name for Belus 4 n.
Belcastro, see of 282–3
Belial 906–7
Belinas, as name for Paneas 220–1, 222–3, 496–7, 526–7, 884–5
Belinus, British king 286–7, 406–7, 408–9
Belisarius, fights Goths 386–7
Bellerophon, slays Chimera 814–15, 816–17
Belley, see of 300–1
Bellovaci, Gallic tribe 292–3
Belluno, see of 274–5
Belphegor, as god of lust 116–17
Belraidon, see of 222–3
Belshazzar, Babylonian king 364–5
Belus, father of Ninus lii, 4–5, 110–11, 116–17
  king of Assyria 168–9, 172–3
Benedict, St 842–3
Benetus, king 270–1
Benevento, Italian city 260–1, 270–1
  see of 280–1
Bene–jaakan, encampment of Israelites 516–17
Benjamin, son of Jacob 890–1
  tribe of 354–5
Berchar, Frankish mayor 442–3
Berengar I, emperor 456–7
Berengar II, emperor 456–7
Berengar, son of Alphonso VIII of Castile 489 n.
Berenice, city in Cyrenaica 316–17
Bergamo, built by Gauls 260–1
  see of 276–7
Bergeberin (Beer-sheba), see of 220–1, 528–9
Bergen, see of 284–5
Bernard the Monk, on Holy Sepulchre 75 n.
Bernard, king of Italy 454–5
Bernard, St 774–5
Bernard Sylvester, writings known to Gervase xliii
  on beavers 642–3
Béroard, *see* Hugh II Béroard, archbishop of Arles
Beroca, Persian city 194–5
Beroea, city founded by Seleucus 368–9
Berossus, *see* Berosus
Berosus the Chaldaean 110–11
Berry, region of 288–9
Bertrand, nephew of William of Orange 736–7
Berytus (Beirut), see of 222–3, 528–9
Besançon, province and city of 254–5, 294–5, 338–9, 524–5
Besertum, Spanish city 878–9
Betanzos, Galician city 302–3, 308–9
Beteira, see of 218–19
Bethagla, and bones of Jacob 896–7
Bethany:
  Lazarus raised from dead at 498–9
  near Mount of Olives 890–1
  saints of 294–5, 735 n.
Bethel, as name for Jerusalem 202–3
  meaning of 204–5, 494–5, 500–1
  golden calf at 888–9
Bethelia, Palestinian village 210–11
Bethesda, sheep-pool 497 n.
Beth-horon, Idumaean city 882–3, 884–5
Bethlehem, see of 220–1, 890–1, 894–5
  topography of 510–11
  well at 42–3
Bethphage, village near Jerusalem 502–3, 892–3
Bethsaida, city of 204–5, 494–5, 496–7, 884–5
Bethshan (Scythopolis), city of 889 n.
Bethulia 498–9, 886–7
Betogabris (Eleutheropolis) 893 n.
Bezer, city of refuge 518–19
Bénézet, St 782–3
Béziers, see of 300–1
  massacre at 778 n.
Biben, see of 274–5
Bible, Gervase's knowledge of xliii, xciii
Bigorre, see of 300–1
Bildad the Shuhite 202–3, 882–3
bird–women 682 n.
Biscaii, subdued by Charlemagne 878–9
Bisceglie, see of 280–1
Bisignano, see of 282–3
Bitetto, see of 280–1
Bithynia, founded by Phoenix 132–3
  province of 232–5, 520–1
Bithynus, king 232–3, 234–5
Bitonto, see of 280–1
Biza, island of 344–5
Blacklion, rocking-stone at 594 n.
Blactum (Belgrade?) 241 n.
Bladud, British king 404–5
Blanche, wife of Louis V 470–3
Bledgabred, British king 410–11
Bledudo, British king 410–11
blemmyae (headless people) 701 n.
blemyes, see *blemmyae*
boa (snake) 618–19
Boaram, city of 878–9
Bobbio, city of 258–9
  see of 276–7
  monastery of 256–7
Boccaccio, knew Gervase's writings lxxxvi
Bodilo, Frankish nobleman 440–1
Boeotia, region of Greece 208–9, 250–1, 522–3
Bohemia 242–3
Bohemond I of Taranto 480–1
Boiano, see of 280–1
Bologna, city and see of 258–9, 278–9
  Gervase at xxvi, xlix, 580–1
Bolsena, Lago di 257 n.
Bonnevaux, abbot of 786–9
Bonochora, see of 224–5
Bordeaux, city and see of 300–1, 524–5
boreas, north wind 52–3, 54–5, 68–9
Boreum, promontory of 226–7
Borglum, see of 282–3
Bormida, river 461 n.
Bosa, see of 346–7
Bosphorus, known as Arm of St George 178–9, 233 n., 253 n.
Botrion (Butrin), city and see of 222–3, 528–9
Boulogne, region and see of 288–9, 298–9
Bourges, see of 300–1, 524–5
  handed over to Pippin 446–7
Bouvines, Battle of xxxii, 717 n.
Bova, see of 282–3
Bovino, see of 280–1
Bozrah, city and region of 200–1, 206–7, 223 n., 526–7, 882–3
Brabant, *see* Henry of Brabant; Mary of Brabant
Braga, see of 304–5
Bragmani, Indian people 186–7
Brandenburg, see of 274–5
Brechin, see of 312–13
breeches, invented by Semiramis 128–9
Bremen, see of 274–5
Brendan, St 62–3, 324–5, 710 n.
  see also St Brendan's Isle
Brennus, brother of Belinus 406–7
  leader of the Senonian Gauls 176–7, 286–7
  sacks Rome 176–7, 286–7, 402–3, 408–9
  invades Greece 836 n., 838–9
Brescia, built by Gauls 260–1
  see of 276–7
Brindisi, city and see of 260–1, 262–3, 280–1
Briso, river in Egypt 698–9
  beasts of 700–1
Bristol, English port 82–3
Britain, named after Brutus 148–9, 354–5, 398–9
  kingdom founded from Troy 234–5, 396–7, 490–1
  attacked by Caesar 410–11
  first arrival of Saxons 416–19
  ruled by King Arthur 422–9
  name changed to England 430–1, 474–5
  united by Cadwallon 432–3
  topography of 304–7
  provinces of 524–5
  cities and sees of 310–15

Britain (*cont.*):
  marvels of 634–7, 642–5, 669–73, 678–9, 680–3, 690–5, 712–13, 818–19
Britannia Armorica, *see* Armorica
British Sea 242–3, 346–7, 480–1, 532–3
  sirens of 680–1
  tides in 42–3, 346–7
  whirlpool in 864–5
Britons, kingdom of 396–435
Brittany, known as Armorica 150–1
  known as *Armoricus sinus* 398 n.
  named after Brutus 354–5
  region of Gallia Belgica 288–9
  see also Armorica
Briuntium, near Embrun 844–5
Brixen im Thale, see of 276–7
brownies, kin to portunes lx, 675 n.
Bruchium, Egyptian town 210–11
Brugneto, see of 276–7
Brunhild, death of 438–9
Brutia with Lucania, province of 522–3
Bruttium, Italian town 270–1
Brutus, first consul of Rome 126–7, 364–5
Brutus, British king 146–9, 306–7, 354–5, 398–9
Brutus Greenshield, British king 404–5
Buccellinus, Frankish duke 843 n.
Bucephala, city built by Alexander the Great 832–3
Bucephalus, Alexander the Great's horse 740 n.
Bucolia, region of Egypt 209–10
Budicius, king of Armorica 422–3
Budva, see of 272–3
Buebar, Indian river 854–5
Bugia, African city 322–3, 878–9
Bulgaria 240–1, 244–5
  sees of 272–3
Bulla, pool near 62–3
bull-scourges, devised by Tarquin 126–7
Burchard of Worms 723 n.
Burgos, see of 304–5
Burgundians, from Scandinavia 238–9, 288–9, 376–7, 380–3
  were Arians 290–3
  pay tribute to Clovis 436–7
Burgundy, Arles as capital of 296–7, 524–5, 734–5
  sees of 300–1
Busseleth, see of 222–3, 526–7
Butrin, *see* Botrion
Buz, son of Nahor 540–1
Buzana, Mount 496–7
Buzite, *see* Barachel
Byblus (Gebal), city and see of 222–3, 526–7
Byzace, African city 318–19
Byzacium, region and province of Africa 318–19, 524–5
Byzantium, *see* Constantinople

Cabes, Gulf of 317 n.
Cabila, see of 222–3
Cabinam, *see* Peter de Cabinam
Cabrera, *see* Guiraut III Ponç de Cabrera
Cadiz, city of 166–7
  idol at 878–9
  built by Phoenicians 322–3
Cadiz, islands of 178–9, 236–7, 302–3, 322–3
Cadmus, king of Thebes 132–3, 200–1
  builds Thebes 208–9, 250–1
  gives Greeks an alphabet 351–3
Cador, king of Cornwall 426–7, 428–9
Cadvan, king of the Venedoti 430–1
Cadwallader, British king 434–5
Cadwallon, king of Venedotia 426–7, 430–1
  sole ruler of Britain 432–3
  death of 434–5
Caelian Hill (Rome) 262–3, 264–5
Caepio, Q. Servilius seizes treasure of Toulouse 840–1
Caer, Trojan word for city 404–5
Caerbadum (Bath), built by Bladum 404–5
Caerchent (Canterbury), built by Rudhudibras 404–5
Caercolim (Colchester) 414–15
Caerglou (Gloucester), built by Claudius 412–13
Caergueir (Warwick) 426–7
Caerguint (Winchester), founded by Rudhudibras 404–5
Caerleil (Carlisle) 404–5
Caerleir (Leicester), founded by Leir 404–5
Caerleon, founded by Julius Frontinus 310–11
Caerlud (London), named after Lud 410–11
Caeroesi, Gallic tribe 292–3
Caesar, Gaius Julius:
  castrates Gauls 286–7
  and invasion of Britain 410–11
  civil war with Pompey 370–1
  sole ruler of Rome 372–3
  portents on death of 654–7, 860–1
  ashes of 268–9
  tomb of 266–7
Caesarea in Cappadocia 200–1, 492–3
Caesarea Maritime (Acaron) 184–5, 216–17, 218–19, 220–1, 493 n., 528–9, 896–7
Caesarea Philippi (Paneas or Belinas) 496–7, 650 n., 652–3, 884–5
Caesarion, son of Cleopatra VII 372 n.
Caesarius, St, of Arles 690 n.
  wind of xlv, 626–7
Caesarius of Heisterbach:
  Dialogus miraculorum lvi, lvii
Cagli, see of 278–9
Cahors, see of 300–1
Caiaphas, house of 502–3
Cain, kills Abel 102–3, 810 n.
  condemnation of 104–5
  founds city of Enoch 104–5
  dwells in the east 104–5, 146–7
  as a fugitive 140–1, 142–3
  descendants of 144–5, 146–7
  death of 896–7
Cainan, son of Enos 144–5, 898–9
Caiphas (Haifa), see of 222–3
  known as Porphyrion 528–9
Cairo 212–13
Caithness, see of 312–13
Calabria, province of 260–1, 522–3
  conquered by Normans 464–5
  sees of 282–3
Calahorra, see of 304–5
calamus, plant found in India 190–1
Caleb 510–11
calendar:
  lunar and solar years of 48–9
  Jewish 48–51
  Roman 48–9, 374 n.
Calepodius, cemetery of 266–7
Caleti, Gallic tribe 292–3
Caligardamana, promontory of 182–3
Caligula, Gaius, Roman emperor 376–7
Calixtus, cemetery of 266, 269
Calixtus II, pope 456–7
Calixtus III, antipope 459 n.
Callisthenes, *see* Pseudo-Callisthenes
Calmana, daughter of Adam 102–3
Calneh, former name of Ctesiphon 532–3
Calofaro, whirlpool of 864–5
Calpe, Mount 179 n., 320–1, 324–5, 524–5
Calvary 500–1, 510–11, 606 n., 648 n., 892–3
Calvi, see of 282–3
Calypso, island of 316–17
Camargue, island of lix, 294–5, 565 n.
  feast of three Maries in 296 n.
Camber, son of Brutus 306–7, 402–3
Cambrai, see of 298–9
Cambria, named after Camber 306–7, 402–3
  bishops of 310–11
  province of Britain 524–5
Cambridge, English town 668–9
Cambyses, conquers Egypt 210–11, 512–13
  builds Egyptian city of Babylon 364–5
Camerino, see of 278–9
Camillus, palace of (Rome) 266–7
Campagna, sees of 278–9
Campania, province of 256–7, 258–9, 270–1, 522–3, 576–7, 578–9
Campo Verano, cemetery of 266–7
Camps, miraculous spring at 822–3
Cana, site of Christ's first miracle 886–7
Canaan, son of Ham 202–3, 532–3, 534–5
  land of 202–3
Canaanites 114–15, 116–17, 518–19, 532–3
canon law:
  Gervase studies and teaches at Bologna xxvi, xlix, 580–1
Canosa, city and see of 260–1, 280–1
Canute, king of England 474–5
Canterbury, see of 310–11, 312–13, 404–5
  formerly called Dolobernia 528–9
Caorle, see of 274–5
Capaccio, see of 280–1
Capdueil, *see* Pons de Chapteuil
Capernaum 496–7, 886–7
  spring of 654–5
Capet, *see* Hugh Capet
Caphtorim, tribe descended from Mizraim 520–1, 534–5
Capitolias, see of 218–19
Capitolina, see of 220–1
Capitoline Hill (Rome) 264–5
Capodistria, see of 274–5
Capoir, British king 410–11
Cappadocia 200–1, 226–7, 232–3, 520–1
Cappadocians, descendants of Meshech 530–1
Cappara, city cursed by Charlemagne 878–9
Capraja, island of 809 n.
Capri, see of 282–3
Capricorn, tropic of 44–5, 68–9
Capua, city of 258–9, 270–1, 282–3, 522–3
  principality of 280–1, 464–5

Capys, king 354–5
  founds Capua 270–1
Caraca, see of 220–1
  also called Petra 528–9
Caracalla, emperor 378–9
Caradoc, king of Cornwall 416–17
Caralis, name for Caraca 220–1
Caralitani, people of Sardinia 342–3
Caranus, founder of Argive dynasty 174–5
Carausius, ruler of Britain 412–15
Carcassonne, see of 300–1
  captured by Anbasa 444–5
  massacre at 778 n.
Carchemish, see of 223 n.
cardinal virtues 916–17
Cardona, castle of 564–5
Carecius, British king 306–7, 428–9
Caria, region of Asia Minor 234–5, 522–3
Carinola, see of 282–3
Carinus, on Christ's harrowing of hell 794–5
Carinus, Roman emperor 380–1
Carlisle, see of 312–13
  marvels in forest near 690–5
  named after Leil 404–5
Carloman, son of Charles Martel 394–5, 446–7
Carloman, son of Pippin 448–9
Carloman (Pippin), son of Charlemagne 394–5, 448–9
Carmel, Mount 504–5, 896–7
Carmentis, invents Latin alphabet 122–3, 352–3
carnipriuium, *see* Mardi Gras
Carpathian Mountains 168 n.
Carpathian ships 330–1
Carpathian Sea 328–9, 330–1, 332–3
Carpathos, island of 330–1
Carpentras, see of 302–3
Carrhae (Haran), city and see of 194–5, 222–3, 226–7
Carsania, Indian city 184–5
Carsioli, Italian city 258–9
Cartagena, city and province of Spain 302–3, 524–5, 878–9
Cartha, African town 318–19
Carthada, African town 318–19
Carthage, founded by Dido 174–5, 318–19, 352–3, 882–3
Carus, Roman emperor 378–9
Caserta, see of 282–3
Cashel, see of 314–15
Casia, Middle Eastern city 710–11
Casluhim, tribe descended from Mizraim 534–5
Caspian Gates 858–9
Caspian Sea 184–5, 190–1, 192–3, 228–9, 520–3
  description of 230–1
Caspius, Mount 184–5, 832–3
Cassano, see of 282–3
Cassibellanus, British king 410–11
Cassino, town of 258–9
  see also Monte Cassino
Cassiodorus 842–3
Cassiopa, island of 246–7
Castavalli, see of 224–5
Castellammare di Stabia, see of 282–3
Castellaneta, see of 280–1
Castello, see of 274–5
Castilians, subdued by Charlemagne 878–9
Castle of Annot 594–5
  Bayard's Castle 400–1
  of Cardona 564–5
  of Charpey 668–9
  of Dauphin 620–1
  of Dimilioc 420–1
  of Duisburg 290–1
  of L'Éparvier 664–5
  of Forcalquier 620–1
  of Krak de Montréal 881 n.
  of Livron 592–3
  of Montferrand 634–5
  of Noth 594–5
  of Ongar 748–9
  of Parisot 310–11
  of Remoulins 592–3
  of Roquemaure 758–9
  of Rousset 88–9
  of Saint Privat 72–3
  of Thanceastre 416–19
  of Tintagel 420–1
  of William Peveril (Peak Castle) 642–3
Castor, and Pollux 352–3
Castro, see of 278–9, 280–1
Catabathmos, region of Libya 180–1, 316–17
Catadupa, falls of the Nile 76–7, 158–9
Catania, see of 282–3
  body of St Agatha at 334–5
Catanzaro, see of 282–3
cataracts, of the Nile 76–7, 158–9, 212 n.
Catellus, British king 410–11
caterpillars, generation of 54–5
Cathars, *see* Albigensians
Catheani, subdued by Alexander the Great 832–3

Catherine, St, buried on Mount Sinai 624–7, 812–13
  monastery of 220 n.
Cathippus, Middle Eastern town 226–7
Cato, flees from Caesar 620–1
Cattaro, see of 280–1
Caucasus Mountains 72–3, 182–3, 190–1, 192–3, 194–5, 226–7, 230–1, 832–3
  range described 224–5
Cavaillon, see of 302–3
Cazoras, Middle Eastern city 196–7
Cecrops, founds Athens 124–5
Cedron, brook 892–3
Cefalù, see of 282–3
Celenderis, see of 224–5
Celestine III, pope 461 n., 462–3
Celtiberia, region of 286–7
  people of 302–3, 530–1
cemeteries:
  Les Aliscamps xlv, 734–9
  of Fruttuaria 572–3
  of Rome 266–9
Ceneda, see of 274–5
Censonae, subdued by Alexander the Great 832–3
census, of Roman citizens 124–5
  of Augustus 10–11, 68–9, 358–61, 372–3
Centopolis (Crete) 328–9
Cephalenia, island of 246–7
Cersona, city of 234–5, 504–5
Cerzeules, village of 636–7
Cesena, see of 278–9
Cestrus, see of 224–5
Ceyreste, spring at 824–5
Cérvia, see of 276–7
Chalcedon, city of 232–3
  Council of 217 n., 232 n.
Chalcidius, translator of Plato 57 n.
Chaldaea, as region of Asia 192–3, 196–7, 198–9
  and Abraham 108–9, 110–11, 132–3
  and river Euphrates 72–3
  kings of 168–9, 402–3
Chaldaeans 172–3, 536–7, 540–1
  capture Jerusalem 362–3, 542–3
Chalearzus, *see* Lake Chalearzus
Châlons-sur-Marne, see of 298–9
chamois, characteristics of 682–5
Champier, Symphorien, knew Gervase's writings lxxxvi
Champigny, near Nîmes 72–3
Chaonia, city of 248–9
chaos, ordering of 34–9
Chapteuil, *see* Pons de Chapteuil
Charachmoba, see of 218–19
Charbonnière, forest of 292–3
charcoal, properties of 560–1
Charibert, Frankish ruler 436–7, 438–9
chariots, invented by Erichthonius 118–19
  invented in Gaul 140–1
Chariton, St, church of 890–1
Charlemagne, receives Patrician title 448–9
  assumes title of emperor liii, 394–5, 436–7, 448–9, 450–1, 468–71
  a giant in strength 148–51
  attacks Spain 402–3, 878–9
  as Christian emperor 454–5
  crowns Louis 454–5
  supposedly travels to Jerusalem 600–1
  signs on death of 860–3
Charles Martel (the Great) 10–11, 392–3, 444–5
  birth of 442–3
  mayor of the palace 444–7
  destroys Cologne 402 n.
  and appeal of Gregory III 10–11, 394–5, 446–7
  defeats Saracens 392–5, 446–7
  conquers parts of Spain 878–9
Charles II the Bald, emperor 456–7, 470–1, 600–1
Charles III the Fat, emperor 456–7
Charpey, castle of 668–9
Chartres, see of 298–9
Charybdis, whirlpool 332–3, 864–5
chastity:
  of storks 750–1
  of swans 748–9
Chaucevaire, werewolf 814–15
Chedorlaomer, king of Elam 112–13
Cheldric, killed by Arthur 422–3
Chelric, ally of Mordred 336–7, 428–9
Cherin, British king 410–11
cherubim, appearance of 804–7
  guard paradise 92–3
chervil, powers of 636–7
Chesed, son of Nahor 540–1
Chester, see of 312–13
Chichester, see of 312–13
Chieti, Italian city 258–9
Childebert I, son of Clovis I 292–3, 436–7
Childebert II, Frankish king 388–9, 436–9
Childebert III, Frankish king 442–3
Childeric I, father of Clovis 292–3

Childeric II, Frankish king 440–1, 444 n.
Chilperic I, Frankish king 436–7, 438 n.
Chilperic II, Frankish king 402 n., 444–5
Chimera, the 814–17
China:
  trees in 84–5
  and Tubal's column 106–7
  see also Seres
Chindaswinth, Gothic king 390–1
Chintila, Gothic king 390–1
Chioggia, city of 274–5
Chios, island of 332–3
Chiusi, see of 278–9
Chlodomir, son of Clovis I 292–3, 436–7
Chlotar I, son of Clovis I 292–3, 388–9, 436–7
Chlotar II, Frankish king 390–1, 438–9
Chlotar III, Frankish king 440–1
Chlotar IV, Frankish king 444–5
Chlotar, son of Louis I, known as Lothar I 456–7
choler, as a humour 44–5
Chorazin, town in Canaan 202–3
  and Antichrist 884–5
choriambic metre 268–9
Chosroes I, Persian ruler 390 n.
Chosroes II, Persian ruler 390 n., 894–5
Christ:
  birth announced by angel 134–5
  nativity of 28–9, 376–7
  peace at birth of 66 n.
  raises the widow's son 888–9
  in Galilee 886–7
  genealogies of 544–5
  and the Sixth Age 546–7
  and David 32–3
  and non-human creatures 100–1
  as king and priest 4–5
  and Daniel's vision 48 n.
  and Pilate's report to Tiberius 376–7
  image of at Edessa 594–9
  images of at Lateran palace 606–7
  image of at Lucca 598–605
  Veronica image of 604–7
  letter to Abgar 596–7, 608–9
  cross of 656–61
  see also Jesus
Christians:
  persecuted by Nero 376–7
  persecuted by Diocletian 414–15
  persecuted by Constantine 380–1
  in Ireland 308–9
  and Jews 94–5
  measure time from Incarnation 50–1
Christmas:
  and British customs 74–5
  length of shadow at 864–5
Chrotilda, daughter of Clovis 386 n.
Chrysa, island of 184–5
chrysopastus, precious stone 190–1
Chrysopolis, see of 224–5
Chrysorhoas, river 226–7
Chuni, Asian people 226–7
Chur, see of 274–5
Chushan–rishathaim, Mesopotamian king 350–1
Cilicia:
  mountains of 166–7, 224–5, 234–5, 816–17
  Gulf of 200–1, 492–3
  city of 234–5
Cilicians, Josephus on 530–3
Cilix, son of Agenor 234–5
Cimarcus, British king 406–7
Cimbrian war 840–1
Cimmerian Sea 200–1, 224–5, 230–1, 492–3
cinnamon:
  from Arabia 198–9
  from India 190–1
Cinofados, see of 218–19
circumcision, introduced by Abraham 134–5
Ciriacus, St, cemetery of 268–9
Cisalpine Gaul 260–1
Città di Castello, see of 278–9
Citium, city in Cyprus 530–1
Ciudad Rodrigo, see of 304–5
Civita Castellana, see of 278–9
Clairevum, raven of lx, 746–9
Claudian, writings known to Gervase xliii
Claudiopolis, see of 224–5
Claudius, Roman emperor 376–7
  invades Britain 410–13
  palace of 266–7
Claudius Gothicus, Roman emperor 378–9
Claudius of Turin, writings known to Gervase xliii, 529 n.
Cledaucus, British king 410–11
Clement I, pope, martyrdom of 235 n.
  exile of 236–7
Clement III, pope 462–3
Cleopas 498–9
Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor 866–7
Cleopatra VII, Egyptian queen:
  affair with Caesar 372–3
  affair with Antony 374–5
  and battle of Actium 250–1
  death of 374–5
Cleopatra, Middle Eastern city 710–11
Cleophis, queen, mistress of Alexander the Great 832–3
Cleph, Lombard king 388–9, 844 n.
Clermont, see of 300–1, 812–13
Climaanatos, see of 220–1
Climagaulas, see of 218–19
Clitorius, *see* Lake Clitorius
Clodio, Frankish king 290–3
Clonfert, monastery founded by St Brendan 62 n.
  see of 314–15
Clonmacnoise, see of 314–15
  airships at 80 n.
Cloten, king of Cornwall 406–7
Clotenus, British king 410–11
clouds, formation of 76–9
  rainbow in 162–3
Clovis I, Frankish king 292–3, 386–7, 388–9, 436–7, 626 n., 878–9
  baptism of 292–3, 436–7
Clovis II, Frankish king 438–9, 440–1
Clovis III, Frankish king 442–3
Cloyne, see of 314–15
Coatrae, Indian people 184–5
Codmaron, see of 222–3
Coel, British ruler 414–15, 646–7
Coele-Syria, province of 492–3, 534–5, 536–7
  subdued by Pompey 370–1
Coggeshall, *see* Ralph of Coggeshall
Coillus I, British king 410–11
Coillus II, British king 412–13
Coimbra, see of 304–5
coinage, Melgoriensian 660–1
  Roman 120–1
Colchi, Asian people 224–5, 228–9, 520–1
Colgrin, Saxon leader 422–3
Collimicrios, see of 222–3
Colline Gate, *see* Porta Collina
Cologne, see of 274–5
  relics of Magi at 460–1
  destroyed by Charles Martel 402 n.
Colonia Agrippina, now known as Cologne 526–7
Colosseum, amphitheatre 266–7
colossus of Rhodes 328–9
Colubraria, island of 344–5
Comacchio, see of 276–7
Comanas, see of 218–19
Comathoi, see of 224–5
Comestor, writings drawn on by Gervase xlii, xliii, 767 n.
  on the Great Year 47 n.
Comis, see of 218–19
Comis Anathon, see of 220–1
Comis Anothas, see of 220–1
Comis Captio, see of 220–1
Comis Julianos, see of 220–1
Comis Neotis, see of 220–1
Comis Petius, see of 220–1
Comis Pirgoarethon, see of 220–1
Comis Traconos, see of 220–1
Comis Vesdamos, see of 220–1
Commagene, province of Syria 200–1
Commodus, Roman emperor 378–9
Como, see of 274–5
Comocoreatas, see of 218–19
Compostela, see of 304–5
  king of 488–9
Conanus, king of Armorica 416–17
Conanus, British king 428–9
Concordia, see of 274–5
Condrusi, Gallic tribe 292–3
Connexe, window at 572–5
Conrad II, emperor 456–7
Conrad III, emperor 458–9, 468 n.
Conrad of Querfurt:
  on fly-talisman 576 n.
  on magical meat-market 578 n.
  on Vesuvius 584 n.
  on Virgil's bones 804 n.
Conrad, papal legate xxxxiii
Constance of Sicily 464–5
Constance, sister of Louis VII 484–5
Constans, British king 416–17
Constans I, Roman emperor 380–1
Constans II, eastern emperor 390–1
Constantia, see of 222–3
Constantianis, see of 218–19
Constantine the Great:
  son of Helena 646–7
  proclaimed emperor in York 414–15
  converts to Christinaity 380–1
  enlarges city of Byzantium 246–7
  palace of at Rome 262–3, 266–7
  Arch of 264–5
  mentioned 898–9
  see also Donation of Constantine
Constantine II, Roman emperor 380–1
Constantine III, eastern emperor 390–1

Constantine IV, eastern emperor 390–1
Constantine V, eastern emperor 392–3
Constantine VI, eastern emperor 448–9, 450 n.
Constantine, brother of Aldroenus, British king 416–17
Constantine, son of Cador, British king 428–9
Constantinianum, see of 218–19
Constantinople:
  originally named Lycus 522–3
  named after Constantine 380–1
  also called Byzantium 246–7, 526–7
  and Arm of St George 178–9, 240–1
  falls to the crusaders 402–3, 595 n.
  as seat of Byzantine empire 452–3
Constantius, soldier of the Theban legion 646–7
Constantius Chlorus 380–1, 414–15
Constantius II, Roman emperor 101 n., 284–5, 380–1
  palace of 266–7
Consualia, Roman games 122–3
Consus, god honoured by Consualia 123 n., 610–11
Conversano, see of 280–1
Conza, see of 280–1
coracin, fish found only in Nile 654–5
Coralli, pagan tribe 240–1, 244–5
Cordelia, daughter of Leir 406–7
Córdova, Spanish city 304–5
Cordula, Persian city 194–5
Coria, see of 304–5
Coricos, see of 222–3
Corineus, associate of Brutus 148–9, 306–7, 398–9, 402–3
Corinth, city of 248–9, 250–1
Corinthian Gulf 246–7
Corinthus, son of Orestes 250–1
Corizus, see of 222–3
Cork, see of 314–15
Cornelius, son of Sulla 370–1
Cornelius, centurion baptized by Peter 498–9, 896–7
Cornwall, named after Corineus 148–9, 306–7, 398–9
  a province of Britain 524–5
Corsica, island of 260–1, 344–5
Corsus, ruler of Corsica 260–1, 344–5
Corula, river in Egypt 510–11, 538 n.
Cos, island of 254–5
Cosenza, city and see of 258–9, 282–3
Cosmas, Christian martyr 198–9
Cotronei, see of 282–3
Cottian Alps 256–7, 258–9, 294–5, 338–9, 522–3
Cottius, Marcus Julius, tribal ruler 256–7
Coutances, see of 300–1
Coventry, see of 312–13
Cremona, see of 276–7
Crescentius, tomb of 266–7
Cretan Sea 246–7, 328–9
Cretans, laws of 120–1
Crete, island of 328–9, 522–3
Cronica di Partenope 577–9 nn., 582 n., 586 n., 804 n.
Crusades lvii, 648 n.
  Albigensian Crusade 778–9, 784–5
  First Crusade 420–1, 478–81, 486 n.
  Second Crusade xlvii, 458–9
  Third Crusade xxviii, xxxi, 460–1
crusaders, kingdom of 221 n.
  and fall of Constantinople 402–3, 595 n.
crystal, from Scythia 192–3
Csanád, see of 274–5
Ctesiphon 197 n., 532–3
Cucumer, cemetery of 266–7
Cucussa, Cappadocian city 200–1
Cuenca, see of 304–5
Cuma, see of 282–3
Cumaean Sibyl 816–17
Cumanae, female warriors 228–9
Cumani, East European people 240–1
Cumania Minor 241 n.
Cunedagius, British king 406–7
Curthose, *see* Robert Curthose
Cusites, conquered by Alexander the Great 832–3
Cyaxares, ruler of the Medes 362–3
Cybele, mother of the gods 270–1, 286 n.
Cyclades, islands of 326–7, 328–9, 330–1, 332–3, 522–3
Cyclopes 186–7, 334–5
Cymbeline, British king 410–11
Cynocephali 697 n., 854–5
Cyprian, St 118–19
Cyprus, island of 200–1, 254–5, 326–9
  cross of Good Thief on 646–9
Cyrenaica, region of 316–17
Cyrene, city of 316–17
Cyrenius, governor of Syria 68–9
Cyrne, as name for Corsica 344–5
Cyrnus, son of Hercules 344–5
Cyrus, king of Persia 128–9, 168–9, 364–5
Cythera, island of 330–1
Cytherus, Mount 330–1

Dacia 236–7, 238–9, 250–1, 522–3
  devastated by Goths 378–9
Dacians, unrest of 66–7
Daedalian mountains 832–3
Daedalus, produces moving statues 120–1
  introduces dinner tables 130–1
Dagobert I, Frankish king 438–9
Dagobert II, Frankish king 440 n.
Dagobert III, Frankish king 442–5, 446 n.
Dagusa, Syrian city 198–9, 492–3
Dahae, Middle Eastern people 226–7, 872–3
Dalixandos, see of 224–5
Dalmatia, region of 244–7, 248–9, 522–3
  sees of 274–5
Damascus, capital of Lower Syria 200–1, 208–9, 494–5, 866–7, 882–3
  founded by Uz 536–7
  ruled by Abraham 132–3, 494–5, 866–7
  plain of 56 n., 92–3, 102–3, 146–7, 810–11
  sees subject to 224–5
  siege of in Second Crusade xlvii, 458–9
Damascus, descendant of Kemuel 540–1
Damian, Christian martyr 198–9
Damiata, as name for Nitria 526–7
Dan, tribe of 140–1
Dan, source for river Jordan 202–3, 496–7, 652–5, 884–5
Danabi, see of 224–5
Danaus, mythological king 208–9, 352–3
Daniel, and prophecy of four kingdoms 170–1
Daniel, Abbot, and cross of Good Thief 648 n.
Danius, British king 408–9
Danj, see of 272–3
Danube, river:
  flows into Black Sea 236–7
  lower part called Ister 252–3
  source of 238–9, 240–1
Dara, river 212–13
Dardania, as name for Phrygia 234–5
  province of 522–3
Dardanus, mythological king 234–5
Darius I, Persian king 364–5
Darius II, Persian king 366–7
Darius III, Persian king, and Alexander the Great 194–5, 168–9, 634–5, 859 n.
date-palms, cultivated in Livias 506–7
Dauphin, castle of 620–1
David, line of 32–3
  fights Goliath 496–7
  flees from Saul 498–9
  on heaven 20–1, 828–9
  reign of 356–7, 404–5
  reigns in Hebron 206–7
  reigns in Jerusalem 116 n.
  sees angel 500–1
  buried on Mount Zion 894–5
  in genealogies 544–5
  invoked against Albigensians 32–3
Dax, see of 300–1
Dead Sea, *see* Lake Asphaltites
Debir, city of 200–1
Deborah, rules Israel 352–3
  fights with Barak 888 n.
Dedan, great-grandson of Ham 535 n.
Dee, river 306–7
Deira, region of Britain 412–13
Deiri, British tribe 414–15
Delbora, daughter of Adam 102–3
Delminium, Dalmatian city 248–9
Delos, island of 330–1, 647 n.
Delphi, as centre of the earth 70 n.
  attacked by Gauls 838–9
  Sibyl at 816–17
Demetae, British tribe 414–15, 430–1
Demetia, region of Wales 426–7
Demetrius, successor of Alexander the Great in Asia 366–7, 368–9
Demetrius I, brother of Antiochus IV, fights Jews 866–7, 870–1
Democritus 120–1
demons:
  and Solomon's incantations 118–19, 122–3, 610–11
  at Alexandria 100–1
  in power of Cyprian 118–19
  nature of 722–31
  dwelling place of 96–7
  and shape-shifting 88–9
  as dracs 718–21
  as fauns and satyrs 98–101
  as *follets* 98–9
  as *grant* 676–9
  as lamias 716–19, 722–3, 744–5
  as neptunes or portunes 674–5
  in lake of Mont Canigou 684–9
Denmark, topography of 242–3
  sees of 282–3
Derbe, city of 234–5
Desiderius, Lombard king 448–9
Deucalion 248–9
Deuteronomy, in ark of the covenant 516–17

devil:
  chooses serpent with a woman's face 86–7
  cannot enter paradise 92–3
  as god of watching 224–5
  appears to a girl in Beaucaire 762–3
  shows Christ kingdoms of the world 894–5
  father of the wicked 908–9
  mentioned 688–9, 730–1, 788–9, 906–7
dew 72–5
Diablintum, city of 526–7
diamonds, nature of 190–1, 564–5
Diana, goddess, gives oracle to Brutus 148–9, 398–9
  and night-riders 723 n., 742 n.
Dias, see of 218–19
Dibon-gad, encampment of Israelites 518–19
Dido, founds Carthage 174–5, 318–19, 882–3
Die, see of 300–1
Digne, see of 300–1
Dimilioc, castle of 420–1
Dinah, rape of 888–9
Dinoot, Abbot 430–1
  martyrdom of 312 n.
Diocaesarea, see of 220–1, 224–5, 528–9
Diocles, ruler of the Medes 172–3
Diocletian, Roman emperor 380–1
  baths of 264–5
  persecutes Christians 199 n., 414–15, 639 n.
Diocletianopolis, see of 220–1
Diogenes 120–1
Diomedes, founds Acalon 260–1
Dionotus, king of Cornwall 416–17
Dionysia, see of 224–5
Dionysias, see of 218–19
Dionysius (Denis), St, as bishop of Arles 296–7
Dionysius Exiguus, Easter tables of 47 n., 360–1, 842–3
Dionysus, *see* Bacchus
Dioscorides, on balsam-tree 704–5
Diospolis, town of 498–9, 890–1
  known as Lydda 890 n., 894–5
divination, Apuleius on 726–7
Djacovika, see of 272–3
Dodanim, as son of Javan 530–1
dog-fish 678–9
Doglia, see of 346–7
dogs, characteristics of 60–1
  phantom 692–5
Dol, see of 300–1
Dolici, see of 222–3
Dolobernia, former name of Canterbury 528–9
dolphin, sailor's tale of 678–81
Dometiopolis, see of 224–5
Domitian, Roman emperor 378–9
Domitius, baths of 264–5
Don, river 178–9, 236–7, 522–3
Donation of Constantine lii–liv, 10–13, 268–9, 380–1, 452–5, 468–9
Donatists, purify churches 616 n.
Donatus, teacher of Jerome 380–1
Dophkah, encampment of Israelites 516–17
Dora, see of 218–19
Dorobellum, Caesar defeated at 410–11
Dothan, city of 886–7
dove, Holy Spirit takes form of 40–1
  as image of Church 786–9
  as image of imperial household 156 n.
dracs 688–9 n., 716–21
Dragonara, see of 280–1
dragonflies, generated from water 54–5
dragons, on islands of Chrysa and Argare 184–5
  in India 190–1
Drancae, subjugated by Alexander the Great 832–3
dreams:
  the dead appear in 588–9
  divination by 726–7
  Joseph as interpreter of 868–9
  lucid dreams 742–3
  of Nebuchadnezzar 170–1
  visions in dreams 782–3
Drepanum, birthplace of Helena 647 n.
drinking-cup, skull as 842–3
drinking-horn, magical 672–5
Drogo, son of Pippin II 442–3
Droitwich, salt springs at 566–7
Dublin, see of 314–15
Dubrovnik, see of 272–3
Duleek, see of 314–15
Dunblane, see of 312–13
Dundalk, see of 314–15
Dunkeld, see of 312–13
Dunvallo, British king 176–7, 406–7
Durham, see of 312–13
duses, as incubi 728–9
dusii, see *duses*
Duvianus, missionary to Britain 412–13
earthquakes:
  at the Academy 248–9
  damage Charlemagne's palace 862–3
  Gervase's interest in lix
  destroy Paphos 328–9
  in Sicily 336–7
  caused by winds 340–1
Ebed-melech, disciple of Jeremiah 500 n.
Eber, son of Salah 536–7
ebon-tree, resists fire 190–1
Ebraucus, founds Eboracum 404–5
Ebro, river 286–7, 302–3
Ebroin, Frankish mayor 440–3
Ebronah, encampment of Israelites 518–19
Ebstorf world map xxxiv–xxxvi
Eburones, Gallic tribe 292–3
Ecbatana, city of 195 n.
eclipses:
  affect trees of sun and moon 846–7
  presage death of Charlemagne 860–1, 862 n.
Edar, tower of 510–11
Eden, garden of 66–7
  see also paradise
Edessa, Indian city 182–3, 194–5, 490–1
Edessa (Urfa), Mesopotamian city 194–5, 202–3
  see of 221 n., 222–3
  founded by Seleucus 368–9
  city of king Abgar 202–3, 378–9, 594–5
  image of the Lord at 594–9
  body of St Thomas at 608–9
  known as Rages of the Medes 222–3, 526–7
  known as Erech 532–3
Edgar Aetheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside 478 n.
Edirne, city of 241 n.
Edmund Ironside 478 n.
Edom, as name for Esau 200–1
Edomites 520 n., 540 n.
Edward the Confessor 474–5, 478 n.
Edwin, British king 431–3
eels, in the Ganges 190–1
Egaea, city and see of 198–9, 224–5, 234–5
Eger, see of 274–5
Egesar, king of Babylon 362–3
egg, world as an 26–7
  of a raven 750–3
eggshell, filled with dew 74–5
Egica, Gothic king 392 n.
Egypt, regarded as part of Asia 180–1
  dynasties of 364–5
  and Ptolemies 368–73, 792 n.
  topography of 210–15
Egyptians, descendants of Mizraim 532–3
  taught arithmetic by Abraham 132–3
  and Moses 134–5, 868–9
  dynasties of 364–5
  worship Apis 138–9
  worship idols 118–19
  worship Isis 352 n.
Ehud, judge of Israel 352–3
Eichstätt, see of 274–5
Ekronites, neighbours of the Jews 116–17
Elagabalus, Roman emperor 378–9
Elam, son of Shem 536–7
Elam, king of 112–13
Elamites, name for Persians 536–7
Elath, city of 208 n.
Elbe, river 238–9, 242–3
Eldadus, British king 410–11
Eldol, British king 410–11
Eleanor of Aquitaine 484–5, 716 n.
Eleanor, daughter of Henry II 488–9
Eleans, *see* Elis
Eleazar, high priest, and the Septuagint 792–3
elephants, in Egypt 698–9
  in India 190–1, 854–5
  in Tabrobane 184–5
Eleudiana, city on route to Damascus 710–11
Eleusis, city of 330–1
Eleutherius, pope 412–13
Eleutheropolis, city of 202–3, 496–7, 892–3
Eli, priest 252–3, 356–7, 400–1
Eliakim (Jehoiakim), king of Judah 362–3
Elidurus, British king 408–9
Eliezer, steward of Abraham 200–1
Eligueillus, British king 410–11
Elihu, anger of 540–1
Elijah:
  represented to Abraham by an angel 134–5
  prays for no rain 404–5
  fed by ravens 622 n.
  sent to Sarepta (Zarephath) 504–5
  and the widow 918–19
  dwells on Mount Carmel 896–7
  fast of 808–9
  taken up in a chariot 22–3, 92–3, 94–5, 144–5, 358–9, 508–9
Elim, children of Israel at 514–15, 516–17, 881 n.

Elioforus, Indian city 182, 185, 490–1, 608–9
Eliphaz the Temanite 202–3, 882–3
Elis, Greek town 271 n.
  and Olympic Games 122–3, 358–9
Elisabeth, St 498–9, 894–5
Elisha, spring of 494–5, 506–7, 894–5
  and the Shunammite's son 904 n.
  buried in Samaria 358–9
  tomb of 508–9
Elishah, son of Javan 530–1
Elissa, *see* Dido
Eliud, British king 410–11
Elmacida, town in Taprobane 184–5
Elne, see of 300–1
Elon, judge of Israel 354–5
Elucis, see of 218–19
Ely, see of 312–13, 668–9
Elysian Field 324–5, 734 n.
Emaus, city of 534–5
Embrun, province of 254–5, 294–5, 338–9, 522–3, 594–5, 818–19, 822–3, 844–5
emeralds, found in Scythia 192–3
  benefit the sight 614–15
  worn by snakes 856–7
Emilia, province of 258–9, 260–1, 522–3
  name for Lombardy 270–1
Emly, see of 314–15
Emma, mother of Edward the Confessor 478 n.
Emmaus 218 n.
  Christ at 498–9, 892–3
Empedocles, on the soul 60 n.
emperors, and title of Augustus 450–1, 454–5
  of Rome 373–87
  of the East 386–93
  after Charlemagne 454–71
empire:
  and Donation of Constantine li–lv, 10–11, 468–71
  concept of Four World Empires xlvii, 136 n., 171–2 nn.
  origins of Roman empire 350–1
  restored by Charlemagne 394–7, 436–7
  and the papacy 450–5, 466–71, 628–35
  relationship to eastern empire 450–5
  and need to uphold justice 338–41
empyrean, above the starry heaven 22–3, 78–9
  the abode of spirits 94–5, 96 n.
  Adam's soul created in 58–9
  etymology of 20–1
Enacomias, see of 218–19
enchantment:
  of demons 118–19
  herbs an antidote to 713 n.
  of horses 714–7
  by a ring 610–3
enchantresses, turn men into asses 88–9
encyclopaedia, *Otia imperialia* as xli–xlviii
Endor, Mount 888–9
Enevii, see of 222–3
En-gannim, city of 889 n.
En-gedi, city of 206–7, 896–7
Engeriac, and head of John the Baptist 496–7
Engla, island of 306–7, 418–19
England, cathedral cities of 312–13
  marvels of 635 n.
  origin of name 306–7, 418–19, 430–1
  post-Conquest kings of England 474–91
  see also Britain, marvels of
English, intelligence of 286–7
Enniaunus, British king 409–10
Enoch, son of Cain 104–5
  invented letters 106–7
  enters paradise 94–5, 144–5
Enoch, son of Jared 144–5, 898–9
Enos, son of Seth 110–11, 144–5, 898–9
Eoae, Asian tribe 226–7
Epaphus, built Memphis 130–1, 526–7
Epher, son of Midian 316–17
Ephesus, foundation of 356–7
  burial place of John the Evangelist 234–5
  Seven Sleepers at 508–9, 863 n.
Ephraim, tribe of 288–9, 352–3, 356–7
Ephratah, as name for Bethlehem 510–11, 890–1
Epicurus, on the creation of the world 28–9
Epidaurus (Dubrovnik), snake at 618–19
Epiphania, see and city of 222–3, 224–5, 534–5
Epirus, region of Greece 248–9
equator, marks division of the world 68–9
Equense, see of 282–3
Equilio, see of 274–5
equinocephali 696–7
equinoxes 44–5
  and the moon 346–7
Eraric, Gothic king 387 n.
Erasmus, mocks *ars notaria* 802 n.
Erchinoald, Frankish mayor 438–9, 440–1
Erech, as name for Edessa 532–3

Erichthonius, inventor of the chariot 118–19
Eridanus (Po), river 272–3
Ermenfred, Frankish official 442–3
Erwig, Gothic ruler 392 n.
Erythraean Sybil 816–17
Esau:
  birth of 352–3
  birthright of 136–7, 200–1
  and Jacob 510–11, 904 n.
  and Job 540–1
  hated by God 908–9
Escolaria, island of 184–5
Eshcol, confederate of Abraham 206–7
Esius, see of 218–19
Espinoso de Cumpludo, Spanish city 304–5
Esquiline Hill (Rome) 262–3, 264–5
Estision, see of 218–19
Estomason, see of 218–19
Estoublon, village of 844–5
Estrildis, queen of Germany 402–3
Esztergom, see of 274–5
Etham, city and wilderness of 166–7, 512–13, 514–15, 516–17
Ethelbert, king of Kent 430–1
Ethelfrid, king of Northumbria 430–1, 432–3
ether:
  contains the planets 40–1
  identified with heaven 36–7, 58–9
  surrounded by heaven 26–7
Ethiopia:
  annexed by Semiramis 172–3
  deserts of 42–3, 180–1
  topography of 214–15, 520–1
  and the sun's abode 702–7
  western and eastern 321 n.
Ethiopian:
  name means 'darkness' 320–1
  Ethiopian Ocean 320–1
Ethiopians, named after Cush 214–15, 320–1, 532–3
Etna, Mount:
  and King Arthur 336–7
  volcano of 334–5, 342–3, 560–1
Etruria, province of 270–1, 284–5
Etruscus, king of Etruria 270–1
Euboea, region of Greece 246–7
Eucherius, Vandal king 382–5
Eucherius of Lyons:
  writings known to Gervase xliii
  and legend of Theban legion 632–5
Eudo, prince of Aquitaine 392–3, 444–5, 446–7
Eudoxia, wife of emperor Arcadius 374–5
Eudoxius, re-baptized Valens 382–3
Euergetae, subdued by Alexander the Great 832–3
Eugenia, St, martyrdom of 264–5
Eugenis, one of the Seven Sleepers in Ephesus 508–9
Eugenius III, pope 458–9
Eumenes, general of Alexander the Great 874–5
Euphrates, river 72–3, 182–3, 194–5, 196–7, 198–9
  course of 224–5, 492–3
Euria, see of 224–5
Euric, Gothic king 384–5
euroauster, wind 54–5
Europa, daughter of Agenor 236–7
Europe:
  cathedral cities of 272–85
  provinces of listed 522–5
  topography of 178–81, 236–55, 284–93
  Ultima Thule part of 358–9
Europus, see of 222–3
eurus, wind 52–5
Eurysthenes, king of Sparta 404–5
Eusebius of Caesarea:
  writings known to Gervase xliii
  Historia ecclesiastica 595 n., 598 n., 604 n., 650–1
Eusebius of Vercelli, St 380–1
  prayer of 600–1, 920–1
Eustace, son of King Stephen 484–5
Eustace, St 882–3
Eutropius of Orange, bishop 294–5, 734–5
Eutropius, translator of Pseudo-Abdias 492–3
Eutychius of Constantinople 216–17
Euxia, former name of Egypt 208–9
Euxine Sea 178–9, 232–3, 238–9, 246–7, 252–3, 460–1
Evagrius, and image of Christ 595 n.
Evander, son of Carmentis 122 n.
  founder of Rome 262–3
Evangelium Nicodemi 590 n., 595 n., 598 n., 605 n., 606 n., 795 n.
Eve, formed from Adam's rib 546–7
  seduced by serpent 86–7
  forfeits paradise 810 n., 916–17
  burial place of 102–3, 201 n.
Evicia, city of 878–9
Evil-merodach, king of Babylon 362–3

- Evora, see of 304–5
- Évreux, see of 300–1
- Exeter, see of 312–13
- exorcism, of demons 98–9, 118–19
- Ezion-gaber, encampment of Israelites 518–19
- Ezra, restores the law 794–5
  - see also *Apocalypse of Ezra*

- Fabrician Bridge, Rome 264–5
- Facidia, suburb of Rhinocorura 214–15
- Faenza, see of 278–9
- Faganus, missionary to Britain 412–13
- fairies:
  - fairy butler 672–5
  - fairy horses 670–3, 740–3
  - fairy lovers 664–5, 730–1
  - fairy midwife 718–21
  - lead mortals astray 676–7
  - thefts from 674 n.
  - *see also* portunes, Mélusine, Morgan the Fay
- Famagusta, see of 328–9
- Fano, see of 278–9
- Faram, see of 220–1
- Farasmanes, *see* Pharasmanes
- Faro, Cape 332–3
- Fasciaces, city of 854–5, 858–9
- fauns, characteristics of 98–101
  - *see also* Pan
- Faversham Abbey 818–19
- favonius, as cardinal wind 52–3
- Felicitas, mother of the Seven Sleepers in Ephesus 508–9
- Felicity, St, cemetery of 266–7
- Felix, monk, takes head of John the Baptist 496–7
- Felix, St, cemetery of 266–7
- Feltre, see of 274–5
- fennel, antidote to enchantments 714–15
- Ferentino, see of 278–9
- Fermo, city and see of 258–9, 278–9
- Ferns, see of 314–15
- Ferracutus, giant 150–1
- Ferramund, Frankish king 290–1
- Ferrara, see of 276–7
- Festus, procurator of Judaea 376–7
- Fetellus, *see* Fretellus
- Fiesole, see of 278–9
- fig-trees:
  - of Egypt 568–9
  - near Sea of Galilee 654–5
  - in Sicily 332–3
- Filonia, fort of 710–11
- Fiorenzuola, see of 281 n.
- firmament:
  - location of 36–7, 530–1, 830–1
  - nature of 22–3, 828–9
  - stars placed in 22–3, 40–1, 42–3
- First Aquitanica, province of 524–5
- First Belgica, province of 524–5
- First Germanica, province of 524–5
- First Lugdunensis, province of 524–5
- First Pannonia, province of 522–3
- First Phrygia, province of 522–3
- First Raetia, province of 256–7, 522–3
- First Thrace, province of 522–3
- Firth of Forth 307 n.
- Fitz Hugh, *see* Osbert Fitz Hugh
- Flaccianus, proconsul known to St Augustine 816–17
- Flamminia, province of 258–9, 260–1, 522–3
  - sees of 276–7
- Flamminian Gate, *see* Porta Flamminia
- Flamminian theatre, Rome 266–7
- Flanders, region of 288–9
  - as name for Ruthenia 426–7
- Flaochad, Frankish mayor 438–9
- Flavias, see of 224–5
- Flavius Paulus, rebels against Wamba 392–3
- Flavius, city of 710–11
- Fleury, *see* Hugh of Fleury
- Florence, see of 278–9
- Florus, procurator of Judaea 376–7
- fly-talisman, devised by Virgil 576–7
- Foligno, see of 278–9
- folklore, Gervase's interest in lx–lxii
- *follets*, mischievous demons 98–9
- Fondi, see of 278–9
- Forcalquier, castle of 620–1
- Forconi, city and see of 258–9, 278–9
- Forlimpopoli, see of 276, 279
- Forlì, see of 276–7
- Formenceria, city of 878–9
- Fortunate Islands 180–1
- Forum Cornelii, city of 258–9
- Fossombrone, see of 278–9
- Framata, Indian city 184–5
- France, region of Gaul 298–301, 470–1
- Francia, region of Gallia Comata 286–7, 288–9, 292 n.
- Francio (Francus), Trojan king 288–9
- frankincense:
  - life-giving properties of 85 n.

  - produced in Arabia 196–7, 198–9, 228–9, 270–1
  - produced in Ethiopia 706–7
  - phoenix feeds on 708–9
- Franks, Trojan origins of 234–5, 288–9
  - abode of 286–7
  - early history of 288–93
  - supersede Goths 384–7
  - subjected to Brennus 408–9
  - kingdom of 434–51
  - united with empire 454–7
  - speak Latin 538–9
- Fraortes, ruler of the Medes 172–3
- Fredegar, writings known to Gervase xliii
- Frederic, brother of Theodoric II, Gothic ruler 384–5
- Frederick I Barbarossa, and Pope Alexander III xxvi, 460–1
  - and Arles xxxi
  - Gervase sees at Congress of Venice 460–1
  - campaigns in Italy and on crusade 458–63
  - attacks Normans in Sicily 464–5
  - legislates on oaths 136–7
  - legislates on fiefs 458–9
  - cedes castle of Livron 593 n.
  - death of 462–3
- Frederick II l–li, 466 n.
- Freising, see of 276–7
- Fretellus, writings known to Gervase xliii, 496 n.
- Fréjus, see of 302–3
- Frigento, see of 280–1
- Frignano, Italian city 258–9
- Frollo, Roman tribune 424–5
- Frontinus, *see* Julius Frontinus
- Fronto of Périgueux, bishop 734–5
- Fruttuaria, monastery of 572–3
- Fucinus, *see* Lake Fucinus
- Fulgenius, British king 410–11
- Fulgentius, and the star of the Magi 40–1
- Fulk V of Anjou (Fulk d'Outremer), king of Jerusalem 482–3
- Fundigus, Palestinian city 202–3

- Gabala, see of 222 n.
- Gad, prophet 404–5
- Gadara, see of 218–19
- Gadites, land of 518–19
- Gaerinus, brother of St Leger 440–1
- Gaeta, see of 278–9
- Gaetulia, African region 318–19
- Gaetulians, African people 318–19, 532–3, 539 n.
- Galatia, region of Asia Minor 234–5, 522–3, 836 n.
- Galatians 234–5, 530–1
- Galerius Maximianus, Roman emperor 380–1
- Galich, Ruthenian city 244–5
- Galicia, province of Spain 302–3, 304–5, 524–5
- Galilean Gate, Jerusalem 502–3
- Galilee, region of Palestine 204–5, 508–9
  - Sea of 654–5, 884–5, 896–7; *see also* Tiberius, Sea of, Gennesaret, lake of
  - Galilee of the Gentiles 884–5, 886–7
- Galla Placidia, wife of Athaulf 384–5
- Gallia Belgica 140–1, 236–7, 252–3, 294–5
  - topography of 286–7
  - tribes of 292–3
- Gallia Braccata 286–7
- Gallia Celtica 286–7, 288–9
- Gallia Comata 286–7, 292–3
- Gallia Lugdunensis 292–3, 294–5, 298–9
- Gallia Togata 286–7, 298–9
- Gallic Sea 254–5, 294–5, 344–5
- Gallienus, Roman emperor 378–9
- Gallipoli, see of 280–1
- Gallograeci, as name for Galatians 234–5
- Gallograecia 837 n.
- Gallus, associate of British ruler Allectus 414–15
- Gallus Hostilius, Roman emperor 378–9
- Galtelli, see of 346–7
- Gamaliel 296–7
  - burial of 984–5
- Gambara, mother of Ibor and Aio 834–5
- Gandaridae, Asian people 226–7
- Gangaridae, subdued by Alexander the Great 832–3
- Gangarus, king of India 70–1
- Ganges, river 70–1, 72–3, 182–3, 188–9, 190–1, 226–7, 858–9
- Garama, African city 322–3
- Garamantes, Ethiopian people 214–15, 318–19, 320–1, 322–3, 538–9
- Gardon, river 72–3
- Gargano, Monte 280–1
- Gargarum, river 698–9
- Garmani, Indian people 184–5
- Gascons:
  - wear tight clothes 298–9
  - speak Latin 538–9
- Gascony 286–7, 298–9, 524–5
  - sees of 300–1

Gaul:
  provinces and cities of 298–303
  regions of 292–9
  topography and history of 284–93
  Cisalpine 260–1, 298 n.
  Subalpine 682–3
  Transalpine 298 n.
Gaulales, African people 320–1, 322–3, 708–9
Gaulalian Mountains 322–3
Gauloe, island free from snakes 309 n.
Gauls:
  invade Italy 260–1
  settle in Galatia 234–5, 836–7
  sack Rome 174–7, 286–7, 402–3
  sack Constantinople 402–3
  known as Celtici 286–7
  atrocities of 836–41
  cuisine of 624–5
  speak Latin 538–9
Gawain, nephew of King Arthur 424–5, 428–9
Gaza, Palestinian city 202–3, 210–11, 220–1, 498–9
Gebal, city and see of 222–3, 526–7, 790–1
Gedaliah, governor of Judah 512–13
Gedara, see of 220–1
Gegotones, mythical people 708 n.
Gehazi, servant of Elisha 904 n.
Gehenna 342–3, 764–5
  location of 768–9
Gelasius I, pope li
  letter to Anastasius 2 n., 6 n.
Gelasius II, pope 456–7
Gelduba, Thracian city 246–7
Geneva, city of 300–1
  see also Lake Geneva
Gennesaret, region of 654–5
  lake of 886–7
  see also Galilee, Sea of
Genoa, city and see of 256–7, 276–7
Genoans, subjects of Otto IV 338–9
Geoffrey, brother of Henry II 482–3
Geoffrey, duke of Brittany 486–9
Geoffrey of Monmouth, writings known to Gervase xliii, lvi
Geoffrey V Plantagenet of Anjou 482–3, 484 n.
geography, Gervase's knowledge of xliv–xlvi
George of Velay, bishop 294–5, 734–5
George, St, relics of 894–5
Gepidi, conquered by the Lombards 840–1, 842–3
Gera, father of Ehud 352–3
Gerace, see of (Calabria) 282–3
Gerace, see of (Sardinia) 346–7
Gerar, city of 130–1, 534–5
Gerasa, see of 222–3
gerfalcons 242–3
Gergesa, Palestinian town 896–7
Gerin of Chartres 426–7
Germanicopolis, see of 224–5
Germans, as former name of Franks 284–7
Germanus of Auxerre, bishop 418–19
Germany, cathedral cities of 274–7
  as part of Gaul 286–7
  Lower Germany, topography of 242–3
  Upper Germany, topography of 238–43
  origin of the name 834–5
  Seven Sleepers in 862–5
Gerona, city and see of 304–5, 684–5, 688–9
Gertrude, mother of Henry the Lion 466 n.
Gervase of Tilbury:
  origins xxv–xxvi
  studied at Bologna xxvi
  and John of Naples xxvi, 804–5
  and John Pignatelli xxvi, 580–1
  at court of Henry II xxxvi–xxvii
  and Henry the Young King xxvii, 14–15, 298–9, 786 n.
  and William of the White Hands xxvii–xxviii
  and Ralph of Coggeshall xxvii, xxxvi–xxxvii
  in service of William II of Sicily xxviii
  in Arles xxviii–xxxiii
  and Imbert d'Aiguières xxviii–xxx
  marriage of xxix
  marshal of Arles xxxiii
  as a judge xxix–xxxiii
  and Otto IV xxxi–xxxii, xxxviii–xl, l–lv
  and John Mark xl
  possible association with Ebstorf xxxiii–xxxvi
  as a canon xxxvi–xxxviii
  early works of xxvii, xcii
  Commentary on Lord's Prayer xxxvii–xxxviii, xcii–xcv
  and Peter of Capua 560–1
  and Ralph Niger xxvii, 186–7, 464 n.
  and Vincent of Cracow 244 n.
Gesir, city of 878–9
Gesta Titi et Vespasiani 604–5, 606 n.

Getae, European people 240–1, 244–5
Gether, son of Aram 536–7
Gethsemane, Christ at 892–3
Gewissei, British tribe 414–15
Ghor, Valley of the 884–5
ghosts lx, 112–15, 588–91, 752–5, 758–85
Gibeah, Mount 890–1
Gibraltar:
  Rock of 179 n.
  Strait of 180–1, 302–3, 320–1, 322 n., 324–5
Gideon, judge of Israel 120–1, 352–3, 510–11
Gihon (Nile), river 70, 73, 182–3, 538–9
Gihon, Mount 892–3
Gilboa, mountains of 652–3, 884–5, 888–9
Gildas, and laws of Belinus 407–8
  on provinces of Britain 412–13
Gilead, Mount 492–3
Gilgal, Lord's Field at 494–5, 506–7
Giovinazzo, see of 280–1
Girbert, antipope 456–7
Girgashites, people expelled by Israel 518–19
Girolus, at Rome 266–7
Gisulf I, Lombard duke 392–3
Glandèves, see of 302–3
Glasgow, see of 312–13
Glaucus of Chios, welds iron 124–5
Glendalough, see of 314–15
Gloucester 412–13
Gloucestershire, forest in 672–3
Gniezno, see of 272–3
Godefrid, king of Denmark 862–3
Godfrey of Bouillon, ruler of Jerusalem 478–9, 480–1
Goffar, king of Aquitaine 148–9, 398–9
Gog and Magog, confined by Alexander the Great 184–5
Gogmagog, giant 148–9
Gogmagog Hills 668 n.
Golan, city in Bashan 518–19
Golgotha 500–1, 892–3
Goliath, giant 146–7, 150–1, 496–7
Gomer, son of Japheth 530–1
Gomorrah, one of the 'cities of the plain' 76 n., 204–5, 534–5
Gondophernes, *see* Gundaphorus
Goneril, daughter of Leir 404–5
Gorboduc, British king 406–7
Gorbonianus, British king 408–9
Gordian III, Roman emperor 378–9
Gordianus, cemetery of 266–7
Gorgon Islands 324–5
Gorgon's head 328–9
Gorgons, people with goats' horns and hooves 708–9
Gorlois, duke of Cornwall 420–1
Gortyn, Cretan city 328–9
Goshen, land of 212–13
Gothia, in northern Europe 236–7, 238–9, 522–3
Goths:
  come from Germany 834–5
  cross the Danube 382–3
  as Arians 382–3, 388–9
  sack Rome 176–7, 384–5, 386–7, 403 n.
  divide into two kingdoms 384–5
  rule Italy 386–7
  destroy Stridon 248–9
  and Narses 842–5
  rule Spain 386–93, 402–3
  surrender Narbonne 448–9
Gotland, island of 324–7
  ruled by Arthur 326–7, 424–5
  ruled by Malgo 326–7, 428–9
Grado, patriarchate of 274–5
Graecus, Greek king 248–9
grant, English demon 676–9
grapes:
  of Montferrand 634–5
  of Roquemaure 758–9
  which animals cannot eat 820–1
Gratian, Roman emperor 382–3, 416–17
  arch of Theodosius, Valentinian and Gratian 264–5
Gratian, Roman citizen sent to Britain 416–17
Gratian, author of the *Decretum* xlix
Gravina, see of 280–1
great year, defined 46–7
Greece, topography of 248–53
  called Illyricum 260–1
Greenshield, *see* Brutus
Gregory the Great 388–9
  and Augustine of Canterbury 298–9, 312–13, 430–1
  as source for canon law 630 n.
  wrote *Moralia* 844–5
  on the end of the world 770–1
  on the fire of purgatory 762–5
  on hell 768–9
  on life after death 772–5
  on saints 24–5
  on vital spirits 60–1

Gregory III, pope, and Charles Martel 10–11, 394–5, 446–7
Gregory VIII, pope 462–3
Grenoble, city and see of 248–9, 300–1, 640–1
griffins:
  carvings of 268–9
  characteristics of 186–7, 856–7
  on islands in Indian Ocean 184–5
  in Scythia 190–1
Grimoald, son of Pippin I 440–1
Grimoald, son of Pippin II 442–3
Grosseto, see of 278–9
Guanius, king of the Huns 416–17
Guardialfiera, see of 280–1
Gubbio, see of 278–9
Gudmund, king of Africa 428–31
Guerau, *see* Guiraut
Guiderius, British king 410–11
Guiraut III Ponç de Cabrera, troubadour 738–43
Guiscard, *see* Robert Guiscard
Guitard, duke of Poitou 424–5
Guithelin, British king 408–9
Guithelinus, archbishop of London 416–17
Gundaphorus, Indo-Parthian king 183 n., 184–5, 490–1, 608–9
Gundemar, Gothic king 390–1
Guntramn, Frankish king 388–9, 436–7, 438–9
Gurguit Bartruc, British king 408–9
Gurguncius, British king 410–11
Gurgustius, British king 406–7
Guthlac, Danish king 406–7
Gutmund, king of the Gepidi 842–3
Gwendolen, British queen 402–5
Győr, see of 274–5
Gyulafehérvár, see of 274–5

Habakkuk, carried by an angel 92–3
Hadrian, Roman emperor 378–9
  founds colony at Jerusalem 204–5
  palace of Trajan and Hadrian 266–7
Hadroga, see of 220–1
Hadrumetum, African city 318–19
Haemorrhissa, called Veronica, cured by Christ 604–5
Hagar, mother of Ishmael 134–5, 204–5, 316–17
  see also Keturah
Hagarenes, name for Saracens 204–5
Hagia Sion, Jerusalem 500–1
Hagia Sophia, Constantinople 842–3
Hagia Sophia, Edessa 596 n.
Hagia Sophia, Jerusalem 502–3
Hagigah 828 n.
hags 722 n.
Haifa, city of 223 n.
Halberstadt, see of 274–5
Ham, son of Noah 108–9, 144–5, 166–7
  allotted Africa 178–9, 538–9
  descendants of 532–7
  identified with Zoroaster 110–11
Hamar, see of 284–5
Hamath, city of 534–5
Hamo, *see* Lelius Hamo
Hamor, father of Shechem 888–9
Hampton, town of 412–13
Hannibal, Carthaginian general 273 n., 876–7
Haradah, encampment of Israelites 516–17
Harald Hardrada, king of Norway 477 n.
Haran, brother of Abraham 108–9, 538–9
  buried at Ur 110–11
Haran, city of 112–13, 202–3, 223 n., 492–3
Hardini, see of 224–5
Harold, king of England 474–9
Hashmonah, encampment of Israelites 516–17
Hastings, battle of 476–9
Havelberg, see of 274–5
Haveringemere 732–3
Havilah, land of 70–1
Havilah, son of Cush 70–1, 532–3
Hazael, king of Syria 358–9
Hazeroth, encampment of Israelites 516–17
headless people 188–9, 700–1, 900–1
heaven:
  created by God 28–9, 32–3, 36–7
  surrounds pure ether 26–7
  and the Trinity 20–1
  and the humanity of Christ 20–3
  empyrean 20–1, 58–9, 94–5
  ethereal heaven 22–5
  airy heaven 22–5
  of living things 24–5
  third heaven 758–9
  seventh heaven 24–5
  and the saints 22–5, 772–3, 774–5
  feast of St Michael celebrated in 780–1
  dew of 72–5
  rainbow of 162–3
  Albigensian views on 30–1
  Jewish views on 36–7, 828–31
  see also paradise
Hebrew Truth 350–1

Hebrides, see of the 284–5
Hebron:
  abode of giants 146–7, 206–7
  burial place of patriarchs 200–1, 896–7
  known as St Abraham 220–1, 526–7
  a city of refuge 518–19
  and David 206–7, 498–9
  field of 810–11
  see of 220–1
Hebrus, river 246–7
Heccomolia, Parthian city 194–5
Hectesiphon, city of 196–7
Hector, Trojan warrior 248–9, 402–3, 486–7
Helen of Troy 352–3, 354–5, 356–7
Helena, mother of Constantine the Great 380–1, 414–15
  and True Cross 646–7, 892–3, 898–9
Helenopolis (Bithynia) 232–3, 647 n.
Helenopolis (Palestine) see of 220–1
Helenus, son of Priam 146–7, 248–9, 398–9
Heli, British king 410–11
Heliochora, sea of 166–7
Heliopolis (Egypt) 138–9, 212–13
Heliopolis or Tulupa, see of 222–3
Heliopolis, island of 704–5, 706–7, 708–9
heliotrope, and gift of invisibility 616–17
Helis, see of 220–1
hell:
  gates of 590–1
  location of 768–9
  and Judgment Day 772–3, 774–5
  torments of 758–9, 764–5, 916–17
  two hells 94–7
  and *Visio Lazari* 760–1
Hellas, region of Greece 248–9
Hellen, Greek king 248–9
Hellespont (Dardanelles) 179 n., 232–3, 252–3, 366, 369
  island of 326–7
  province of 522–3
  Sibyl of 816–17
Helvetii, Gallic tribe 292–3
Helvius, *see* Pertinax
Henchir el Kasbate, African city 321 n.
Hengist, Saxon leader 150–1, 416–19
Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, father of Otto IV 434–5, 488 n.
Henry of Brabant, father-in-law of Otto IV lxxix
Henry I, king of England, great-great-grandfather of Otto IV 436–7, 674–5
  reign of 478–83
Henry II, king of England, grandfather of Otto IV xxxii, 396–7, 434–5, 488 n., 716–17, 784–5
  son of Empress Matilda 482–3
  reign of 484–5
  invades Ireland 308–9
  children of 484–9
  and Gervase xxv, xxvi, xxix
Henry the Young King 14–15, 298–9, 786 n.
  eulogy of 486–7
  and Gervase xxvii, xxix, xcii
Henry I, king of France 472–3
Henry I the Fowler 457 n.
Henry II, emperor 456–7
Henry III, emperor 456–7
Henry IV, emperor 456–7
Henry V, emperor 456–7
Henry VI, emperor 460–7, 468 n.
  marries Constance of Sicily 464–7
  holds Richard the Lionheart for ransom 464–7
Henwinus, duke of Cornwall 404–5
Heraclea (Thrace) 246–7
Heraclea (Turkey) 232–3
Heracleonas, eastern emperor 390–1
Heraclitus, death of 120–1
Heraclius, eastern emperor 390–1, 898–9
Herbathanis, Parthian city 194–5
Herbipolis, name for Würzburg 528–9
Hercules, deeds of 832–3
  father of Sardis 260–1, 342–3
  founds Olympic games 352–3
  marries daughter of Aphranes 316–17
  descendants of 834–5
  monument of 852–3, 860–1
  see Pillars of Hercules
Hercules Maximianus, Roman emperor 380 n.
Hereford, see of 312–13
Herei, see of 222–3
heresy, Gervase's views on xxvii, xxxviii, xlvii, xlviii, lv, 30–1, 664–5, 784–5
  see also Albigensians
Hermenegild, Gothic prince 388–9
Hermes Trismegistus 120–1
Hermes, St, and Domitilla, cemetery of 268–9
Hermippus, village of 500–1
Hermon, Mount 888–9
Hermopolis, see of 224–5
Hermus, river 234–5

Herod the Great, king of Judaea 376–7
  builds Caesarea Maritime 218–19, 896–7
  builds Sebaste 221 n., 495 n.
  imprisons men in hippodrome 612–13
Herodias, and John the Baptist 496–7
Herodias, nocturnal goddess 723 n.
Herophila, Erythraean Sibyl 816–17
Heruli, German tribe 834–5, 842–3
Hesperi, Ethiopian tribe 214–15, 320–1
Hesperia:
  as name for Italy 256–7
  as name for Spain 254–7, 302–3
Hesperida, city of 322–3
Hesperides, islands of 322–3
Hesperius, Mount 320–1
Hesperus, evening star 254–5, 302–3, 320–1, 322–3
Hesperus, king of Spain 302–3
Hexacomias, see of 218–19
Hezekiah, king of Judah 168–9, 360–1, 808–9, 816–17
Hierapolis (Aleppo) 218–19, 526–7
Hierapolis (Malbech) 528–9
Hierapolis, see of 218–19
Hierasson, see of 218–19
Hierosolima, as name for Jerusalem 202–3
Hilarion, St:
  birthplace of 498–9
  travels of 210–11
  and boa snake 618–19
  Life of St Hilarion 610–11
Hilary, bishop of Poitiers 380–1
Hildesheim, see of 274–5
  and Master John Mark xl, 824–5
Hildibad, Gothic king 387 n.
Hincmar of Rheims, on *Dusii* 730 n.
Hippo Regius, African city 318–19
hippocentaur, seen by St Antony 98–9
hippodrome, etymology of 612–13
hippophugi, creatures in river Briso 700–1
hippopotami, description of 850–1
Hippus, see of 218–19
Hiram, king of Tyre 886–7
Hisham, father of al-Hakam, Saracen ruler 454–5
Hispalis, as name for Seville 180–1
Hispanus, king of Spain 302–3
Hittites 518–19
Hivites 518–21
hobgoblins 676 n.
Hoel, king of Armorica 422–3, 426–7
Holda, Dame 723 n.
Holofernes, slain by Judith 498–9, 886–7
Homer 404–5, 816–17
Honoratus, St, of Arles 690 n.
Honorias, province of Pontus 520–1
Honorius, Roman emperor 382–3, 384–5
Honorius II, pope 456–7
Honorius of Autun, writings known to Gervase xlii, xliii
Hor, Mount 208–9, 518–19, 808–9
Horace, writings known to Gervase xliii
Horeb, Mount 196–7, 512–13, 514–17
Horim 520–1
Horsa, lands in Britain 416–17
Hor-hagidgad, encampment of Israelites 516–17
Hosea, prophet 406–7
Huesca, see of 304–5
Hugh of Arles, king of Italy 456–7
Hugh II Béroard, archbishop of Arles xxxiii
Hugh Capet, king of France 470–3
Hugh II de Château-Neuf, abbot of Bonnevaux 786–9
Hugh of Fleury, writings known to Gervase xliii
Hugh the Great, duke of the French 472–3
Humbald, duke of Armorica 416–17
Humber, king of the Huns 402–3
Humber, river 402–3, 406–7, 412–13
Hungary 242–3
  sees of 274–5, 276–7
Hunia, as name for Hungary 242–3, 244–5
Huns:
  come from Hungary 243–4
  attack the Goths 382–3
  called Avares 842–3
hunting-horn of St Simeon 692–3
Hydaspes, river 192–3
Hydra, mythical monster 120–1
hydrophagi ('water-eaters') 696–7
hyenas, in Taprobane 184–5
Hyksos, Egyptian dynasty 365 n.
Hylarian, mother of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus 508–9
hyle, primordial matter 34–5, 38–9, 830–1
Hyperboreans 84 n., 181 n.
  abode of 230–1, 522–3
Hyrcania, region of 190–1, 492–3, 877 n.
  topography of 192–3
Hyrcanians, subdued by Alexander the Great 366–7
Hyrcanus, high priest of the Jews 368–71, 376–7

hyssop:
  discussed by Solomon 122–3
  in purification rituals 616–17

Iberia (Georgia), region of 230–1, 695 n.
  as name for Spain 302–3
Iberian Sea 344–5
Iberians, descendants of Tubal 530–1
Ibiza, free from snakes 309 n., 344–5
Ibor, Scandinavian leader 834–5
Ibzan, judge of Israel 354–5
Icaria, island of 330–1
Icarian Sea 332–3
Icarus 332–3
Iceland 324–7
  ruled by Arthur 326–7, 426–7
  ruled by Malgo 326–7, 428–9
  part of Europe 326–7
Ichthyophagi 697 n., 854–5
Iconium, city of 232–3, 240–1, 328–9, 460–1
Idanha, see of 304–5
Idumaea, region of 200–3, 208–9, 652–3
Idumaeans 198–9
Idvallo, British king 410–11
Ijeabarim, encampment of Israelites 518–19
Ildebrandino VIII 808–9
Ilia, *see* Rhea Silvia
Ilium, name for Troy 234–5
  destruction of 290–1
Illyria, region of 260–1
Illyrian Sea 258–9
Illyrians, attacked by Alexander the Great 366–7
Illyricum 380–1, 522–3
  as name for Greece 248–9, 260–1
Ilus, mythical king 234–5
Imabus, *see* Imavus
Imavus, Mount 182–3, 184–5, 190–1, 224–5, 226–7, 492–3
Imbert d'Aiguières, Gervase's relationship with xxviii–xxx
  abducted as a baby 724–5
  dedicates church to St Martha 721 n.
Imola, citadel of 258–9
  see of 278–9
Inachus, father of Phoroneus 136–7
  father of Io 352–3
incubi 96–7, 100–1
  as fathers of giants 146–7
  and lamias 718 n.
  as Silvani and Pans 728–9, 730 n.
Indi, Ethiopian people 214–15, 320–1
India:
  topography of 182–5
  and loadstone 562–3
  regions of 490–1
  strange creatures of 184–91, 334–5
  Alexander in 848–61
indiction, defined 358–61
  Roman 50–1
Indus, river 182–3, 192–3, 194–5, 198–9, 214–15, 492–3
Ingenius, British king 408–9, 410–11
Ingobert, Frankish nobleman 440–1
Inniscathay, see of 314–15
Innocent II, pope 456–9, 468–9
Innocent III, pope:
  views on the empire l–liv
  and Otto IV xxxi, 452–5, 466–71
  and Albigensian Crusade 784–5
  and *De officio missae* xcii
  addressed 632–3
Innogen, wife of Brutus, British king 146, 149, 398–9
invisibility, gift of 616–17
Io (Isis) 136–7, 352 n.
Ionian Sea 246–7, 260–1, 284–5, 530–1
Ionitus, son of Noah 108–9, 166–9
  invents astronomy 108–9, 166–7
  and the four kingdoms 168–9
Ireland, topography of 308–11
  sees of 314–15
  ruled by Arthur 424–5, 426–7
  ruled by Malgo 428–9
  Gerald of Wales on lviii n.
Irene, Byzantine empress 449 n., 450 n.
Irene-Maria, wife of Philip of Swabia 452 n.
Irinopolis, name for Baghdad 222–3, 526–7
  see of 222–3
Irinopolis (Armenia) 224–5
Isaac, birth announced by an angel 134–5
  feast in honour of 136–7
  promise concerning 206–7
  sacrifice of 500–1, 614–15
  burial place of 200 n.
Isaac II, Byzantine emperor 452 n.
Isaiah, prophet 358–9, 406–7
Isauria:
  as a city 232–3
  region of 200–1, 234–5, 492–3
Ischia, see of 282–3
Isembard, nephew of king of France 430–1
Isernia, see and city of 258–9, 282–3

Ishmael, birth announced by an angel 134–5
  father of Nebaioth 204–5
Ishmaelites 204–5
Isidore of Seville, writings known to Gervase xliii, lix
  on Sicily 334–5
Isis:
  teaches Egyptians agriculture 136–7
  daughter of Inachus 352–3
  wife of Apis 138–9
  her symbol a cow 138–9
islands:
  Balearic 132–3
  Cyclades 332–3
  floating 638 n.
  free from snakes 309 n., 691 n.
  Fortunate 180–1, 324–5
  of the Mediterranean 252–5
  of the ocean 304–15, 324–7
  of Sticados (Stoechades) 294–5, 344–5
Isle of Man 308–9, 310–11
Isnard, knight of the castle of Dauphin 620–3
Isocrates 120–1
Isoret, giant 150–1
Israel:
  history of 350–63, 368–71, 866–71
  route of the exodus 512–19
  and the 'six ages' 540–7
Isère, river 310–11
Issachar, tribe of 352–3
Issus, Gulf of 326–7
Ister, *see* Danube
Isthmus, links Achaea and Attica 248–9
Istria, region of 246–7, 252–3
  sees of 274–5
Italians, Latin speakers 538–9
Italicus, and St Hilarion 612–13
Italus, king of the Siculi 254–5, 332–3
Italy:
  topography of 254–5
  provinces of 256–61, 522–3
Iulus, son of Aeneas, *see* Ascanius
ivory, found in India 190–1, 856–7
Ivrea, see of 276–7

Jabal, invents tents 106–7
Jabbok, river 510–11, 882–3
Jabin, king of Canaan 352–3
Jacob, and Esau 136–7, 352–3, 908–9
  'the supplanter' 904–5
  ladder of 494–5, 500–1
  and Laban 492–3, 510–11
  father of Judah 202–3
  fords river Jabbok 882–3
  hides idols 890–1
  buries Rachel 890–1
  and well in Samaria 494–5, 888–9
  burial of 510–11, 896–7
Jacques de Vitry:
  Exempla 750 n.
Jadzwingi, pagan tribe 246–7
Jaffa, see and city of 220–1, 526–7
Jago, British king 406–7
Jair, judge of Israel 122–3, 352–3
Jairus, synagogue ruler 650–1
James, St, bishop of Jerusalem 504–5
James, son of Alphaeus 884–5
Jamnia, see and city of 218–19, 526–7
Janiculum, hill of Rome 262–3, 264–5
Janneus, *see* Alexander Janneus
Janus, two-faced god 46–7
  gates of 66–7, 372–3
Japheth, son of Noah 144–5, 166–7, 530–1
  acquires Europe 178–9, 538–9
  descendants of 530–3, 536–7
  father of Tiras 246–7, 284–5
  Romans descended from 168–9
Jared, father of Enoch 144–5, 898–9
Jason, and Albanians 230–1
Javan, son of Japheth 530–1
Jebus, as name for Jerusalem 202–3
Jebusites, descendants of Canaan 202–3, 504–5, 518–19
Jeconiah, *see* Jehoiachin
Jehoahaz, king of Judah 362–3
Jehoiachin, king of Judah 362–3
Jehoiakim, king of Judah 362–3
Jehoram, king of Judah 358–9
Jehoshaphat, king of Judah 358–9
Jehoshaphat, Valley of 892–3, 894–5
Jemini, father of Gera 352–3
Jephthah, judge of Israel 354–5
Jeremiah:
  birth announced by an angel 134–5
  born at Anathoth 498–9
  thrown into a pit (of lions) 502–3
  and Abimelech 500–1
  bones of 805 n.
Jericho, see of 220–1
  known as Jericunthus 528–9
  plain of 868–9, 896–7
Jeroboam, king of Israel 356–7
  and golden calves 652–3, 888–9

Jerome, St:
  born in Stridon 248–9
  taught by Donatus 380–1
  translates Origen 41 n.
  and *Life of Blessed Paul, the First Hermit* 98–9
  and *Life of St Hilarion* 210–11, 284–5, 610–11
Jerusalem:
  in the centre of the world 68–71, 206 n., 774 n.
  known as Solima 112–13, 114–15, 202–3
  adorned by Solomon 202–3
  plundered by Shishak 356–7
  besieged by Chaldaeans 362–3
  captured by Pompey 370–1, 867 n.
  besieged by Titus and Vespasian 118–19, 204–5, 606 n.
  destruction of 204–5
  rebuilt by Hadrian 204–5, 378–9
  captured by the Persians 390–1
  Baldwin king of 480–1, 880–1
  see of 216–17
  patriarch of 220–1
  and the Holy Land 494–511
  temple at 896–7
  Holy Fire of 74–5
  and the tree of knowledge 790–1
  and Image of Lucca 602–3
  no shadow at 864–5
Jesi, see of 278–9
Jesolo, see of 274–5
Jesus:
  presented with a golden apple 63 n.
  at Nazareth 886–7
  at Cana 886–7
  tempted by the devil 894–5
  at Tyre 882–3
  and the Lord's Leap 648–51
  heals centurion's servant 886–7
  and Samaritan woman 888–9
  transfiguration of 220–1, 888–9
  and blessings at meals 112–13
  at Gethsemane 892–3
  ascension of 20–3
  and the Mass 666–7
  see also Christ
Jethro, Moses' father-in-law 196–7, 512–13
jettison, Rhodian law of 328–9
Jews:
  account of the Jewish State 866–71
  expel Canaanites 532–3
  and the calendar 48–51
  and year of jubilee 111 n.
  and exorcism 118–19
  crushed by Hadrian 378–9
  seven heavens of 36–7, 828–31
  see also Israel
Jezebel, wife of Ahab 888–9
Jezreel, city in Israel 888–9
Joanna, daughter of Henry II of England xxviii, xxxii, 464–5, 488–9
Joash, king of Judah 358–9
Job, from Uz 536–7, 540–1, 882–3
  tomb of 884–5
John II, bishop of Pozzuoli 588–9
John, king of England xxxii, xl, 310 n., 464 n., 466 n., 488–9
John the Baptist:
  birth announced by an angel 134–5
  and Jesus 776–9
  beheaded in Machaerus 494–5
  church of by the Jordan 506–7
  feast of 566–7, 576–7, 578–9, 592–3, 758–9
  prayer of 744–5
John the Deacon 157 n.
  as source for Gervase 599 n., 607 n.
John the Evangelist, buried at Ephesus 234–5
  leans on Lord's bosom 892–3
  manna of St John 812–13
  prayer of 744–7
John of Lucca, and Image of Lucca 602–3
John Mark, Master xl, 824–5
John of Naples, cardinal xxvi, 804–5
John Pignatelli 580–1
Jonah, and the whale 498–9
Jonathan, son of Saul 888–9, 910–11
Jonathan, Jewish high priest 368–9
Joppa, see of 220–1, 498–9
  now Jaffa 220–1, 526–7
  port of 602–3
Jor, source for river Jordan 202–3, 496–7, 652–5, 884–5
Joracia, city of 700–1
Jordan, river 76–7, 202–3, 204–5, 496–7, 502–3, 652–5, 884–5
Jordia Valley 856–7
Joseph, and his brothers 866–7, 886–7
  in Egypt 124–5, 212–13
  in prison 506–7
  and burial of Jacob 510–11
  death of 540–1
  sheep of 802–3
  bones of 494–5, 800–1, 888–9

Joseph of Arimathaea 598–9, 892–3
Joseph the Just 600–1
Josephus:
  writings known to Gervase xliii
  on Alexander the Great 810–11
  on Cain and Abel 142–3
  on the Cherubim 804–7
  and exorcist 118–19
  on the Great Year 48–9
  on Herod 896–7
  on Jewish schools of thought 44–5
  on three Mercuries 120–1
  on the Sea of Galilee 654–5
  on sons of Seth 144–5
  on Sodom 796–7
  on Ur 108–9
Joshua, son of Nun 350–1, 504–5, 520–1
Josiah, king of Judah 362–3
  birth announced by an angel 134–5
  death of 888–9
Jotbathah, encampment of Israelites 517–18
Jotham, ruler of Israel 358–9
jubilee, year of 110–13
Judaea, in centre of Palestine 206–7
  named after Judah 202–3
  kingship of 370–1, 376–7
  subjected to Rome 544–5
  tax census of 68–9
Judah, tribe of 138–9, 140–1
Judas 104–5
  betrays Christ 504–5, 892–3
Jude, apostle, preaches in Persia 194–5, 490–1
  ordains Abdias 492 n.
Judith, slays Holofernes 498–9, 886–7
Julian the Apostate, Roman emperor 380–1, 496–7
Julias, village of 206–7
Juliopolis, Bithynian city 232–3
Julius Africanus, translates Abdias into Latin 492–3
Julius Frontinus, founds Caerleon 310 n.
Julius Valerius, as source for Gervase xliii, 65 n., 84 n., 194–5, 860–1
Julius, Christian martyr 414–15, 424–5
Jupiter, father of Epaphus 130–1
  drives out Saturn 254–5
Justin I, eastern emperor 386–7
Justin II, eastern emperor 288–9, 388–9
Justina, Christian virgin 118–19
Justinian I, eastern emperor 216–17, 386–7
  and temple at Jerusalem 898–9
Justinian II, eastern emperor 390–1, 392–3
Juvenal, writings known to Gervase xliii

Kadesh 130–1, 208–9, 516–17, 518–19
kakodaimones 96–7
Kalocsa, see of 274–5
kalodaimones 96–7
Karothea, see of 224–5
Kastellorizon, island of 329 n.
Kedar, city of 652–3, 884–5, 886–7
Kehelathah, encampment of Israelites 516–17
Kells, see of 314–15
Kemuel, son of Nahor 540–1
kermes-tree, properties of 660–3, 858 n.
Keturah:
  identified with Hagar 204–5, 316–17
  mother of Midian 214–15, 316–17
  mother of Shuah 200–1
Kibroth–hattaavah, encampment of Israelites 517 n.
Kiev, city of 244–5
Kildare, see of 314–15
Kilfenora, see of 314–15
Kilkenny, see of 314–15
Killala, see of 314–15
Killaloe, see of 314–15
Killaraus, Mount 152–3, 418–19, 610–11
Kilmacduagh, see of 314–15
king–fish 678–9
King's Mountain 844–5
Kirjath-arba (Hebron), burial-place of patriarchs 200–1
Kirjath-sepher (Debir) 200–1
Kir–haraseth (Charachmoba) 219 n.
Kishon, river 888–9
Kittim, son of Javan 530–1
  land of 248–9
  as name for Greece 248–9
Kjustendil, see of 272–3
knight–fish 678–9
Knin, see of 276–7
kobolds 676 n., 719 n., 722 n.
Konstanz, see of 274–5
Kostolac, see of 272–3
Kotor, see of 272–3
Krak de Montréal, castle 880–1
Krakøw, see of 272–3
Krbava, see of 276–7
Krk, see of 276–7
Kwjawy, see of 272–3
Kyrenia, Cypriot city 328–9

Laban, and Jacob 492–3, 510–11
Laborsardioch, king of Babylon 364–5
Lacedaemon, Greek city 254–5
Lacedogna, see of 280–1
Lago di Bolsena 257 n.
Lago di Celano 259 n.
Lagus, father of Ptolemy I 366–7, 792 n.
Lai de Bisclavret 815 n.
Lai de Guigemar 602 n.
Lai de Lanval 664 n.
Laikibrais lx, 690–3
La Junquera, village of 686–7
Lake Asphaltites (Dead Sea) 206–7, 208–9, 796–7, 884–5
  contains bitumen 348–9
Lake Avernus, Gervase's account of 590–3
  penal fires of 588–9
Lake Chalearzus 180–1
Lake Clitorius 256–7
Lake Fucinus (Lago di Celano) 258–9
Lake Geneva 240–1
  also called Lake Leman 300–1
Lake Maeotis 178–9
  as boundary of Europe 236–7, 284–5
  and Euxine Sea 238–9
Lake Tritonis 138–9
Lamech, descendant of Cain 106–7, 144–5
Lamech, descendant of Seth 144–5, 896–7, 898–9
Lamego, see of 304–5
lamias:
  characteristics of 716–9, 722–31
  and night-riders 742–3
Lamus, see of 224–5
Langres, city and see of 286–7, 298–9
Lantosque, Valley of 818–19
Lanus, river 238 n.
Lao, Italian city 258–9
Laodicea, city and see of 204–5, 222–3, 224–5, 234–5
  founded by Seleucus 368–9
Laon, city and see of 298–9, 442–3
lapidary lore 614–19
Lapithos, Cypriot city 328–9
Lar, river 88–9
lares:
  as human souls 722 n.
  as household spirits 722–3, 726–7
Larino, see of 280–1
Larissa, see of 222–3
Larissa, Greek city 254–5
La Roquette, suburb of Arles 736–7
  human sacrifice at 296–7
larvas, nature of 722–31
Lasha, on border of Canaan 534–5
Lateran altar, and Noah's ark 158–9
Lateran Palace 262–3
  built by Constantine 380–1
  images of the Lord in 606–7
  oratory of 599 n., 600–1, 606–7
Latin language, currency of 538–9
Latinus, father of Lavinia 146–7, 356–7, 396, 399
Latium, as name for Italy 254–5
  kings of 354–7, 396–9
Lausanne, see of 300–1
Lausus, son of Numitor 354–5
Lavaur, massacre at 778 n.
Lavello, see of 280–1
Lavinia, wife of Aeneas 147 n., 356–7, 398–9
Lavoro, Terra di 64–5, 582–3
Lawrence, St, oratory of 599 n., 600–1, 606–7
  tomb of 894–5
Lazarus, brother of Martha and Mary 294–5, 720–1, 756–7
  raised from the dead 498–9, 558–9, 650–1, 734–5
  in Provence 294–5, 734–5
  and *Visio Lazari* 758–61
Lazarus, and Dives 772–3, 914–17
Leah, burial of 200 n.
Leander, bishop of Seville 388–9
Lebanon, Mount 200–1, 206–7, 328–9, 496–7, 534–5, 652–3, 882–3, 884–5
  region of 208–9, 882–3
Lecce, see of 280–1
Lectoure, see of 300–1
Legions, archbishop of 310–11, 412–13, 426–7, 430–1
  city of 310–11, 312–13, 412–13, 414–15
  see of 310–13
  mentioned 430–1, 434–5
Lehabim, tribe descended from Mizraim 534–5
Leibniz, Gottfried, opinion of Gervase lxii
  edition of Gervase lxxxvi–lxxxvii
Leicester, founded by King Leir 404–5
Leighlin, see of 314–15
Leil, British king 404–5
Leir, British king 404–5
Lelius Hamo, Roman soldier 411 n., 412–13
Leman, Lake 240–1, 300–1
Leman, river 240–1

lemures, as human souls 722 n.
Lentulus, river 237–9
Leo I, eastern emperor 384–5
Leo III the Isaurian, eastern emperor 392–3
Leo III, pope:
  and Charlemagne 449 n., 450–1
  and relics of Christ 599 n., 600–1
Leodegar (Leger), St 440–1
Leogetia, island of 148–9, 398–9
León, see of 304–5
Leontius, eastern emperor 392–3
Leovigild, Gothic king 388–9
Leptis Magna, African city 318–19
Le Puy, see of 300–1
  buildings of 574–5
Lérida, see of 304–5
Lérins, island free from snakes 390 n., 690–1
Lesbius, king of Jerusalem 116–17
Lescar, see of 300–1
Le Thor, village of xlv, 592–3
Letopolis, as name for Etham 512–13
Letter of Aristeas 792–3
Letter of Pharasmanes to Hadrian 84 n.
  used as a source by Gervase lix, 694–711
Letter of Prester John 697 n., 698 n.
Leuca, see of 280–1
Leucius, son of Symeon 794–5
leucrocota, mythical animal 188–9
Leudesius, Frankish mayor 440–1
Leuthar, duke of the Alemanni 438–9
Leutharius, Frankish duke 843 n.
Levi, tribe of 138–9
  descendants of 518–19
Le Vigan, village of 822–3
Liber, *see* Bacchus
Libnah, encampment of Israelites 516–17
Liburnian Gulf 248–9, 254–5
Liburnian Islands 248–9
Libya, topography of 316–17
Libya Sicca, as province of Egypt 520–1
Libya Pentapolis, as province of Egypt 520–1, 532–3
Libyan Sea 316–17, 328–9
Libyans, named after Lehabim 534–5
Libyo-Egypt, region of 212–13
Libyo-Ethiopians, African people 316–17
Lichfield, see of 312–13
Liebrecht, Felix, partial edition of Gervase lxxxvii
Liège, see of 274–5
Ligini, city of 528–9
Lignido, Greek city 254–5
Liguria, Italian province 256–7, 344–5, 522–3
Ligurian Gulf 254–5, 344–5
Lilith, as lamia 717 n.
Lilybaeum, Sicilian promontory 332–3
Limassol, see of 328–9
Limerick, see of 314–15
Limoges, see of 300–1
Lincoln, see of 312–13
  formerly called Lindisfarne 528–9
Lindsey, people of 528 n.
Linköping, see of 284–5
Linliwan, lake 422–3, 424 n.
Lipari Islands 342–3
Lisbon, see of 304–5
Lisieux, see of 300–1
Lismore, see of 314–15
Little Philadelphia, see of 224–5
Liuwa I, Gothic king 388–9
Liuwa II, Gothic king 390–1
Livia, wife of Augustus 376–7
Livias, see and city of 218–19, 506–7
Livonia, country of 246–7
  province of 522–3
Livonians, pagan tribe 246–7
Livron, castle of 592–3
Llandaff, see of 312–13
loadstone, found in India 190–1
  properties of 562–5
Loch Lomond 422–3
Locrinus, son of Brutus 306–7, 402–3
Lodi, see of 276–7
Lodève, see of 300–1
  mentioned 820–1
Loegria, named after Locrinus 306–7, 402–3
  bishops of 310–11, 425 n., 430–1
  province of 524–5
  mentioned 406–7, 412–13
Loelinus, uncle of Constantine the Great 414–15
Loire, river 298–9
Lombards, tribe of 286–9
  conquer Gepidi 840–3
  and Narses 288–9, 388–9, 842–5
  attack Italy 388–9, 396–7
  conquered by Mummolus 844–5
  allied with the Franks 388–9, 390–1, 438–9
  ravage Campania 392–3
  kingdom ends 448–9
  conquered by Normans 464–5

  build Alessandria 460–1
  speak Latin 538–9
Lombardy, province of 270–1
  Gallia Togata name for 286–7
  sees of 276–7
Lomond, *see* Loch Lomond
London, archbishop of 310–11, 412–13, 426–7
  see of 312–13
  founded by Brutus as Trinovantum 398–403, 526–7
  named after Lud 410–11
Longimanus, as name for Artaxerxes I 366–7
Longsword, William, brother of Henry II 482–3
Longsword, William, brother of Otto IV 488–9
Lot, and the jubilee-year 110–11
  intercourse with his daughters 796–7
  taken captive 112–13
  burial place of 206–7
Loth, earl of Lothian 423 n., 424–5
Lothar, brother of Otto IV 488 n.
Lothar I, emperor 454–7
  death of 268 n.
Lothar II, king of Lotharingia 456–7
Lothar III (Lothar of Supplinburg), emperor xlvii, 458–9, 466–7, 468 n.
Lothar, son of Louis IV 470–1
Louis the German, brother of Lothar I 456 n.
Louis I the Pious, emperor 394–5, 448–9, 454–7, 470–1
Louis II, emperor 456–7
Louis II the Blind, emperor 456–7
Louis II the Stammerer, king of France 470–1
Louis III, king of France 470 n.
Louis IV d'Outremer, king of France 470–1
Louis V, king of France 470–3
Louis VI, king of France 472–3
Louis VII, king of France 458–9, 472–3, 484–5
Louis VIII, king of France 489 n.
Louth, see of 314–15
Łowicz, see of 272–3
Luc, town of 814–15
Lucania, Italian province 258–9, 522–3
Lucca, see of 278–9
  image of Christ at 598–605, 606–7
luce plant, cures blindness 582–3
Luceni, Irish tribe 308–9
Lucera, city and see of 260–1, 280–1
Lucernaria, African city 322–3
Lucian of Caphar-gamala, and relics of St Stephen 894 n.
Lucifer, and the Trinity 20–1
Lucius, son of Antoninus Pius 378–9
Lucius, British king 412–13
Lucius, Roman consul 428–9
Lucius Antonius, Roman consul 656–7
Lucius III, pope 462–3
Lucretius, Gervase's knowledge of xliii
Lucy, St 265 n.
Lud, British king 410–11
Lud, son of Shem 536–7
Ludim, tribe descended from Mizraim 534–5
Lugo, see of 304–5
Luke, evangelist 66–7, 542–5
lunar year 46–7, 48–9
Lund, see of 282–3
Luni, see of 278–9, 604–5
  and Image of Lucca 602–3
Lupus, St, of Troyes 418–19
Lusitania, province of Spain 302–3, 524–5
lutins, kin to neptunes 675 n.
Luz, former name of Bethel 494–5
  as name for Jerusalem 202–3
  etymology of 204–5
Lübeck, see of 274–5
lycanthropy, *see* werewolf
Lycaonia, province of 234–5, 522–3
Lycia, province of 234–5, 522–3
Lycos, desert of 210–11
Lycus, former name of Constantinople 522–3
Lydda, city and see of 220–1, 526–7
  St George buried at 894–5
Lydia, province of 234–5, 522–3
  ruled by Lysimachus 366–7
Lydians, descendants of Lud 536–7
Lydius, king of Lydia 234–5, 284–5
Lyons, city and see of 298–9, 524–5
lyre, invention of 120–1
Lysimachus, rules Lydia 367–8, 874 n.
Lystra, city of 234–5

Macarius of Magnesia, and Veronica-legend 605 n.
Macedonia, and Alexander the Great 846–7, 870–1
  topography of 246–7
  kingdom of 174–5, 366–9

Macedonia (*cont.*):
  and the Jews 866–7
  and four kingdoms 168 n., 350–1
Machaerus, fortress of 495–6
Machpelah, cave of 201 n., 499 n.
Macrinus, Roman emperor 378–9
Macrobii, mythical creatures 186–7
Madai, son of Japheth 530–1
Maddan, British king 404–5
Magaris, Indian city 184–5
Magdala, town of 496–7, 886–7
Magdeburg, see of 274–7
Maggalea, English hamlet 636–7
Magi, star of 40–3
  relics of at Cologne 460–1
magic, originates in Parthia 194–5
  invented by Zoroaster 110–11
  Joseph practises 866–7
  mirror magic 97 n.
magicians, St Augustine on 726–7
Maginulf, antipope 457 n.
Maglaunus, duke of Albany 404–5
Magna Graecia, as name for Italy 254–5
magnet, *see* loadstone
Magog, son of Japheth 530–1
Maguelone, see of 300–1
  city captured by Charles Martel 446–7
Mahalaleel, father of Jared 144–5, 898–9
Mahdescon, see of 219–20
Mahomet, makes an idol 878–9
Mahul, hill in Britain 636–7
Mainz, see of 274–5
Maiuma, Palestinian city 202–3, 210–11, 220 n.
Majorca, island of 344–5
Makheloth, encampment of Israelites 516–17
Málaga, Spanish city 304–5
Malbech, name for Hierapolis 526–7, 528–9
Malgo, British king 326–7, 428–9
Mallos, see of 222–3
Malta, see of 282–3
Malvia, river 148–9, 320–1
Mamas, hermit and martyr 506–7
Mamistra (Manusta), see of 222–3
Mampsis, see of 218–19
Mamre:
  ally of Abraham 206–7
  oak of 206–7, 498–9
  valley of 130–1, 206–7
Man, *see* Isle of Man
Manasseh, tribe of 122–3
Manasseh, king of Judah 360–1
Mandylion, image of Christ 595 n.
Manlius, Roman consul 286–7
Manlius Torquatus, Roman consul 634–5
manna, in ark of the covenant 516–17
  and the beloved disciple 812–13
  etymology of 614–15, 828–9
manticore, mythical creature 188–9
Mantua, city and see of 256–7, 274–5
Manusta, see of 222–3
mappa mundi xxxvi, xli, xlv, 520–1, 526–7
maps, invented in Memphis 130–1
Maragdom, city of 710–11
Marah, encampment of Israelites 514–15, 516–17
Marcella, servant of Martha 295 n.
  and the Tarasque 720–1
  see also Pseudo-Marcella
Marchia, region of Italy 278–9
Marchio (Marcomer), father of Ferramund 290–1
Marcia, British queen 408–9
Marcian, Roman emperor 384–5
Marcomanni, German tribe 242–3
Marcopolis, see of 222–3
Marcus Aurelius, Roman emperor 378–9
Mardi Gras 754–5, 756–7
Mareb, Abyssinian river 699 n.
Marecha, see of 222–3
Margadud, king of the Demetae 430–1
Marganus, British king 406–7, 408–9
Mariana, see of 276–7
Mariani, see of 222–3
Marimopolis, see of 224–5
Mariosa, healed by Jesus 496–7
Marius, British king 412–13
Mark Antony, *see* Antony
Mark, St, preaches in Egypt 412–13
  house of 500–1
Mark, John, *see* John Mark
Marmara, Sea of 179 n.
Marmuio, city of 710–11
Mars, temple of 264–5
Marsa Labeit, port of 180 n.
Marseilles, see of 302–3
  canons of xxxvii–xxxviii, 902–3
Marsi, see of 278–9
Marsia, see of 278–9
Marsico Nuovo, see of 280–1
Martha, sister of Mary and Lazarus 294–5, 756–7, 824–5
  as the Haemorrhissa 604–5, 650–1
  and the Tarasque 720–1
Martial of Limoges, bishop 294–5, 734–5

Martianus Capella, on phases of the moon 42–3, 51 n.
Martin, St, of Tours 382–3, 619 n.
Martin, duke of Champagne 442 n.
Martina, mother of Heracleonas 390–1
Martirano, see of 282–3
marvels, Gervase's discussion of xxxix, xlviii, lv–lxiii, xcii, 558–63
Mary, Blessed Virgin:
  appears to Octavian 136–7, 374–5
  salutes Elisabeth 894–5
  rests on way to Bethlehem 508–9
  as virgin mother 546–7
  and statue of Romulus 266–7
  and waxlights in temple 568–9
  in Nazareth 886–7
  and Joseph of Arimathaea 598–9
  death of 892–5
  dwells in superempyrean 20–1
  image of at Seidnaya 644–7
  memorials of at Le Puy 574–5
  seen by a revenant 766–7
  Gervase's *Life* of xcii, 376–7, 606–7, 650–1
Mary of Brabant, wife of Otto IV xxxix n.
Mary Magdalene 294–7
  came from Magdala 496–7, 886–7
  and evil spirits 650–1
  identified with Mary of Bethany 720 n.
  and Martha 294–5
Mary, mother of James 296–7
Mary, wife of Cleophas 296 n.
mascae, nocturnal spirits 718 n., 722–3
Masovia, see of 272–3
Massa Marittima, see of 278–9
Massagetae, Middle Eastern people 226–7, 228–9, 520–1
Massalubrense, see of 282–3
mastic, produced on Chios 332–3
Matilda, empress 480–3
Matilda, mother of Otto IV xxxi, 465 n., 488 n.
Matilda, wife of King Stephen, founds Faversham Abbey 819 n.
Mattathias, priest 368–9
  father of the Maccabees 894–5
Matthew, St, preached in India 182–3, 490–1
  released from prison 506–7
  gospel of 542–5
Maurice, and the 'Theban legion' 208–9, 300–1, 639 n.
Maurice of Cappadocia, eastern emperor 388–9
Maurice de Sully, bishop of Paris xxix, 432–3
Maurienne, see of 300–1
Mauritania, provinces of 320–1, 524–5
Mauritanian Sea 344–5
Maximianus Herculius, Roman commander 414–15
Maximinus, Caius Julius, Roman emperor 378–9
Mayo, see of 314–15
Mazaca, city of 530–1
Mazara del Vallo, see of 282–3
Mâcon, see of 298–9
Meath, see of 314–15
meat, incorruptible 576–9
Meaux, see of 298–9
Mecklenburg, see of 274–5
Medauon, see of 218–19
Meddan, plain of 884–5
Medes, and the four kingdoms 168–9, 170–1, 172–3
  descendants of Madai 530–1
Media, city and region of 194–5, 196–7, 356–7, 492–3, 538–9
Mediterranean Sea, as *mare nostrum* 178–9, 416 n., 678–9
  islands of 252–5
Meduaga, near Arles, etymology of 202–3
Medus, Parthian king 192, 195
Medusa 329 n.
Megiddo, plain of 362 n., 888–9
Meissen, see of 276–7
Melchior, and Jesus 63 n.
Melchizedek, priest 4–5, 12–13, 112–13, 114–15, 116 n.
  and Abraham 112–13, 888–9
Melennio, city of 710–11
Melfi, see of 280–1
Melga, Pictish king 416–17
Melodia, city of 878–9
Melos, island of 332–3
Mélusine, story of lxii, 88–91, 664 n.
Memarmalian Mountains 226–7
Memphis, capital of Egypt 210–11
  built by Epaphus 130–1, 526–7
  called Lesser Babylon 210–11, 212–13, 506–7, 526–7
  see of 218–19
  emir of rebuilt temple 898–9
Mempricius, British king 404–5
Menapii, Gallic tribe 292–3, 304–5

Mende, see of 300–1, 814–15
Menelaus, king of Sparta 354–5
Menes, Egyptian king 168–9
Menevia, see of 312–13
Mercian Laws 408–9
Mercury, inventor of pipes and lyre 120–1
  see also Hermes Trismegistus
Merianus, British king 410–11
Mérida, city and see of 304–5, 524–5
Merlin, fathered by an incubus 96–7
  brings Giants' Ring to Amesbury 150–3, 418–21, 610–11
  prophecies of 418–19, 488 n.
  and Uther 420–1
mermaids, *see* sirens
Mermias, see of 220–1
Merodach, king of Chaldaea 168–9
Meroe, city and island of 212–13, 800–1
Merovech, Frankish king 292–3
Merseburg, see of 276–7
Merve, *see* Meroe
Meshech, son of Japheth 530–1
Mesopotamia:
  topography of 194–5
  etymology of 202–3
Messina, see and city of 282–3, 332–3
Methodius, *see* Pseudo-Methodius
Methuselah, father of Lamech 144–5, 898–9
  age at death 144–5, 900–1
Metrovian Gate, *see* Porta Metrovia
Metz, see of 276–7
  Frankish capital 292–3, 436–7, 438–9
  town of the Mediomatrici 526–7
Michael, St, cult of 280–1, 779 n.
  feast of 432–3, 780–1
  guardian of a revenant 764–5, 776–7, 778–81
Midaon, see of 222–3
Midian, Arabian city 196–7
Midian, son of Keturah 214–15, 316 n.
Midianites, Middle Eastern people 198–9, 214–15, 352–3
Migdeus, Indian king 608–9
Migdol, Egyptian city 512–13
Milan, city of 256–7, 522–3
  built by Gauls 260–1
  besieged by Frederick Barbarossa 460–1
  see of 276–7
Milcah, wife of Nahor 538–41
Mileto, see of 282–3
Miloi, see of 224–5
Milvian Bridge, Rome 264–5
Minden, see of 274–5
Minerva, born at Lake Tritonis 138–9
  and baths of Bath 404–5
Minervino, see of 280–1
Minorca, island of 344–5
Minori, see of 282–3
Minos, Cretan king 120–1
Mirabilia urbis Romae, as source for Gervase xliii, 262–271, 372–5
Miriam, and Aaron 800–1
Miru, see of 218–19
Misdaeus, *see* Migdeus
mistral 638 n.
Mithcah, encampment of Israelites 516–17
Mitrocomias, see of 218–19
Mizraim, son of Ham 532–3
  descendants of 534–5
Moab, see of 218–19
  plains of 518–19
Moabites 198–9
  children of Lot 519 n.
Moddi, see of 224–5
Modena, see of 278–9
Modin, Mount 894–5
Moesia, topography of 246–7, 522–3
Molfetta, see of 280–1
Molmutine Laws 406–7
Molossa, Greek city 248–9
Molossia, region of Greece 248–9
Molossus, son of Pyrrhus 248–9
Mondjibel, name for Mount Etna 334–5
Mondoñedo, see of 304–5
Moneka, city of 878–9
monk-fish 678–9
Monocoli, mythical creatures 186–7
Monopoli, see of 280–1
Monreale, see of 282–3
Monselice, city of 256–7
Mont Aiguille 640 n.
Mont Canigou, demons of 684–9
Mont Vodolien 844–5
Monte Cassino, monastery of 446–7
Monte Gargano 280–1
Monte Vergine, Virgil's garden on 582–3
Montecorvino, see of 280–1
Montefeltro, see of 278–9
Montemarano, see of 280–1
Monteveglio, city of 258–9
Monteverde, see of 280–1
Montferrand, castle of 634–5
Montmajour, abbey of xxxiii, 296 n., 297 n.
moonstone, characteristics of 570–1
Moray, see of 312–13

Mordred, nephew of king Arthur 336–7, 424–5, 428–9
Morgan the Fay 428–9
Moriah, Mount 500–1, 790–1, 798–9
Morienne, province of 254–5
Morini, Gallic tribe 292–3, 304–5
Morvidus, British king 408–9
Moschorus, Scythian river 192–3
Moseroth, encampment of Israelites 516–17
Moses:
  and the Egyptians 868–9
  and Pharaoh's crown 138–9
  learning of 134–5
  skilled in astrology 800–1
  marries Tharbis 212–13, 800–1
  and Aaron 8–9
  parts the Red Sea 514–15
  Song of 138–41
  strikes water from rock 506–7, 516–17, 880–1
  and water of Marah 514–15
  and Amalek 508–9
  and Mount Sinai 196–7, 512–13, 626–7
  horned face of 806–9
  buried on Mount Abarim 812–13
  Valley of 880–1
  books read by Plato 56 n., 96–7
Mossylon Emporium, source of the Nile 210–11
Motula, see of 280–1
Mount Abyle 179 n., 320–1, 324–5, 524–5
Mount Adans, abode of the phoenix 706–7
Mount Ararat 226–9
Mount Ariobarzanes 226–7
Mount Astrixis 320–1
Mount Atlas 302–3, 320–21, 324–5, 624–5, 654–5
  marks boundary of Ethiopia 214–15
Mount Buzana, David and Goliath fight on 496–7
Mount Calpe 179 n., 320–1, 324–5, 524–5
Mount Carmel 504–5, 896–7
Mount Caucasus, *see* Caucasus Mountains
Mount Cytherus 330–1
Mount Endor 888–9
Mount Gibeah 890–1
Mount Gilead 492–3
Mount Hor 208–9, 518–19, 808–9
Mount Horeb 196–7, 512–13, 514–17
  see also Mount Sinai
Mount Imavus 182–3, 184–5, 190–1, 224–5, 226–7, 492–3
Mount Killaraus, stones at 152–3, 418–19, 610–11
Mount Modin 894–5
Mount Moriah 500–1, 790–1, 798–9
Mount Oboth 518–19
Mount Olivet 498–501, 502–3
Mount Olympus 72–3, 161 n., 250–1, 624–5, 708–9
Mount Orcobares 182–3
Mount Parcohatras 182–3, 224–5
Mount Parnassus 838–9
Mount Parthau 226–7
Mount Seir 882–3
Mount Shapher 516–17
Mount Sinai 220–1, 812–13, 868–9, 880–1
  description of 512–13, 624–7
  and the law 196–7, 516–17
Mount Smaragdon 708–9
Mount Subar 508–9
Mount Suevus 240–1
Mount Tabor 204–5, 498–9, 508 n., 888–9
Mount Taurus, *see* Taurus Mountains
Mount Zion 12–13, 892–3, 894–5, 912–13
mountain-spirits 641 n., 731 n.
Mountfiquit, Tower of 400–1
Murano, see of 274–5
Muro, see of 280–1
Musano, see of 280–1
Münster, see of 274–5
Mygdonia, name for Bithynia 232–3
Myra, Lycian city 234–5
Myrmiciona, name for Sinope 506–7
Myrmidonia, name for Lesser Armenia 216–17, 232–3
Myrtoan Sea 246–7

Naamah, town of 882–3
Nabataea, region of 52–3, 196–9, 204–5, 492–3
Naddaver, Matthew preaches at 490–1
Nahor, father of Terah 252–3, 538–9
Nahor, brother of Abraham 108–9
  father of Buz 540–1
  and Rebekah 136–7
Nain, city of 888–9
Nantechild, Frankish queen 438–9
Nantes, see of 300–1
Naphtuhim, tribe descended from Mizraim 534–5
Naples, city and see of 258–9, 282–3
  and Virgil xxvi, lxii, 576–87, 802–3, 804–5
  mentioned 590–1

Narbonne, province of 288–9, 293 n., 294–5
  see of 300–1
  clothes worn in xlvi, 298–9
Narev, river 245 n.
Narni, see of 278–9
Narses, fights Goths 386–7
  invites Lombards to Italy 288–9, 388–9, 842–5
  treasure of 844–5
Nathan, prophet 404–5
Nathan, son of David 542–3
Nathanael, and Cana 886–7
Naumberg, see of 276–7
Navarri, conquered by Charlemagne 878–9
Naxos, island of Bacchus 332–3
Nazareth, city and see of 204–5, 218–19, 220–1
  Jesus brought up in 886–7
Neapolis, name of several cities and sees 202–3, 218–19, 220–1, 224–5
  as name for Samaria 494–5
  as name for Shechem 220–1, 526–7, 888–9
Nebaioth, son of Ishmael 204–5
Nebuchadnezzar II, king of Babylon 168–9, 172–3
  changed into an ox 812–13
  despoils the temple 896–7
  destroys Jerusalem 204 n., 362–3
  dream of 171 n.
Nechoh, *see* Pharaoh Nechoh
Nechota, forest of 658–9
Nehemiah, and rebuilding of Jerusalem 48–9
Nennius, brother of Cassibellanus 410–11
Neocaesarea, African city 320–1
Neocaesarea, Black Sea city 236–7
Neocaesarea, see of 222–3
Nephelia, see of 224–5
Nephthalim, land of 886–7
Nepi, see of 278–9
Neptune 248–9
neptunes, mischievous spirits 674–7
Nero, Roman emperor 257 n., 376–7
  palace of 266–7, 268–9
Neronian Bridge, Rome 264–5
Nerva, Roman emperor 378–9
Nervii, Gallic tribe 292–3
Neustria (Normandy) 288–9, 474–5, 476–7
Nevers, see of 298–9
Nevi, see of 218–19
New Epirus, province of 522–3
Newton Mere 733 n.
Neylon, see of 224–5
Nicaea, city of 232–3, 832–3
Nicastro, see of 282–3
Nice, see of 300, 303
Nicholas of Damascus:
  on Abraham 132–3
  birthplace of 494–5
Nicholas, St, of Myra 94–5
  born at Patara 234–5
Nicholas Pipe, Sicilian diver lix, 332–5
Nicodemus:
  and Joseph of Arimathaea 598–9
  body of found 894 n.
  and Image of Lucca 598–601
  see also Evangelium Nicodemi
Nicomedia, Bithynian city 232–3
Nicopolis, Armenian city 228–9
Nicopolis (Emmaus) 218–19, 893 n.
Nicosia, see of 328–9
Nidia, city of 710–11
Niger, *see* Ralph Niger
night-riders lxi, 723 n., 742–3
Nile, river 72–3, 182–3, 210–11, 212–13, 214–15, 216–17, 520–1, 654–5
  falls of 76–7, 158–9
  floods Egypt 208–9, 698–9, 800–1
Nîmes, city and see of 72–3, 300–1
  mentioned 392–3, 444–5, 446–7, 900–1
Nimrod, son of Cush 108–9
  founds Babylon 196–7
  and tower of Babel 116–17, 532–3
  instructed by Ionitus 108–9, 166–9
Nin, see of 276–7
Nineveh, capital of Assyria 4 n., 116–17, 194–5, 492–3
  overthrow of 362–3
Ninus, king of Assyria lii, 4–5
  and Nineveh 116–17, 194–5
  wars of 8–9, 128–9, 172–3
  and Zoroaster 110–11
Niobe, mother of Phoroneus 136–7
Niospolis, Persian city 194–5
Niš, Bulgarian village 240–1
Nisch, see of 272–3
Nisibis:
  as name for Acre 220–1, 528–9
  as name for Accad 532–3
nisses, house-spirits 675 n.
Nitra, see of 274–5
Nitria, Egyptian city 212–13, 526–7
Noah:
  as sole ruler of world 12 n., 64–5
  Noah's ark 76–7, 124–5, 144–5, 152–63, 226–7, 530–1
  builds first altar 124–5
  cultivates vines 122–3
  as image of pope 154–5
  and 'ages of the world' 530–1
  descendants of 530–7
  sons of 108–9, 112–13, 166–9, 176–7
Nocera, see of 278–9
Nola, see of 282–3
  Gervase's villa at 580–1
Noricus, region of 242–3, 252–3, 522–3
Northampton, named after Hamo 412–13
Norway 242–3
  sees of 284–5
Norwegian Sea 244–5
Norwich, see of 312–13
Noth, castle of 594–5
Notre-Dame-des-Pommiers, Beaucaire 780 n.
Novara, see of 276–7
Novatius, baths of 264–5
Novempopulana, province of 524–5
Noyon, see of 298–9
Numa Pompilius, king of Rome 122–3, 360–1
  and Roman calendar 48–9
Numidia, topography of 318–19
Numitor, king of Latium 354–5
Nun, father of Joshua 504–5
Nursia, region of Italy 258–9, 522–3
Nusco, see of 280–1
nutons, kin to neptunes 675 n.
nycticoraces, resemble vultures 852–3
Nyons, village of 626–7
Nysa, city founded by Bacchus 832–3

oaths, in Provence 136–7
Obimaris, river 854–5
Oboth, Mount 518–19
Octavian, defeats Antony 374–5
  arch of 264–5
  palace of 266–7
  see also Augustus
Octavius, British king 414–15
Odense, see of 282–3
Odiva, river 856–7
Odoacer, Gothic king 386–7
odontotyrannus 852–3
Oea, African city 318–19
Oenus, British king 410–11
Og, king of Bashan 152–3
Ogyges, Greek king 330–1
Oidwald, British chief 432–3
Old Epirus, province of 522–3
Olda, wife of Lamech 106–7
Oléron, see of 300–1
Olivet, Mount 498–501, 502–3
Olivia, island of 710–11
Olomouc, see of 274–5
olympiad, as Greek measure of time 50–1, 122–3, 358–9
Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great 84 n., 264–5, 846–7
  dream of 860–1
Olympic Games 122–3, 352–3
Olympus, Mount 72–3, 161 n., 250–1, 624–5, 708–9
Ongar, castle of 748–9
Onus, see of 218–19
Orcobares, Mount 182–3
Oreb, Rock 516–17
Orense, see of 304–5
Orestae, Indian people 184–5
Orestes, father of Corinthus 250–1
Oria, see of 280–1
Origen, writings known to Gervase xliii
  tomb of 220–1
Orimon, see of 222–3
Orkney, see of 284–5
Orkney Isles, as part of Europe 326–7
  conquered by Arthur 324–5, 424–5
Orléans, see of 298–9
Ornan the Jebusite 500–1, 791 n.
Oropi, see of 224–5
Orosius, writings known to Gervase xliii, 408–9
Orpheus 120–1
Orte, see of 278–9
Orthosia, city and see of 222–3, 528–9
Ortygia, as name for Delos 330–1
Orvieto, see of 278–9
Osbert Fitz Hugh, and phantom knight 670–3
Oscobares, mountain range 226–7
Osimo, see of 278–9
Oslo, see of 284–5
Osma, see of 304–5
Osnabrück, see of 274–5
Ossero, see of 276–7
Ossismorum, city of 526–7
Ostia, see of 270–1
ostrich, chick of 790–1
Ostuni, see of 280–1
Oswald, king and martyr 432–3
Othniel, judge of Israel 132–3, 350–1

Otranto, see and city of 260–1, 280–1
Ottana, see of 346–7
Otto I, emperor 456–7
Otto II, emperor 456–7
Otto III, emperor 456–7
Otto IV, emperor:
  family and career of xxxi–xxxii, 396–7, 488–9
  duke of Aquitaine 396–7
  elected king of Germany xxxi, l–li, 452–3
  crowned emperor xxxi, xlvi, 452–3, 466–7
  relations with Innocent III l, liii–lv, 450–5, 468–9
  excommunicated xxxii, 633 n., 789 n.
  urged to uphold justice and faith 18–19, 124–7, 452–3, 632–3
  never visited Arles xxxi, 340 n.
  relations with Gervase xxix, xxx–xxxv, 458–9, 740–1
  Otia written for xxv, xxix, xxxviii–xli, 2–3, 716–17, 826–7
Ottorogorra, city of 226–7
Ottorogorra, river 182–3, 226–7
Ovid, writings known to Gervase xliii
  on the five zones 66–9
  on Tomi 236–7
  on the phoenix 198–9, 706–9
Oviedo, see of 304–5

Pachynum, promontory of 332–3
Paderborn, see of 274–5
Padua, see of 274–5
Paemani, Gallic tribe 292–3
Paladur, founded by Rudhudibras 404–5
Palargi, Spanish people 878–9
Palencia, see of 304–5
Palermo, Sicilian town 580–1
Palestine, province of 200–1
  cathedral cities of 216–21
  coast of 610–11
  land divided by Joshua 350–1
  topography of 202–7
Palestinians, as name for Philistines 202–3, 534–5
Palestrina, see of 270–1
Pallas (Minerva) 138–9
Pallas, giant 138–9
Pallene, island of 138–9
Palmerium, city and see of 218–19, 526–7
Pamphylia, region of 234–5, 522–3
  Sea of 326–7, 810–11
Pamplona, see of 304–5
Pan, as name for incubus 728–9
Pandrasus, king of Greece 148–9, 398–9
Paneas, city and see of 202–3, 220–1, 222–3, 496–7, 526–7, 652–3, 884–5
Paneum, Pan's grotto 652–3
Panipon, see of 224–5
Pannonia, topography of 242–3
Pantheon, Roman monument 270–1
papacy, relationship to empire xlix–lv, 2–13, 450–5, 466–71, 628–33
  power of criticized by Gervase 312–15
Paphlagonia, province of 520–1
Paphlagonians, descended from Riphath 530–1
Paphos, see of 328–9
  shrine of Venus at 567 n.
paradise, earthly 22–3
  characteristics of 66–7, 180–3, 490–1
  four rivers of 70–3, 74–7, 182–3, 654–5
  and tree of knowledge 82–3, 658–9
  Adam cast out of 86–7, 92–3, 102–3, 528–9, 810 n., 916–17
  fiery sword of 92–5
  the two paradises 94–7
  and the Island of the Blessed 324–5
  revenant's testimony on 768–9
  see also heaven
Paraetonium, city of 210–11, 316–17
Paralius, known as Palmerium 526–7
Paramboli, see of 223–4
Paran, wilderness of 884–5
Parcohatras, Mount 182–3, 224–5
Pardi, subdued by Charlemagne 878–9
Parenzo, see of 274–5
Parimae, subdued by Alexander the Great 832–3
Paris, see of 298–9
Paris, abducts Helen 354–5
  Henry the Young King compared to 486–7
  Judgment of 398–9
Parisot, castle of 308, 311
Parma, see and city of 258–9, 278–9
Parnassus, Mount, temple of Apollo on 838–9
Paropamasidae Mountains 226–7
Paropamisadae, subdued by Alexander the Great 832–3
Paros, island and city of 332–3
parrot-bird, found in India 190–1
Parthau, Mount 226–7
Parthia, topography of 192–5

Parthians, origins and characteristics of 870–7
Parysatis, wife of Darius II 366–7
Paschal II, pope 456–7
Paschasius Radbert 775 n.
Passau, see of 276–7
Passio Sancti Thomae Apostoli, known to Gervase lix
Patara, birthplace of St Nicholas 234–5
Pathrusim, tribe descended from Mizraim 534–5
Patras, city of St Andrew 250–1
Patrick, earl of Salisbury, related to Gervase xxv, 578–9
Patti, see of 282–3
Paul, the first hermit 98–9, 208–9
Paul, St, lived in Tarsus 234–5, 532–3
  and Trophimus 296–7, 734–5
  caught up to third heaven 758–9
  burial place of 262–3
  and *Visio Sancti Pauli* 759 n.
Paulus, procurator of Narbonne 392–3
Pausanias, king of Sparta 246–7
Pavia, city and see of 256–7, 270–1, 276–7
  formerly called Ticinum 261 n., 526–9
Pécs, see of 274–5
Pelagian heresy, and the Britons 418–19
Pelagius, pope 374–5
Peleg, son of Eber 536–9
Pelet Tower 900–1
Pella, city of 219 n., 368–9
Pellonuillis, see of 218–19
Peloponnese 250–1
Pelops, Greek king 250–1
Pelorus, promontory of 332–3
Pelusium, fortress 210–11
Penda, king of the Mercians 432–3, 434–5, 731 n.
Penessil, British king 410–11
Penne, see of 278–9
Pennine Mountain 252–3, 272–3
Pennine Alps 270–1, 286–7, 638–9, 642–3, 736–7
Penrith 692–5
Pentacomias, see of 218–19
Pentapolis, the 'cities of the plain' 76–7, 204–5, 208 n.
  apples of 570–1
  and the Dead Sea 794–7
Pentapolis (Italy) 258–9
Pentapolis (Africa) 316–17
Pera, see of 222–3
Peredurus, British king 408–9
Pergama, castles built by Brutus 400–1
Pergamum, Phrygian city 234–5
Périgueux, see of 300–1
Perizzites, Arabian people 504–5
  driven out by the Israelites 518–19
Perses, king of Macedon 174–5
Perseus, king 194 n.
  builds Tarsus 234–5
  and the Gorgon 328–9
  kills Acrisius 352–3
Persia 192–3, 492–3, 538–9
  topography of 194–5
  kingdom of 168–9, 364–7, 870–1
  and the four kingdoms 170–1, 172 n.
  conquered by Romans 608–9
  conquered by Heraclius 390–1
  selenite found in 570–1
Persian Gulf 192–3, 196–7, 198–9, 512–13
Persis, see of 222–3
Pertinax, Publius Helvius, Roman emperor 378–9
Perugia, city and see of 256–7, 278–9
Pesaro, see of 278–9
Pesti, city of 258–9
Pesulo, see of 278–9
Peter de Cabinam, and the demons 686–9
Peter of Capua, cardinal 558–61
Peter Comestor, writings known to Gervase xlii, lix, 767 n.
Peter of Eboli, on baths of Pozzuoli 586–7 n., 590–1 n.
Peter Latro, and the two Moors 712–5
Peter, St:
  and Jesus 886–7, 892–3
  and Tabitha 498–9
  baptizes Cornelius 896–7
  founds church at Antioch 412–13
  and Trophimus 296–7, 734–5
  chains of 374–5, 394–5
  burial place of 262–3
  as vicar of Christ 6–7, 10–11, 12–13, 94–5, 134–5, 268–9, 468–9
Petra, city and see of 206–7, 220–1, 528–9, 808–9
Peveril, William, of the Peak 642–3
Phalaris, Sicilian tyrant 128–31
phantasms:
  and lamias and dracs 716–21
  nocturnal 742–7
Pharaoh Nechoh 362–3, 888 n.
Pharisees 44 n., 582 n.
Pharpar, river 200–1, 709 n., 882–3

Pharsman II, see *Letter of Pharasmanes to Hadrian*
Phasis, river 192–3
Phemonoe, Samian Sibyl 816–17
Phenustus, see of 218–19
Phiala, lake 652–3
Philadelphia, name of various cities and sees 198–9, 206–7, 218–19, 222–3, 232–3, 234–5
Philadelphus, *see* Ptolemy II, ruler of Egypt
Philaeni, Altars of 148 n., 316–17, 318–19
Philip, apostle 498–9, 886–7
Philip I, king of France 472–3
Philip II Augustus, king of France 436–7, 458–9, 466–7, 484–5
  and Richard the Lionheart 464–5
Philip, son of Patrick, earl of Salisbury xxviii, 578–9
Philip the Arab, Roman emperor 378–9
Philip Arrhidaeus, brother of Alexander the Great 366–7
Philip of Swabia 452 n., 466–7
Philip the Tetrarch, builds Caesarea Philippi 652–3
Philippi, Macedonian city 246–7
Philippicus Bardanes, eastern emperor 392–3
Philippopolis, name of various cities and sees 218–19, 224–5, 240–1
Philistines, called Palestinians 202–3, 534–5
  hostile to Israelites 512–13, 540–1
Philomelium, Turkish city 232–3
Phinehas, priest 900–1
Phocas, eastern emperor 390–1
Phoenicia 200–1, 204–5, 208–9, 504–5
Phoenix, city of 700–1
Phoenix, introduces colour scarlet 132–3
  son of Agenor 200–1
phoenix, mythical bird 198–9, 706–9
Phoroneus, gave laws to the Greeks 136–7
Phrygas, brother of Aeneas 234–5, 288–9
Phrygia, region of 234–5
Phrygia Salutaris, province of 522–3
Phrygius, *see* Phrygas
Phut, son of Ham 532–3, 534–5
Piacenza, city and see of 258–9, 276–7
Picenus, Italian province 258–9, 522–3
Pignatelli, John, *see* John Pignatelli
Pilate:
  authority of 10–11
  house of 502–3
  and Tiberius 376–7
  imprisonment of 300–1
  and *Acta Pilati*, see *Evangelium Nicodemi*
Pillars of Hercules 148–9, 178–9, 236–7, 322–3, 398–9
Pippin I, Frankish mayor 438–41, 442 n.
Pippin II, grandson of Pippin I 442–5
Pippin the Short, son of Charles Martel 394–5, 446–9, 496–7
Pippin, king of Italy, son of Charlemagne 394–5, 448–9
Pir, king of Britain 410–11
Pirioleti, village of 648–9
Pisa, city and see of 270–1, 278–9
Piscaria, river 258–9
Pisidia, province of 234–5, 522–3
Pison, name for river Ganges 70–1, 182–3
Pistoia, see of 278–9
Pitennia, Indian city 184–5
Pi-hahiroth, encampment of Israelites 512–13, 516–17
Plantagenet Geoffrey, *see* Geoffrey Plantagenet
Plasencia, see of 304–5
Plato:
  writings known to Gervase xliii
  on Atlantis 322–3
  on body-soul dichotomy 56–7
  on the Hydra 120–1
  on seat of the soul 60–1
  on world soul 34–5
  read books of Moses 56 n., 96–7
  taught at the Academy 248–9
Plectrudis, widow of Pippin II 444–5
Pliny the Elder:
  writings known to Gervase xliii, lix
  on Apis 138–9
Ploaghe, see of 346–7
Plock, see of 272–3
Plotius Gallus, teaches rhetoric 370–1
Plovdiv, city of 241 n.
Po, river 258–9, 272–3
Poderas, see of 222–3
Podgorica, see of 272–3
Poitiers, see of 300–1
  battle of 446 n.
Pola, see of 274–5
Poland:
  topography of 244–5
  sees of 272–3
  onagers in 684–5
Polemius Silvius, writings known to Gervase xliv n.
Policastro, see of 280–1

Polignano, see of 280–1
Polis, Egyptian city 212–13
Pollux, rescues Helen 352–3
Połowcy, pagan tribe 244–5
poltergeists 98–9, 676–7
Polyphemus, Cyclops 186, 189, 314–15
Pomerania, see of 272–3
Pompey the Great:
  exploits of 370–1
  conquers Jerusalem 867 n.
  burns temple of the Lord 896–7
  theatre of 266–7
Pons Durilli, marks the Turkish border 232–3
Pons de Chapteuil, warrior and troubadour 812–13
Pontevès, village of 738–9
Pontic Sea 238–9
Pontius, cemetery of 266–7
Pontus, region of 234–5
Pontus Polemoniacus 520–1
pope:
  authority of xlix–lv, 6–13, 92–5, 450–5, 628–31
  and Donation of Constantine lii, 10–11, 268–9, 450–3, 468–71
  receives new name on election 134–5
  consecrated in St Peter's 268–9, 452–3
  see also papacy
Porphyrion, see of 222–3, 528–9
Porphyrius, as name for Cythera 330–1
Porrex, British king 406–7, 410–11
Porta Appia 262–3, 264–5, 266–7
Porta Asinaria 263–4
Porta Aurelia 264–5
Porta Capena 262–3
Porta Collina 264–5
Porta Flamminia 264–5
Porta Latina 262–3, 266–7
Porta Lavicana 264–5
Porta Metrovia 262–3
Porta Numentana 264–5
Porta Pinciana 264–5
Porta Portuensis 264–5
Porta Salaria 264–5
Porta Septimiana 264–5
Porta Taurina 264–5
Porto (Italy), see of 270–1
Porto (Spain), see of 304–5
Portorož, see of 272–3
Portuguese, subdued by Charlemagne 878–9
portunes, mischievous spirits 674–7
Porus, Indian king 832–3, 852–3, 858–61
Possidonia, Middle Eastern city 710–11
Postumianus, friend of Sulpicius Severus 618–19, 624–5, 628–9
Potenza, see of 280–1
Požarevac, Croatian town 240–1
Poznań, see of 272–3
Pozzuoli, see of 282–3
  baths of 586–7
Pracinos, island of 254–5
Praesidae, conquered by Alexander the Great 832–3
Praetextatus, cemetery of 266–7
Prague, see of 274–5
Preslav, see of 272–3
Priam, king of Troy 146–7, 290–1, 398–9
Priapus, as god of gardens 116–17
Priscian of Caesarea, teaches grammar 842–3
Priscilla, cemetery of 266–7
Priština, see of 272–3
Probus, Roman emperor 378–9
Procas, king of Latium 174–5, 354–5
Prometheus, brother of Atlas 322–3
Pronatis, one of the Seven Sleepers in Ephesus 508–9
Propontis 232–3, 246–7, 254–5
Provinciale Romanum, as source for Gervase xlvi, 216–25, 272–85, 298–305, 312–15, 346–7, 524–5
Provincia Subventana, name for Provincia Tripolitana 318–19
Provincia Tripolitana, region of Africa 318–19, 524–5
Pseudo-Abdias, writings known to Gervase xliii, 492 n.
Pseudo-Callisthenes, translated by Julius Valerius 84 n., 706 n., 707 n., 711 n.
Pseudo-Marcella, and *Vita S. Marthae* 720–1 n., 734–5 n.
Pseudo-Methodius, Latin version of 108 n.
  on the flood 146–7
  on Ionitus 108–9, 166–9
Pseudo-Turpin, writings known to Gervase xliii
Ptolemais, former name of Acre 221 n.
  see also Archis Ptolemaidis
Ptolemais, city in Cyrenaica 316–17
Ptolemy I (Soter I), ruler of Egypt 366–9
Ptolemy II (Philadelpus), ruler of Egypt 120–1, 368–9, 792–3
Ptolemy III (Euergetes I), ruler of Egypt 368–9

Ptolemy IV (Philopator), ruler of Egypt 368–9
Ptolemy V (Epiphanes), ruler of Egypt 368–9
Ptolemy VI (Philometor), ruler of Egypt 368–9, 866 n.
Ptolemy VII (Euergetes II), ruler of Egypt 368–9
Ptolemy VIII (Soter II), ruler of Egypt 368–9, 370–1
Ptolemy IX (Alexander I), ruler of Egypt 370–1
Ptolemy X (Alexander II), ruler of Egypt 370 n.
Ptolemy XI (Auletes or Dionysus), ruler of Egypt 370–1
Ptolemy XII (Dionysus), ruler of Egypt 370–3
Puah, father of Tola 352–3
Puimichel, town in Provence 710–11
Pulati, see of 272–3
Punon, encampment of the Israelites 518–19
purgatory, Gervase's doctrine of xlviii, 336 n., 758–60 nn.
  cellarer freed from by prayer 112–15
  John of Pozzuoli's account of 588–91
  revenant's account of 758–85, *passim*
Pygmies, found in India 184–5
Pyrenees 302–3, 446–7, 684 n., 736–7
pyrites stone 194–5
Pyrrha, wife of Deucalion 248–9
Pyrrhus, son of Achilles 146–7, 248–9, 398–9
Pythagoras:
  born on Samos 130–1, 252–3
  said to have invented harmony 108–9
  inventor of the letter Y 130–1

quails, on island of Ortygia 330–1
Quarantine, desert of 894–5
Querquentia, see of 222–3
Quevismon, see of 220–1
Quimper, see of 300–1
Quirinal, hill of Rome 262–3, 264–5
Quirinius, P. Sulpicius, governor of Syria 69 n.

Raamah, son of Cush 532–3, 535 n.
Rab, see of 276–7
Rabanus Maurus, writings known to Gervase xliii
  on geometric cubits 156–7
Rabbath, Ammonite city 152–3
Rables, see of 216, 219
Rachel, burial place of 510–11, 890–1
Radagaisus, Gothic king 382–3
Radstone, ford at 634–7
Raetia, region of 240–1, 252–3, 254–5, 256–7
  see also First *and* Second Raetia
Raetium, promontory of 256–7
Ragamfred, Frankish mayor 444–5
Rages of the Medes, name for Edessa 222–3, 526–7
Rahab, house of 494–5
Raimbaud de Pouget, knight 812–13
rainbow, of the covenant 162–3
Ralph of Coggeshall:
  knew Gervase xxvii, xxxvi–xxxvii
  on Other World 645 n.
Ralph de Diceto xcii n., 464 n., 644 n.
Ralph Niger, fellow courtier of Gervase xxvii, 186–7, 464 n.
Ramah, city of 498–9, 890–1, 894–5
Ramathaim-zophim, name for Ramah or Arimathaea 890 n.
Rameses, Egyptian city 212–13, 512–13, 516–17
Ramoth, city of 518–19
Ranulph of Chester 643 n.
Raoul of Burgundy 471 n.
Raphania, see of 222–3
Raphia, see and city of 218–19, 498–9
Raphoe, see of 314–15
Rapolla, see of 280–1
Rathluraigh, see of 314–15
Ratisbon, German town 528–9
Ratzeburg, see of 274–5
Ravello, see of 282–3
raven, feeds a hermit 622–3
Ravenna, city and see of 258–9, 276–7, 522–3
Rawanica, Bulgarian village 240–1
Raymond IV, count of Saint-Gilles 478–9, 784–5
Raymond V, count of Toulouse lx, 484–5, 784–9
Raymond VI, count of Toulouse xl, xlviii, lxi, 484–5, 489 n., 784–5
Raymond VII, count of Toulouse 488–9
Raymond-Berengar IV, count of Barcelona and king of Aragon 786–7
Raymond, lord of Rousset 88–91
Reatis, Cappadocian city 200–1
Rebekah, marriage of 136–7

  and the *Agnus castus* tree 798–9
  burial place of 200 n.
Reblata, name for Antioch 200–1, 528–9, 882–3
Recared, Gothic king 388–9, 390–1
Receswinth, Gothic king 392–3
Rederchius, British king 410–11
Redion, British king 410–11
Regan, daughter of Leir 404–5
Regensburg, city and see of 276–7, 528–9
Regestum super negotio imperii l
Reggio, city and see of 258–9, 278–9, 282–3
Regin, British king 408–9
Reginald, king of Man 310 n.
Regino of Prum, and canon *Episcopi* 723 n.
Regulus, M. Atilius, Roman consul 874–5
Rehoboam, king of Judah 356–7
Remigius, St, and Clovis 292–3, 436–7
Remoulins, castle of 592–3
Remus, co-founder of Rome 122–3, 360–1
  pyramid of 262–3
Rennes, see of 300–1
Rephidim, city of 508–9, 514–15, 516–17
Reu, son of Peleg 538–9
Reuben, tribe of 138–9, 140–1
revenant, of Beaucaire 758–85
Rhasis, river 192–3
Rhea Silvia, mother of Romulus and Remus 354–5, 360–1
Rheginians, descendants of Ashkenaz 530–1
Rheims, see of 298–9
  capital of Second Belgica 524–5
  Gervase at xxvii–xxix
Rhine, river 238–9, 286–7
rhinoceros, as name for unicorn 190–1
Rhinocorura, Egyptian city 214–15
Rhinocorura, as name of 'the river of Egypt' 538–9
Rhiphaean Mountains 174–5, 178–9, 230–1, 238–9, 522–3
  mark boundary of Europe 236–7, 284–5
Rhobasci, and boundary stones of Alexander the Great 178–9, 238–9
Rhodes, island and city of 328–9
Rhône, river:
  flows into Lake Leman 240–1, 300–1
  winds of 338–9
  estuary of 344–5
  and dracs 718–21
  and 'la Tarasque' 720–1
  and Les Aliscamps 736–9
Ribe, see of 282–3
Richard the Lion Heart 486–7
  aids Otto IV xxxi–xxxii
  and Third Crusade 420–1
  imprisonment of xlvii, 464–5, 486 n.
Richard de Luci, and castle of Ongar 748–9
Richborough, crossing point for the channel 304–5
Rieti, city and see of 258–9, 270–1, 278–9
Riez, city and see of 302–3, 844–5
Riga, see of 274–5
Rimini, see of 276–7
Rimmon-parez, encampment of Israelites 516–17
Riphath, son of Gomer 530–1
Rissah, encampment of Israelites 516–17
Rithmah, encampment of Israelites 516–17
Rivallo, British king 406–7
Robert I, king of France 471 n.
Robert II (the Pious), king of France 472–3
Robert, prior of Kenilworth 642–3
Robert Curthose, son of William the Conqueror 478–81
Robert Guiscard, invades Campania 464–5
Robin Goodfellow 740 n.
Rochester, see of 312–13
rocking-stone 594–5
Roderic, Gothic king 392–3
Rodez, see of 300–1
  called Ruthenia 426–7
Roger I of Sicily 464–5
Roger II of Sicily 332–3, 464–5, 802–3
Roland, and giant Ferracutus 150–1
Rome:
  founded by Romulus and Remus 122–3, 360–1
  and four kingdoms 172 n., 174–5
  sacked by Gauls and Goths 176–7, 286–7, 402–3
  topography of 260–71
  on Ebstorf World Map xxxv
Romulus, co-founder of Rome 122–3, 262–3, 360–1
Romulus Augustulus, Roman emperor 386 n.
Roquemaure, castle of 758–9
Rorgo Fretellus, *see* Fretellus
Rosamund, daughter of Gutmund king of the Gepidi 842–3
Roscommon, see of 314–15
Roscrea, see of 314–15
Roskilde, see of 282–3
Rossano, see of 282–3
Rosscarbery, see of 314–15
Rossus, see of 224–5

Rotrudis, daughter of Charlemagne 448–9
Rouen, city and see of 300–1, 524–5
Rousset, castle of 88–9
Rudaucus, king of Cambria 406–7
Rudhudibras, British king 404–5
Rugii, Germanic tribe 834–5
Runo, British king 410–11
Rusiccade, Numidian city 148–9, 318–19, 398–9
Ruspina, African city 322–3
Russia 242–3, 244–5
  called Ruthenia 244–5, 426–7
Ruthenia (Flanders) 426–7
Rutulians, Italian people 356–7
Ruvo, see of 280–1

Saba, son of Cush, *see* Seba
Saba, as name for Arabia 532–3
Saba Regia, former name of Meroe 212–13, 800–1
Sabbath, ordained as day of fasting 868–9
Sabbatis, one of the Seven Sleepers in Ephesus 508–9
Sabina, see of 270–1
Sabine women, rape of 122–3, 610–11
Sabrata, African city 318–19
Sabtah, son of Cush 532–3
Sabtecha, son of Cush 532–3
Sadducees, Josephus on 44 n., 582–3
Sadi, as name for Sées 526–7
Sagona, see of 278–9
St Andrews, see of 312–13
St Asaph's, see of 312–13
Saint-Bénigne, abbot of 572 n.
Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, see of 300–1
St Brendan's Isle 308–9
Saint-Brieuc, see of 300–1
Saint-Césaire, abbey of xxxiii, 737 n.
Saint-Chaffre–du–Monastier, abbey of 572–3
St David's, see of 312–13
St George, name for Lydda 526–7
Saint-Gilles, town of 764–5, 786–7
St Godric, city of 232–3
Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert, abbey of 781 n.
Saint-Lizier, see of 300–1
Saint-Malo, see of 300–1
Saint-Maurice-en-Valais, and Theban legion 300–1, 632–3
Saint-Michel-de-Connexe, priory of 572–3
Saint-Michel de Frigolet, priory of 762–3
Saint-Pol de Léon, see of 300–1
Saint Privat, castle of 72–3
St Quentin, church of 570–1
Saint-Ruf, monastery of 112–13, 458–9
Saint-Victor, abbey of 737 n.
Ste-Marie-du-Lac, church of 592–3
Saintes, see of 300–1
Sts Benignus and Tiburtius, church of 572–3
Salah, son of Arphaxad 116–17, 204–5, 536–7
Salamanca, see of 304–5
salamander, properties of 558–61
Salamis, Cypriot city 328–9
Salarian Bridge, Rome 266–7
Salef, Turkish town 232–3
Salem, former name of Jerusalem 116–17, 202–5
Salernitans, and baths of Pozzuoli 586–7
Salerno, city and see of 258–9, 280–1
  study of medicine at 586–7
  Gervase visits 578–9
Salisbury, see of 312–13
Sallust, writings known to Gervase xliii
Sallust, palace of 266–7
Salomon, king of Armorica 432–3
Salonae, Dalmatian city 248–9
Salpe, see of 280–1
salt, properties of 564–7
  in purification rituals 616–17
Saltum Hieraticon, see of 218–19
Salzburg, see of 276–7
Samaria, city and see of 204–5, 220–1, 494–7
  region of 204–5
Samian Sibyl 816–17
Samnium, province and city of 258–9, 522–3
Samos, island of 130–1, 235 n., 252–3
Samson, judge of Israel 134–5, 148–9, 354–5, 356–7
Samuel, judge of Israel 134–5, 356–7, 404–5
  anoints Saul 8–9
  buried at Ramah 498–9
Samuil, British king 410–11
San Marco, see of 282–3
San Michele, grotto of 281 n.
Santa Giusta, see of 346–7
Santa Severina, see of 282–3
Saône, river 286–7
Saphri, Asian village 226–7
Sapor, Persian king 379 n.
sapphire, properties of 616–17

Saracens:
  come from Nabataea 196–7, 492–3
  in Palestine 204–5
  gain possession of Spain 392–3, 444–5
  invade Gaul 444–9
  defeated by Charlemagne 878–9
  see also Arabs
Sarah, wife of Abraham 134–5, 204–5
  and Abimelech 130–1
  burial place of 200 n.
Sarchais, alternative name for Orthosia 222–3, 528–9
Sardanapalus, Assyrian king 128–9, 172–3, 358–9
Sardenaye, image of Virgin at 644–7
Sardinia, sees of 346–7
  island of 174–5, 260–1, 309 n.
  topography of 342–5
Sardis, Phrygian city 234–5
Sardis, son of Hercules 260–1, 342–3
Sardoniki, see of 272–3
sardonyx, found in Arabia 198–9
Sarepta, city and see of 222–3, 504–5
  also known as Sarphent 222–3, 528–9, 882–3
Sarmatae, Asian people 228–9, 520–1
Sarmatian Sea (Black Sea) 178–9, 238–9
Sarmaticus, river 238–9
Sarno, see of 280–1
Sarphent, *see* Sarepta
Sarsina, see of 278–9
Sarzana, town visited by Gervase xxx, 604–5
Satalia, Turkish city 232–3, 328–9
Satalie, Gouffre de 328–9
Satriano, see of 280–1
Saturn 132–3, 254–5
Saturnia, as name for Italy 254–5
Saturninus of Toulouse, bishop 294–5, 734–5
satyrs, characteristics of 98–101
Saul, first king of Israel 356–7
  anointed king by Samuel 4–5, 8–9
  and David's harp 12–13
  as a prophet 134–5
Saul of Tarsus, and Christ 882–3
  see also Paul
Savona, city and see of 256–7, 276–7
Saxons:
  come to Britain 306–7, 416–19
  driven out by Arthur 422–3, 424–5
  called Angles 430–1
  rule Britain 434–5
  qualities of 242–3
Sbidi, see of 224–5
Scala, see of 282–3
Scandinavia, described as an island 238–9, 288–9, 376–7, 382–3, 834–5
scarabos, generated from carcasses 54–5
Schleswig, see of 274–5, 282–3
Schwerin, see of 274–5
Sciapodes, mythical creatures 188–9
Scicia, Phrygian city 234–5
Scodra, see of 272–3
Scotland, kings of 310–11
  sees of 312–13
Scritobini, northern people 864–5
Scylla, as a whirlpool 332–3, 342–3
  monstrous creature 342–3, 860–1
Scythia 8–9
  topography of 190–3
  Lower Scythia 192–3, 238–9, 522–3
  Upper Scythia 190–1
Scythian Sea 226–7
Scythians, as nomads 226–7
  descended from Magog 530–1
Scythopolis, city and see of 216–17, 218–19, 888–9
Seba, son of Cush 196–7, 532–3
Sebaste, city and see of 204–5, 220–1, 222–3
  John the Baptist buried at 494–7
  also called Samaria 204–5, 496–7, 526–7
Second Aquitanica, province of 524–5
Second Belgica, province of 524–5
Second Germanica, province of 524–5
Second Lugdunensis, province of 524–5
Second Pannonia, province of 522–3
Second Raetia, province of 256–7, 522–3
Second Thrace, province of 522–3
Sées, city and see of 300–1, 526–7
Seginus, king of the Allobroges 408–9
Segorbe, see of 304–5
Segovia, see of 304–5
Seidnaya, *see* Sardenaye
Seir, Mount 882–3
Sele, river 256–9
selenite, properties of 570–1
Seleucia, city and see of 204–5, 224–5, 368–9
Seleucovalla or Seleucia, see of 222–3
Seleucus I, ruler of Mesopotamia and Syria 368–9, 532–3, 874 n.
Seleucus II 874–5
Semele:
  mother of Dionysus 132–3
  mother of Lacedaemon 254–5

- Semelita, see of 224–5
- Semiramis, Assyrian queen 4 n., 128–9, 172–3, 196–7, 866–7
- Senez, see of 302–3
- Senlis, see of 298–9
- Senones, Gallic tribe 176–7, 286–7
- Senonia, province of 524–5
- Sens, city and see of 298–9, 524–5
- Sepphoris, Palestinian city 886–7
- Septimius Severus, Roman emperor 378–9
  - arch of 264 n.
  - baths of 265 n.
  - palace of 266–7
- Serapis, Egyptian deity 138–9
- Seres (Chinese) 228–9, 858–9
- Sergius I, pope 392–3, 434–5
- Sergius Paulus, bishop 734–5
- Seric Ocean 182–3, 190–1, 192–3, 226–7, 228–9
- serpents, *see* snakes
- Serug, great-grandfather of Abraham 116–17, 172–3, 538–9
- Servius Tullius, institutes census at Rome 124–5
  - builds fosse around Rome 262–3
- Sessa, see of 282–3
- Sessorian Palace 266–7
- Sestos 252–3
- Seth, son of Adam 110–11, 140–7, 898–9
- Seven Sleepers in Ephesus 508–9
- Seven Sleepers in Germany 862–5
- Severn, river 306–7, 412–13
- Severus Alexander, Roman emperor 378 n., 609 n.
- Severus, Roman legate to Britain 412–13
- Sevila, see of 224–5
- Seville, city of 180–1, 304–5
- Shalmaneser, Assyrian king 360–1
- Shannon estuary 308–9
- Shapher, Mount 516–17
- Sheba, name for Arabia 196–7, 532–3
- Sheba, city of 322–3
- Sheba, queen of 322–3, 658–9, 660 n.
- Shechem, son of Hamor 888–9
- Shechem, city and see of 220–1, 510–11
  - known as Neapolis 220–1, 495 n., 526–7, 888–9
- Shem, son of Noah 112–13, 116 n., 118–19, 144–5, 900–1
  - acquires Asia 166–7, 178–9, 538–9
  - builds Salem 202–3
  - father of Asshur 192–3
  - descendants of 168–9, 536–7
- shepherd-kings, as rulers of Egypt 364–5
- Shiloh, and ark of the covenant 498–9, 890–1
- Shinar, name for Babylon 112–13, 196–7
- Shishak, king of Egypt 356–7
- Shkodër, see of 272–3
- Shuah, son of Keturah 199 n., 200–1
- Shuah, region of 882–3
- Shur, wilderness of 208–9, 514–15
- Sibyl, Samian 130–1, 252–3
  - the ten Sibyls 816–19
  - Tiburtine Sibyl 372–3
- Sicambria, city of 290–1
- Sicania, as name for Sicily 332–3
- Sicanus, Sicilian king 332–3
- Sicily, island of 260–1
  - cavernous nature of 340–3
  - and Gervase xxviii–xxix
  - and the Normans 464–5
  - and Otto IV 338–9, 340 n.
  - Saracen invasion of 390–1
  - sees of 282–3
  - topography and history of 332–7
  - volcanoes of 560–1
- Siconia, *see* Sicyonia
- Siculus, brother of Italus 332–3
- Sicyon, Greek king 250–1
- Sicyonia, region of Greece 250–3
  - Sicyonian kingdom 168–9, 250–3
- Sidon, Phoenician city and see 200–1, 220–1, 222–3, 534–5, 882–3
- Sidonia, region of 694–7
- Sidonius Apollinaris, writings known to Gervase xliii
- Siena, see of 278–9
- Sigebert I, son of Chlotar I 436–7
- Sigebert III, Frankish king 438–9
- Sigeric, Gothic king 384–5
- Siguenza, see of 304–5
- Silei, conquered by Alexander the Great 832, 835
- Silistra, Moesian city 246–7
- silk, production of 662–3
- Silvani, as incubi 728–9
- Silvius, father of Brutus 146–7, 306–7, 398–9
- Silvius Aeneas, son of Aeneas 354–5
- Silvius Alba, king of Latium 404–5
- Simeon, tribe of 138–9
- Simeon, St, burial place of 504–5
- Simeon, St, horn of 692–5
- Simon, apostle, preaches in Persia 194–5, 490–1
  - ordains Abdias 492 n.
- Simon Magus, birthplace of 498–9
- Simon the Pharisee 761 n.
- Simpliacis, one of the Seven Sleepers in Ephesus 508–9
- Sinai, Mount 220–1, 812–13, 868–9, 880–1
  - description of 512–13, 624–7
  - and the law 196–7, 516–17
- Sinai Peninsula 198 n.
- Sinduald, king of the Heruli 842–3
- Sinigaglia, see of 278–9
- Sinope, formerly Myrmiciona 506–7
- Sion, see of 300–1
- Siponto, city and see of 260–1, 280–1
- sirens, in British Sea 680–3
- Siscia, Illyrian city 248–9
- Sisebut, Gothic king 390–1
- Sisenand, Gothic king 390–1
- Sisera, death of 888–9
- Sisia, see of 224–5
- Sisillius I, British king 406–7
- Sisillius II, British king 409 n.
- Sisillius III, British king 410–11
- Sisoco, one of the Seven Sleepers in Ephesus 508–9
- Sisteron, see of 302–3
- Sito, see of 276–7
- Skara, see of 284–5
- Skopje, see of 272–3
- Skradin, see of 276–7
- Slavonia, province of 272–3, 522–3
- Smaragdon, Mount 708–9
- Smyrna, city of 232–3
- snakes and serpents:
  - found in Colubraria 344–5
  - found in India 188–9
  - found on island in the Briso 700–1
  - islands free from 309 n., 344–5, 691 n.
  - in Jordia valley 856–7
  - guard pepper 186–7, 696–7
  - infect water 348–9
  - killed by ibises 800–1
  - killed by dust from certain places 308–11
  - fiery 808–9
  - two-headed 198–9, 694–7
  - wear emeralds 856–7
  - winged 808–11
  - women who change into 86–91
- Soana, see of 278–9
- Socrates, death of 120–1
- Sodom:
  - one of the 'cities of the plain' 76 n., 204–5, 206–7, 534–5, 796–7
  - and the apples of the Pentapolis 570–1
  - destruction of 502–3
- Sodomites, sins of 794–5
- Sofia, city of 241 n.
- Sogdianus, Persian king 366 n.
- Soissons, see of 298–9
- Solima, name for Jerusalem 112–13, 114–15, 202–3
- Solinus, writings known to Gervase xliii
- solipuga, found in Corsica 342–3
- Solomon, as sorcerer 118–19, 122–3, 610–11, 614–15
  - anointed king 892–3
  - adorns Jerusalem with gold 202–3
  - builds the temple 544–5, 896–7
  - and King Hiram 886–7
  - and men of Gebal 790–1
  - visited by the queen of Sheba 404–5, 658–9
  - worships Molech 890–1
  - buried on Mount Zion 894–5
- Solothurn, village of 300–1
- solstice, marks seasons 44–5, 48–9, 864–5
  - and the tides 346–7
  - and Ultima Thule 326–7
- Sophia, consort of Justin II 288–9, 842–3
- Sora, see of 278–9
- Soraci, known as Tritonides 702–3
- Sorra, see of 346–7
- Sorrento, see of 282–3
- Sorucis, see of 218–19
- soul, location of 60–1
  - and life after death 112–15, 324–5, 588–91, 758–85, *passim*
- Spain, topography and sees of 302–5
  - history of 384–93, *passim*
- Spaniards, and fennel 714–15
  - a Latin-speaking nation 538–9
  - wear tight clothes 298–9
- Spanish Sea 174–5
- Split, see of 276–7
- Spoleto, city and see of 256–7, 278–9
- Squillace, see of 282–3
- Stamford Bridge, battle of 477 n.
- Stasanor, ally of Alexander the Great 874–5
- Stater, king of Demetia 426–7
- Staterius, king of Albany 406–7
- Stavanger, see of 284–5
- Stephen, St 296–7
  - stoning of 502–3, 894–5
- Stephen, count of Chartres and Blois 480–1
- Stephen, king of England 482–5

Sterces, as name for Stercutius 132–3
Stercutius, farmer-god 132–3
Sthelenus, Argive king 352–3
Sticados, islands of 294–5, 344–5
Stoechades, *see* Sticados
Stoics, studied at Athens 250–1
Ston, see of 272–3
Stophanis, one of the Seven Sleepers in Ephesus 508–9
Storia, as name for Melos 332–3
stork-people 680–1, 698–9
storks, punish adultery 750–1
Strabo (geographer), writings known to Gervase xliii
Stranga, river 194–5
Strasbourg, see of 274–5
Strängnäs, see of 284–5
striae, nocturnal spirits 718 n., 722–3
Stridon, birthplace of Jerome 248–9
Strongoli, see of 282–3
Suanir, Persian city 194–5, 402–3
Subar, Mount 508–9
Succoth, city of 510–11, 512–13, 516–17
succubus, as supernatural lover 717 n., 718 n., 730 n.
Suelli, see of 346–7
Suessiones, Gallic tribe 292–3
Sueton, see of 222–3
Suevi, Westphalian tribes 242–3
Suevia, region of 240–1
Suevus, Mount 240–1
Suhard, leader killed by Corineus 148–9, 398–9
Sulcis, see of 346–7
Sulpicius Severus, writings known to Gervase lix
superempyrean, as abode of Christ and the Virgin 20–1
Surraquini, see of 224–5
Susa, Persian city 192–3
Sutri, see of 278–9
Svac, see of 272–3
Sweden, sees of 284–5
Swinthila, Gothic king 390–1
Sychar, formerly Shechem 888–9
Syene, lack of shadows at 70–1, 212–13
Sylvester I, pope, and Donation of Constantine 10–11, 12–13, 380–1
Sylvester IV, antipope 457 n.
Symmachus, pope 268–9
Symphorius, baths of 264–5
Syracuse, city and see of 282–3, 332–3
Syrene, city in Cyrenaica 316–17
Syria, topography of 198–205, 492–5
Syria Sobal, see of 218–19
Syrian Sea 326–7
Syringa, wife of Cadmus 120–1
Syrophanes, worshipper of idols 118–19
Syrtes, sandbanks 316–17, 618–19
Syrus, Syrian king 200–1

Tabatha, birthplace of Hilarion 498–9
Tabitha, and St Peter 498–9
Tabor, Mount 204–5, 498–9, 508 n., 888–9
Tabor, see of 220–1
Tacazzé, branch of the Nile 533 n.
Tahath, encampment of Israelites 516–17
Tahpanhes, Egyptian city 214–15
talismans 576–7, 612–13, 804 n.
Tangiers, city of 320–1
Tanus, Scythian king 168–9, 238–9
Taormina, Sicilian town 270–1, 334 n.
Taprobane (Sri Lanka) 182–3, 196–7
  topography of 184–5
Tapsaron, see of 222–3
Tarah, encampment of Israelites 516–17
Tarantaise, province of 522–3
Taranto, Italian city and see 260–1, 280–1
Tarascon, province of 294–5, 338–9
  Gervase an *arbiter voluntarius* at xxxi
  and St Martha 295 n., 720–1, 756–7
  ploughman at 756–7
  prior of 764–5
'Tarasque, la', monster 720–1
Tarazona, see of 304–5
Tarbes, see of 300–1
Tarn Wadling, and Laikibrais 692–3 n.
Tarquinius Priscus, king of Rome 362–3
Tarquinius Superbus, king of Rome 364–5
  devises instruments of torture 126–7
Tarragona, province of 302–3, 524–5
  see of 304–5
Tarshish, son of Javan 530–1
Tarsus, city and see of 204–5, 222–3, 234–5, 532–3
Tatius, Sabine king 122–3
Tauromenitani, Sicilian people 334–5
Tauromenium, Sicilian city and mountain 334–5
Taurus Mountains 166–7, 194–5, 200–1, 224–5, 226–9, 234–5, 532–3
Teano, see of 282–3
Tectosagi, Gallic tribe 838–41
Tekoah, Palestinian town 894–5
Telese, see of 280–1

Tellidis, one of the Seven Sleepers in Ephesus 508–9
Teman, city of 202–3, 882–3
Tempio, see of 346–7
Tene, city of 330–1
Tenedos, island of 330–1
Tenvantius, son of Lud 410–11
Terah, father of Abraham, Nahor, and Haran 108–9, 538–9
Teramo, see of 278–9
Termasia, Middle Eastern city 710–11
Termoli, see of 280–1
Terracina, see of 278–9
Terralba, see of 346–7
Tetracomias, see of 218–19
tetragrammaton 800–1
Teutons, strength of 286–7
Thaddaeus, and Abgar-legend 594 n., 598–9, 608 n.
Thalamo, Roman general 122–3
Thames, river 400–1, 410–11
Thanceastre, castle of 416–19
Thanet, island of 309 n.
Thapsus, island of 342–3
Tharbis, wife of Moses 212–13, 800–1
Thaubastum, fortress of 210–11
theatres, of Rome 266–7
Thebais, city of 212–13, 526–7
Thebais (the Thebaid), Egyptian province 208–9, 520–1
Theban Legion 208–9, 240 n., 632–5, 638–9
Thebans, shepherd-kings 364–5
Thebes, Egyptian city 200–1, 208–9, 213 n.
Thebes, Greek city 132–3, 208–9, 250–1
Thebez, Jewish city 250 n.
Thecla, St, burial place of 502–3
Themiscyra, Plains of 200–1
Theobald, count of Blois and Champagne 436–7
Theodahad, Gothic king 386–7
Theoderic, antipope 457 n.
Theodoric I, Gothic king 384–5
Theodoric II, Gothic king 384–5
Theodoric the Great, Gothic king 386–7
Theodoric 'the squinter', Gothic leader 386–7
Theodosia, city of 178–9, 238–9
Theodosius I (the Great), emperor 207 n., 382–3
Theodosius II, eastern emperor 374–5, 382–3, 384–5
Theodosius III, eastern emperor 392–3
Theodosius the Deacon:
  writings known to Gervase xliii
  account of the Holy Land 494–511
Theodotus, governor of the Bactrians 876–7
Theozonia 322–3
Theseus, builds Smyrna 232, 235
  abducts Helen 352–3
Thessalonica, city of 250–1
Thessalus, Greek king 250–1
Thessaly, region of 250–1
  province of 522–3
Theudebald, Frankish king 436–7
Theudebert, Frankish king 436–7, 438–9
Theudegesil, Gothic king 386–7
Theuderic I, Frankish king 292–3, 436–7
Theuderic II, Frankish king 438–9
Theuderic III, Frankish king 440–1, 442–3
Theuderic IV, Frankish king 446–7
Theudis, Gothic king 386–7
Theudoald, son of Grimoald 442–3, 444–5
Thina, see of 222–3
Thiopolitani, pharaohs of Egypt 364–5
Thomas, apostle:
  preaches in India 182–3
  and King Gundaphorus 184–5, 490–1, 493 n., 608–9
  relics of 608–11
Thor, *see* Le Thor
Thrace, topography of 246–7
Thracians, descendants of Tiras 530–1
Thraso, cemetery of 266–7
Thule, *see* Ultima Thule
Thuringia, region of Germany 286–7
Thyatira, Lydian city 234–5
Tibareni, Indian people 184–5
Tiber, river 262–3, 270–1, 284–5
Tiberias, Sea of 204–5, 206–7, 654–5, 732–3
  see also Galilee, Sea of
Tiberias, see and city of 218–19, 220–1, 496–7, 528–9, 886–7
Tiberius, Roman emperor:
  sympathetic to Christianity 376–7, 606–7
  cured by Martha 604–5
  and Pontius Pilate 300–1, 376–7
  against excessive taxation 126–7
  baths of 264–5
  and city of Tiberias 886–7
Tiberius II, eastern emperor 388–9, 844–5
Tiberius III, eastern emperor 392–3
Tiburtine Sibyl 372–3, 816–17, 818–19

Ticinum, name for Pavia 526–9
tides, Gervase's discussion of lviii, 42–3
Tigris, river 72–3, 182–3, 192–3, 194–5, 226–7, 492–3, 538–9
Timothy, disciple of Paul 508–9
Tingitania, province of 304–5, 524–5
Tintagel, castle of 420–1
Tiras, son of Japheth 246–7, 284–5, 530–1
Tirnova, see of 272–3
Titan, son of Hyperion 326–7
Titans, giants 146–7
Titopolis, see of 224–5
Titus, Roman emperor 376–9
  destroys Jerusalem 204–5, 606 n., 898–9, 900–1
  Arch of 264–5
Tivoli, city and see of 258–9, 270–1
Togarmah, son of Gomer 530–1
Tola, judge of Israel 352–3
Toledo, see of 304–5
Tomar, city of 304–5
Tomi, city of 236–7
Torcello, see of 274–5
Torquatus, Frankish king 290–1
Torres, see of 346–7
Tortiboli, see of 280–1
Tortona, city and see of 256–7, 276–7
  three gifts of 570–3
Tortosa, called Antaras 222–3, 526–7
Tortosa (Spain), see of 304–5
Toscanella, see of 278–9
Tostig, killed at Stamford Bridge 477 n.
Totila, Gothic king 386–7, 842–3
Toul, city and see of 276–7, 526–7
Toulon, see of 302–3
Toulouse, see of 300–1
  Gothic capital 384–5
  treasure of seized 838–41
Touraine, region of Gallia Belgica 288–9
Tournai, see of 298–9
Tours, see and city of 298–9, 524–5
Toxus, see of 218–19
Trachonitis, region of 536–7
  conquered by Saracens 204–5
Trajan, Roman emperor 378–9
  rescript to Aufidius Severus 102–3
  palace and column of 266–7
Trani, see of 280–1
transubstantiation 920–1
Trebinje, see of 272–3
Trequier, see of 300–1
Trets, valley of 88–9
Trevico, see of 280–1
Treviso, see of 274–5
Tricarico, see of 280–1
Tricomias, see of 218–19
Trieste, see of 274–5
Trièves, crags of 640–1
Trinacria, name for Sicily 332–3
Trinity, abode of the 20–1
  as inaccessible light 766–7
Trinovantum, built by Brutus 306–7, 398–401
  renamed London 526–7
Tripergola, bath of 591 n.
Tripolis (Syria), see and city of 222–3, 318–19
Tripolis, African province 318–19, 524–5
Triton, son of Poseidon 703 n.
Tritonides, divinities 702–3
Tritonis, Lake 138–9
Trivento, see of 280–1
Trochilus, and four-horse team 118–19
Trogir, see of 276–7
Troglodytes, African tribe 322–3
Troia, see of 280–1
Trois-Châteaux, see of 302–3
Trojans, as founders of Rome 260–3, 402–3
  customs of at dinner 426–7
  emigration of 288–9, 396–9
Trondheim, see of 284–5
Tropea, see of 282–3
Trophimus, first bishop of Arles 296–7, 734–5
Troy:
  location of 234–5
  destruction of 50–1, 122–3, 234–5, 350–1, 354 n., 356–7, 436–7
  and Assyrians 288–9
Troyes, see of 298–9
Tubal, son of Japheth 530–1
Tubalcain, son of Lamech 106–9
Tuburbitana, city of 320–1
Tulga, Gothic king 390–1
Tullus Hostilius, king of Rome 124–5, 360–1
  enlarges city of Rome 262–3
Tulupa, see of 222–3
Tunis, city of 322–3
Turcilingi, Germanic tribe 834–5
Turin, see of 276–7
Turisindus, king of the Gepidi 840–1
Turismundus, son of Turisindus 840–1
Turkey 232–3
Turnus, Rutulian king 356–7

Tuscany, province of 256–7, 270–1, 522–3
  sees of 278–9
Tusculum, see of 270–1
Tuy, see of 304–5
Tyre, city and see of 200–1, 217 n., 220–1, 222–3, 352–3
  founded by Asshur 536–7
  martyrs of 220–1, 882–3
Tyrrhenia, name for Etruria 284–5
Tyrrhenian Sea 148–9, 180–1, 254–5, 258–9, 260–1, 284–5, 302–3
  as name for Mediterranean 518–19
Tyrus, brother of Lydius 284–5

Ugento, see of 280–1
Ulbienses, people of Sardinia 342–3
Ulcinj, see of 272–3
Ulfin, friend of Merlin 420–1
Ultima Thule, topography of 326–7
  sea frozen to the north of 638 n.
Umana, see of 278–9
Umbria, region of Italy 256–7, 522–3
  etymology of 270–1
Umbriatico, see of 282–3
unicorn, mythical creature 188–91
Uppsala, see of 284–5
Uqba, Saracen king 446–7
Ur of the Chaldees 108–9
Urbicius, imperial provost 508–11
Urbino, see of 278–9
Urfa, modern name for Edessa 195 n., 594 n.
Urgel, see of 304–5
Urianus, British king 410–11
Urim and Thummim, oracle of 806 n.
Ursula, St 417 n., 433 n.
Ursus, cemetery of 266–7
Usk, river 412–13, 424–5
Uther Pendragon, British king 150–1, 420–3
Utrecht, see of 274–5
Uz, son of Aram 536–7
  or son of Nahor 540–1
  land of 882–3
Uzès, see of 300–1
  vineyard of 820–1
Uzziah, king of Judah 172–3, 358–9

Vác, see of 274–5
Vaccaei, Spanish people 302–3
Vaison, see of 300–1
Valence, see of 300–1
  monastery of Saint-Ruf at 112–13
Valencia, Spanish city 304–5
Valens, Roman emperor 380–1
Valentinian I, Roman emperor 380–3
Valentinian II, Roman emperor 382–3, 414–15, 416–17
Valentinian III, Roman emperor 384–5
  and Alaric 292–3
Valeria, province of 258–9, 522–3
Valerian, Roman emperor 378–9
Valerius, bishop of Hippo 318–19
Vandal, river 238–9, 244–5
Vandals 238–9
  Germanic origin of 834–5
  and Poland 244–5
  and Wandlebury 668–9
Vannes, see of 300–1
Várad, see of 274–5
Varro, ancient author 168 n., 532–3
Varvalus, see of 222–3
Västerås, see of 284–5
Vatican basilica 268–9
Vatuon, see of 222–3
Velabri, Irish tribe 308–9
Veliocasses, Gallic tribe 292–3
Venafro, see of 282–3
Venantius Fortunatus, on the cross 658 n.
Vence, see of 302–3
Venedoti, British tribe 414–15, 430–1
Venedotia, now North Wales 426–7
Venetia, province of 256–7, 260–1, 270–3, 522–3
Venetum, Breton town 526–7
Venice 254–5
  Congress of 460–1
Venosa, see of 280–1
Ventimiglia, Italian city and see 254–5, 276–7
Venus, and Trojans 398–9
  shrine of 566–9, 572–3
Vercelli, see of 276–7
Verden, see of 274–5
Verdun, see of 276–7
  Treaty of 456 n.
Veredunenses, Gallic tribe 526–7
vermilion, production of 660–3
Veroli, see of 278–9
Verona, city and and see of 256–7, 258–9, 274–5
Veronica, image of the Lord 604–7
Verricanus, dog of the Seven Sleepers in Ephesus 508–9
Vespasian, Roman emperor 376–7
  and an exorcist 118–19
  destroys Jerusalem 204–5, 898–9

Vespasian (*cont.*):
  and the Dead Sea 796–7
  and *Gesta Romanorum* 800 n.
  and *Gesta Titi et Vespasiani* 604–5, 606 n.
Vesuvius, volcano 582–5
Veszprém, see of 274–5
Viborg, see of 282–3
Vicenza, city and see of 256–7, 274–5
Vich, see of 304–5
Vico Equense, see of 282–3
Vidin, see of 272–3
Vienne, province and see of 254–5, 294–5, 300–1, 522–3
Vieste, see of 280–1
Vigilius, pope 216–17, 616 n.
Vincent of Beauvais:
  Speculum maius xlii, xlviii n.
  draws on Gervase liii n., lxxxvi n., 664 n.
Vincent of Cracow 244 n.
Virchi, see of 222–3
Virgil:
  writings known to Gervase xliii
  Neapolitan legends concerning xxvi, lxii
  and baths of Pozzuoli 586–7
  bones of 802–5
  and bronze trumpeter 582–5
  and confinement of snakes 578–9
  and fly-talisman 576–7
  and meat-market 576–9
  and rock-passage 586–7
  and two marble faces 578–83
Virgin Mary, *see* Mary, Blessed Virgin
Viromandui, Gallic tribe 292–3
Virosam, see of 218–19
Viseu, see of 304–5
Visio Lazari 760 n.
Vistula, river 239 n.
Viterbo, see of 278–9
Vivien, nephew of William of Orange 736–7
Viviers, see of 300–1
Vladimir, Russian city 244–5
Volterra, see of 278–9
Volturara, see of 280–1
Volusian Palace 266–7
Volusianus, and the Veronica 604–5
Volusianus, Roman emperor 378–9
Vortigern, British king 416–19
Vortimer, British king 418–19
Vortiporius, British king 428–9
Votaneos, see of 218–19
Vulcan, father of Erichthonius 118–19
Vulso, L. Manlius, Roman consul 874–5
Vultume, river 496–7

Waifar, prince of Aquitaine 446–9
Walafrid Strabo:
  writings known to Gervase xliii
  as author of *Glossa ordinaria* 141 n.
  on bagpipes 120–1
  on birth of Seth 140–3
  on Noah's ark 154–5
  on progenitive urge 142–3
Wallia, Gothic king 384–5
walnut-tree, and feast of John the Baptist 577 n.
Walter Map, and *De nugis curialium* lvi
Wamba, Gothic king 392–3
Wandlebury, Osbert Fitz Hugh's encounter at lxi, 668–73
Waratto, Frankish mayor 442–3
water-kelpy 678 n.
weasels, in folklore 637 n.
Welsh Mountains, characteristics of 712–13
werewolves, etymology of 86–9
  instances of 812–15
  loss of a limb by 744 n.
Westphalia, tribes of 242–3
Wibert, antipope Clement III 457 n.
Wieprz, river 245 n.
Wilfred, bishop, finds Image of Lucca 602–3
Will-o'-the-Wisp 676 n.
Willebrand of Oldenburg, and cross of Good Thief 648 n.
William, abbot of Saint-Bénigne 572 n.
William the Conqueror, king of England 474–9
William Rufus, king of England 478–9
William I (the Lion), king of Scotland xxxix, 716–17
William I (the Bad), king of Sicily 464–5
William II (the Good), king of Sicily xxviii, 464–7, 489 n.
  and Gervase 580–1
William the Aetheling, son of Henry I 481 n.
William, son of Henry II xlviii, 484–7
William Bedoch, teacher at Beaucaire 766–7
William Hélie, bishop of Orange 778–9
William Longsword, brother of Henry II 482–3

William Longsword, brother of Otto IV 488–9
William de Moustiers, as a revenant 752–5
William of Newburgh lvi n., lvii n., 645 n.
William of Orange, kills giant Isoret 150–1
  and Saracens 448–9
  cult of 780–3
William Peveril of the Peak 642–3
William of the White Hands (Champagne), patron of Gervase xxvii–xxix, 473 n.
Winchester, see of 312–13
  founded by Rudhudibras 404–5
wind, confined in a glove 626–9
  of Peak cavern 642–5
Winnili, Scandinavian tribe 834–5
witches, *see* lamias, night-riders, and *striae*
Witiza, Gothic king 392–3
Witteric, Gothic king 390–1
Włocławek, see of 272–3
Worcester, see of 312–13
Wulfhere, king of the Mercians 730–1
Wulfheresmere, English lake 730–3
Wulfoald, Frankish duke 440–1, 442–3
Wulfrid, king of the Mercians 434–5
Würzburg, see of 274–5
  known as Herbipolis 528–9
Wye, river 306–7

Xenones, *see* Senones
Xerxes I, Persian king 364–5
Xerxes II, Persian king 366 n.

Y, letter invented by Pythagoras 130–1
Yabrada, see of 224–5
Yam Suph 516–17
year, reckonings of 46–51
Yeni, see of 222–3
Ygerna, wife of Uther 420–1, 423 n.
Ymeria, see of 222–3
Yotapi, see of 224–5
York, archbishop of 412–13, 426–7
  see of 310–11, 312–13
  founded by Ebraucus 404–5
  burial place of Constantius 414–15
Yusuf ibn Abd-ar-Rahman, governor of Narbonne 446–7

Zabulon, land of 886–7
Zacharias, St 498–9, 504–5, 894–5
Zadar, see of 276–7
Zagreb, see of 274–5
Zalmonah, encampment of Israelites 518–19
Zama, Saracen king 444–5
Zamora, see of 304–5
Zaragoza, see of 304–5
Zaram, name for Jezreel 888–9
Zarec, mountains of 148–9, 320–1, 398–9
Zared, brook 518–19
Zaretan, east of the Jordan 520–1
Zaroes, magician 490–1
Zebedee, father of James and John 496–7
Zeboiim, one of the 'cities of the plain' 76 n., 534–5
Zedekiah, king of Judah 362–3, 370–1, 896–7
Zeiz, see of 276–7
Zeno the Isaurian, eastern emperor 386–7
Zepta, African city 322–3
Zeroxina, see of 222–3
Zerubbabel, rebuilds Jerusalem 204–5
Zeugis, province of 318–19
Zeugma, see of 222–3
Zeusippus, Sicyonian king 252–3
Zillah, wife of Lamech 106–7
Zinopolis, see of 224–5
Zion, name for Jerusalem 890–1, 894–5
Zion, Mount 12–13, 892–3, 894–5, 912–13
Zoan, Egyptian city 146–7
Zoar, one of the 'cities of the plain' 76 n., 206, 208 n., 209
zodiac, signs of 44–5
Zophar the Naamathite 882–3
Zora, see of 218–19
Zoroaster, and art of magic 110–11